THE

HISTORY OF INDIA

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THE

HISTORY OF INDIA

The Hindu and Mahometan Periods

BY THE HON. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE

SIXTH EDITION, WITH NOTES AND ADDITIONS

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TO THE

FIFTH EDITION.

ALL history has been roughly divided into four portions, as characterised by a greater or less amount of evidence. Lowest of all is the legendary period, where everything is unauthenticated tradition; next is the semi-historical, where, though the main element is still tradition, we have also certain contemporary monuments, which, so far as they go, can be relied on; and last, we come to history, properly so called, where the mass of the materials is authentic and contemporary, but which is lower or higher, as the surviving records come to us only from one side, or (as in modern history) fairly represent every party, and include all kinds of indirect as well as direct evidence.

I need hardly say that the history of ancient India is almost exclusively mythic and legendary,—the ancient Hindûs never possessed any true 'historical sense.' Now one merit of the 'Hindû period' of Mr. ELPHINSTONE'S History is, that he endeavours to avoid, as far as possible, all legendary details, and to confine himself to those authentic fragments of information, which can be gathered up from still existing monuments, as those of

Asóka, or such indirect native sources as Manu's Institutes, or the accounts of foreign visitors, as the Greeks. His 'Hindú period' almost entirely ignores the gigantic visions of Paurânik mythology: but its four books, though nearly bare of the information which scholars might expect to find, as to the scattered hints which may possibly be extracted from the unhistorical native literature, yet contain a mass of authentic facts, which are just what the general reader requires. Another charm of the book is the spirit of genuine hearty sympathy with and appreciation of the native character which runs through the whole, and the absence of which is one of the main blemishes in Mr. MILL's eloquent work.

The 'Mahometan period' is of a very different character. Here we have authentic contemporary records,—we deal with flesh and blood, not shadows; and Mr. ELPHINSTONE's History, in its clear despatch-like narrative, has always seemed to me to possess, in no small degree, some of those characteristics which we all admire in Mr. GROTE's History of Greece. The author had been so long engaged in Indian politics, that he could at once enter into and unravel all those endless details which render Asiatic history so confused and difficult;* and I question whether this portion of his History will ever be superseded.

For the 'Hindú period' Mr. ELPHINSTONE availed himself of all the sources then at his command; but the study of Sanskrit is making such continual strides (particularly as regards the Vedas), that we may expect, before many years, to see light thrown on several points which he omits altogether, or leaves obscure. At present, how-

* Compare Hallam's complaint, in his 'Middle Ages,' vol. ii. ch. 6.

ever, our knowledge is in a transition state,—we can more easily see that a given view is erroneous than substitute a better in its place; and it seems to me that it would be premature, as yet, to rewrite this portion. Ere long the Vaidik literature will have been thoroughly studied and made accessible,—the laws of Manu will have been compared with the older Grihya and other Sútras, which were probably their original source; and the 'Hindú period' will then admit of being treated on a broader plan, and in fuller detail.

ELPHINSTONE'S History is now a standard text-book in the examinations of the Indian Civil Service at home, and the Universities in India, and a new edition was wanted to meet the present demand. As so much advance has been made of late in Oriental studies generally, and so many new sources of information have been opened since the first edition was published in 1839, it has been deemed advisable to add a few notes, especially where new facts could be adduced. I have endeavoured to keep them as few and brief as possible; but at the end of the 'Hindu period' I have added a few appendices on some of the more important points omitted by the author,—more especially on the details as to mediæval India supplied by the Chinese Buddhist travellers. Some account of these last seemed required to complete Mr. ELPHINSTONE'S own plan,—viz., to compare the state of the Hindus as described in Manu with their present condition, and to illustrate the changes by 'a view of the nation, at a particular point of the transition, from the accounts left to us by the Greeks.' I have tried to give, in the Ninth Appendix, a companion picture to that which the author has himself drawn in the Third.

I must not conclude without acknowledging, with sincere thanks, the kind assistance which I have received, in many difficulties, from Mr. EDWARD THOMAS and Dr. FITZEDWARD HALL.

E. B. C.

LONDON : *June* 27, 1866

PREFACE.

THE appearance of a new History of India requires some words of explanation.

If the ingenious, original, and elaborate work of Mr. MILL left some room for doubt and discussion, the able compositions since published by Mr. MURRAY and Mr. GLEIG may be supposed to have fully satisfied the demands of every reader.

But the excellence of Histories derived from European researches alone does not entirely set aside the utility of similar inquiries conducted under the guidance of impressions received in India; which, as they rise from a separate source, may sometimes lead to different conclusions.

Few are likely to take up this volume unless they are previously interested in the subject, and such persons may not be unwilling to examine it from a fresh point of view: if the result suggests no new opinions, it may at least assist in deciding on those contested by former writers.

In the choice of difficulties presented by the expression of Asiatic words in European letters, I have thought it best to follow the system of Sir W. Jones, which is used by all the English Asiatic Societies, as well as by Mr. Colebrooke, Professor Wilson, and various other writers. But as I do not, in general, attempt to express the aspirates, gutturals, or other sounds which are peculiar to Asiatic languages, I have not found it necessary to copy all the minutiæ of Sir W. Jones' orthography, or to distinguish particular consonants (as *k* and *c*), which in his system would represent very different sounds.

The following list will explain the powers given to each letter :—

A' as in far, farther.
A as *u* in sun, study; *o* in son, version; and *a* itself in unaccented syllables, as in collar, Persian.
E' as in there; or as *a* in dare.
E sometimes as in bell, then; but much more frequently the indistinct sound of *e* in her, murderer, &c.
I' as in machine, or as *ee* in deer.
I as in hit, imminent.
O' as in holy, alone.
O as in obey, symphony. It is the *ó* shortened (the other short *o*, as in hot, moss, is not known in Asiatic languages).
U' as in rude, true; or as the double *o* in pool, foolish.
U the same sound short, as in pull, fuller.
Y as in young, year.
W as in war, will.
Ei as in height; or as *i* in bite.
Eu as in Europe, feud.
Oi as in boil, joiner.
Ou (and au) as in house, sound.

The consonants are the same as in English: except that *g* is always hard, as in God, give; *ch* always as in church (not as in Christian, anchor); *s* always as in case, solstice (not like *z*, as in phrase); and *t* always as in tin, Latin (not like *sh*, as in nation).

In well-known words I have retained the usual spelling: as in Delhi (for Dilli or Dihli); Bombay (for Mumbái); Mysore (for Mahéswar or Máisúr). Where the corrupt names are only applied to particular persons and places, I have limited them in that manner. The famous rivers Indus and Ganges are so called; while others, bearing the same Indian names, are written Sind and Ganga: the Arabian prophet is Mahomet, but all others of the same Arabic name are Mohammed: Tamerlane is used in speaking of the Tartar conqueror, but Timúr on all other occasions.

There are other irregularities: gutturals and aspirates are sometimes used, and double consonants are put in some cases where the sound is single, as the double *t* in Attoc, which is pronounced as in matter; while, in general, double consonants are sounded separately, as in book-keeping, hop-pole, or drum-maker. In names with which I am not myself acquainted, I am obliged to take the spelling of the author by whom they are mentioned.*

* [I have corrected the spelling where it was evidently erroneous, as in Parts Rám for Parasu Rama, &c., and I have endeavoured (but not always successfully) to make *the system* uniform throughout the History.—Ed.]

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MAHOMETANS.

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HISTORY OF INDIA

INTRODUCTION.

INDIA is bounded by the Himálaya mountains, the river Indus, and the sea.

Boundaries and extent of India.

Its length from Cashmír to Cape Comorin is about 1900 British miles; and its breadth from the mouth of the Indus to the mountains east of the Brahmaputra considerably upwards of 1500 British miles.

It is crossed from east to west by a chain of mountains, called those of Vindhya, which extends between the twenty-third and twenty-fifth parallels of latitude, nearly from the desert north-west of Guzerát to the Ganges.

Natural divisions.

The country to the north of this chain is now called Hindostan, and that to the south of it, the Deckan.[1]

Hindostan and the Deckan.

Hindostan is composed of the basin of the Indus, that of the Ganges, the desert towards the Indus, and the high tract recently called Central India.[2]

Natural divisions of Hindostan.

The upper part of the basin of the Indus (now called the Panjáb) is open and fertile to the east of the Hydaspes, but rugged to the west of that river, and sandy towards the junction of the five rivers. After the Indus forms one stream, it flows

[1] The Mogul emperors fixed the Nerbadda for the limit of their provinces in those two great divisions, but the division of *the nations* is made by the Vindhya mountains. It is well remarked by Sir W. Jones and Major Rennell, that both banks of rivers in Asia are generally inhabited by the same community. The rule applies to Europe, and is as true of the Rhine or the Po as of the Ganges and the Nila. Rivers are precise and convenient limits for artificial divisions, but they are no great obstacles to communication; and, to form a natural separation between nations, requires the real obstructions of a mountain chain.

[2] ["Hindustán proper, contradistinguished from the southern peninsula and eastern India (*Dakshin* and *Púrb*), is the same with the Madhya Desa or central region: see Manu, ii. 21." (Colebrooke, *Trans. As. Soc.* i. 133.) Col. Tod (*ibid.*) defines it as lying between the Himálaya and Nerbadda, N. and S.; its eastern limit a line in the meridian of the source of that river at Amarakantak, passing through Pyayág and meeting the great northern chain; on the W. towards the Indus, it comprehends all the tracts within the limits of cultivation.—ED.]

through a plain between mountains and the desert, of which only the part within reach of its waters is productive. As it approaches the sea, it divides into several branches, and forms a fertile though ill-cultivated delta.

The basin of the Ganges (though many of the streams which water it have their rise in hilly countries, and though the central part is not free from diversity of surface) may be said on the whole to be one vast and fertile plain. This tract was the residence of the people who first figure in the history of India; and it is still the most advanced in civilization of all the divisions of that country.

A chain of hills, known in the neighbourhood by the name of Aravalli, is connected by lower ranges with the western extremity of the Vindhya mountains on the borders of Guzerát, and stretches up to a considerable distance beyond Ajmír, in the direction of Delhi; forming the division between the desert on the west and the central table-land. It would be more correct to say *the level* of the desert; for the south-eastern portion, including Jódpúr, is a fertile country. Except this tract, all between the Aravalli mountains and the Indus, from the Satlaj or Hysudrus on the north to near the sea on the south, is a waste of sand, in which are oases of different size and fertility, the greatest of which is round Jéssalmír. The narrow tract of Cach intervenes between the desert and the sea, and makes a sort of bridge from Guzerát to Sind.

Central India is the smallest of these four natural divisions. It is a table-land of uneven surface, from 1500 to 2500 feet above the sea, bounded by the Aravalli mountains on the west, and those of Vindhya on the south; supported on the east by a lower range in Bundelcand, and sloping gradually on the north-east into the basin of the Ganges. It is a diversified but fertile tract.

Natural divisions of the Deckan

The Vindhya mountains form the southern limit of Hindostan; but beyond them, separated by the deep valley of the Nerbadda, is a parallel chain called Injádri or Sátpúra, which must be crossed before we reach the next natural division in the valley of the Tapti. This small tract is low; but the rest of the Deckan is almost entirely occupied by a table-land of triangular form, about the level of that of Central India, supported on all sides by ranges of hills. The two longest ranges, which run towards the south, follow the form of the peninsula, and between them and the sea lies a low narrow tract, forming a sort of belt round the whole coast. The hills which support the table-land are called the Ghâts. The range

to the west is the highest and most marked; and the low tract beneath it narrowest and most rugged.

The table-land itself is greatly diversified in surface and fertility. Two parts, however, are strongly distinguished, and the limit between them may be marked by the Warda, from its source in the Injádri range, north-west of Nágpúr, to its junction with the Godáveri, and then by the joint rivers to the sea. All to the north and east of these rivers is a vast forest spotted with villages, and sometimes interrupted by cultivated tracts of considerable extent. To the south-west of the rivers, the country, though varied, is generally open and cultivated.

Guzerát and Bengal are regarded by the natives as neither included in Hindostan nor the Deckan; they differ greatly from each other, but each has a resemblance to the part of Hindostan which adjoins it.

Though the Deckan, properly speaking, includes all to the south of the Vindhya mountains, yet, in modern practice, it is often limited to the part between that chain and the river Kishna.

The superficial extent of India is estimated at 1,287,483 square miles. The population may be taken at 140,000,000; but this is the *present* population; in very early Hindú times it was certainly much less, and in later days probably much greater.[3] Superficial measurement and population of India.

[3] These estimates cannot pretend to accuracy. Hamilton (*Description of Hindostan*, i. 37) conjectured the number of square miles to be 1,250,000, and the population 134,000,000.

An official Report laid before the Committee of the House of Commons on Indian affairs, October 11, 1831, will (if certain blanks be filled up) make the extent in square miles 1,287,483, and the population 140,722,700. The following are the particulars:—

	Square Miles.		Population.
Bengal Lower provinces . . .	153,802		37,500,000
Bengal Upper provinces . . .	66,510		32,200,000
Bengal cessions from Berár . . .	85,700	(1.)	3,200,000
Total Bengal . . .	306,012		72,900,000
Madras	141,923		13,500,000
Bombay	64,938	(2.)	6,800,000
Total British possessions .	512,873		93,200,000
Allied States	614,610	(3.)	43,022,700
Ranjit Sing possessions in the Panjáb	60,000	(4.)	3,500,000
Sind	100,000		1,000,000
Total of all India .	1,287,483		140,722,700

The superficial extent of the British territories and those of the allies is given in the above Report; the former from actual survey, and the latter partly from survey and partly from computation.

The population of the British territories is also from the Report, and is founded on official estimates, except in the following instances, where I computed the numbers.

(1.) The cessions from Berár amount to

The population is very unequally distributed. In one very extensive district of Bengal Proper (Bardwán) it was ascertained to be 600 souls to the square mile.[4] In some forest tracts, 10 to the square mile might be an exaggeration.

Though the number of large towns and cities in India is remarkable, none of them are very populous. In their present state of decline, none exceed the population of second-rate cities in Europe. Calcutta, without its suburbs, has only 265,000 inhabitants; and not more than two or three of the others can have above 200,000 fixed population.[5]

Climate and seasons.

A tract, extending from 8° north latitude to 35,° and varying in height from the level of the sea to the summits of Himálaya, must naturally include the extremes of heat and cold; but on the general level of India within the great northern chain, the diversity is comparatively inconsiderable.

The characteristic of the climate, compared to that of Europe, is heat. In a great part of the country the sun is scorching for three months in the year;[6] even the wind is hot, the land is brown and parched, dust flies in whirlwinds, all brooks become

near 86,000 square miles; of these, 30,000 on the Nerbadda are comparatively well peopled; and I have allowed them 60 souls to the square mile. The remaining 56,000 are so full of forests, that I have only allowed 25 souls to the square mile.

(2.) For one district, under Bombay (the Northern Concan), the extent is given from survey, but without a guess at the population. I have allowed the same rate as that of the adjoining district (the Southern Concan), which is 100 to the square mile. It is probably too much, but the amount is so small as to make the error immaterial.

(3.) No estimate is given of the population of the allied states, some parts of which have 300 or 400 souls to the square mile, while others are nearly deserts. On consideration, I allow 70 souls to the square mile, which makes the population 43,022,700.

(4.) The area and population of Sind and the *population* of the Panjáb are taken from *Burnes's Travels*, ii. 286, and iii. 227. The *extent* of the Panjáb is little more than a guess, which I have hazarded, rather than leave the statement incomplete.

The extent of Europe is about 2,793,000 square miles, the population 227,700,000. ("Companion to the Almanack for 1829," from Walkenaer and Balbi.) If we deduct the 1,758,700 square miles in Russia, Sweden, and Norway, as proposed by Major Rennell, for the sake of comparison, we find the rest of Europe containing 1,035,300 square miles, and India 1,294,602, being nearly a third greater than Europe. But Europe, when freed from the northern wastes, has the advantage in population; for, after deducting Russia, Sweden, and Norway, about 60,518,000 souls, Europe has still 167,182,000 souls, and India only 140,000,000. [See App. VI.]

[4] Mr. Bayley, *Asiatic Researches*, xii. 549.

[5] For Calcutta see the Report of the House of Commons, October 11, 1831. For Benares, see *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. 474, 479, where it is stated that 200,000 constitutes the fixed population of the city and suburbs, and that 100,000 more may come in on the greatest occasions of pilgrimage.

[According to the census of May, 1850, the population of Calcutta was as follows (*Thornton's Gazetteer*):—

Europeans	6,233
Eurasians	4,615
Americans	892
Chinese	847
Asiatics	15,342
Hindús	274,335
Mahomedans	110,918
	413,182

But these numbers are by no means trustworthy.—ED.]

[6] The thermometer often rises above 100° during part of the hottest days. It has been known to reach 120.°

dry, small rivers scarcely keep up a stream, and the largest are reduced to comparatively narrow channels in the midst of vast sandy beds.

In winter, slight frost sometimes takes place for an hour or two about sunrise; but this is only in the parts of the country which lie far north, or are much elevated above the sea. At a low level, if towards the south, the greatest cold in winter is only moderate heat; and on an average of the whole of India, it is not much more than what is marked *temperate* on our thermometers; while the hottest time of the day even at that period rises above our *summer heat*. The cold, however, is much greater to the feelings than would be supposed from the thermometer. In the months which approach to neither extreme, the temperature is higher than in the heat of summer in Italy.

The next peculiarity in the climate of India is the periodical rainy season. The rains are brought from the Indian Ocean by a south-west wind (or monsoon, as it is called), which lasts from June to October. They are heaviest near the sea, especially in low countries, unless in situations protected by mountains. The coast of Coromandel, for instance, is sheltered from the south-west monsoon by the Ghâts and the table-land, and receives its supply of rain in October and November, when the wind blows from the north-east across the Bay of Bengal. The intenseness of the fall of rain can scarcely be conceived in Europe. Though it is confined to four months, and in them many days of every month, and many hours of every day, are fair, yet the whole fall of rain in India is considerably more than double that which is distributed over the whole twelve months in England.

The variations that have been mentioned divide the year into three seasons: the hot, the rainy, and the cold, or rather temperate, which last is a good deal longer than either the other two.

Natural productions.

The fertile soil and rich productions of India have long been proverbial.

Trees.

Its forests contain many timber-trees, among which the teak is, for ship building, and most other purposes, at least equal to the oak. The sâl is a lofty and useful timber-tree: sandal, ebony, and other rare and beautiful woods are found in different quantities, but often in profusion. Banyan-trees, cotton-trees,[1] sissoo (or blackwood-trees), mangoes, tamarinds, and other ornamental and useful trees are scattered over the

[1] This is not the low shrub which bears common cotton, but a lofty tree covered at one time with flowers of glowing crimson, and at another with pods, in which the seeds are encased in a substance resembling cotton, but lighter and more silky in its texture.

cultivated country.* The bábul (Mimosa Arabica, or gum-arabic-tree) with its sweet-scented yellow flower, grows in profusion, both in the woods and plains, as do two kinds of acacia and various other flowering trees. Mulberries are planted in great numbers, and are the means of furnishing a large supply of silk. The cocoa, palmyra, and other palms are common. The first of these yields a nut filled with a milky fluid, and lined with a thick coating of kernel, which is serviceable as food, and on account of the oil which is manufactured from it to a vast extent. The shell is used for cups and other vessels, some of which are in universal use. The thick husk, in which the nut is enveloped, is composed of fibres, which form a valuable cordage, and make the best sort of cable. The wood, though not capable of being employed in carpenter's work, is peculiarly adapted to pipes for conveying water, beams for broad but light wooden bridges, and other purposes, where length is more required than solidity. The bamboo, being hollow, light, and strong, is almost as generally useful: when entire, the varieties in its size make it equally fit for the lance of the soldier, the pole of his tent, or the mast which sustains the ensign of his chief; for the ordinary staff of the peasant, or for the rafter of his cottage. All scaffolding in India is composed of bamboos, kept together by ropes instead of nails. When split, its long and flexible fibre adapts it to baskets, mats, and innumerable other purposes; and when cut across at the joints, it forms a bottle often used for oil, milk, and spirits.

The wood of the palm is employed in the same manner as that of the cocoa-tree: its leaves also are used for the thatch, and even for the walls of cottages: while the sap, which it yields on incision (as well as that of the bastard date-tree), supplies a great proportion of the spirituous liquor consumed in India.

The mahua (a timber-tree of the size of an oak, which abounds in all the forests) produces a fleshy flower, from which also a great deal of spirit is distilled; while it is still more important as an article of food among the hill tribes. To return to the palms, another beautiful specimen bears a nut, which, mixed with the pungent and aromatic leaf of the bitel-vine, and the gum called catechu, is chewed by all classes throughout India. Sago is the produce of another kind of palm.

The mountains of Himálaya present a totally different vegetation. Pines, oaks, and other forest trees of Europe and Asia, rhododendrons, and many other magnificent shrubs, abound throughout the chain, often on a gigantic scale.

Pepper and cardamums grow in abundance on the western coast, and cinnamon in Ceylon: capsicum, ginger, cummin, coriander, turmeric, and various other spices are everywhere a common produce of the fields. We are indebted to India for many well-known aromatics, and the wildest hills are covered with a highly scented grass, the essential oil of which is supposed by some to have been the spikenard of the ancients. Many trees supply medicines—as camphor, cassia fistularis, aloes, &c.; others yield useful resins, gums, and varnishes. Spices, &c.

The woods are filled with trees and creepers, bearing flowers of every form and hue; while the oleander, gloriosa superba, and many other beautiful shrubs, grow wild in the open country. The lotus and water-lily float on the surface of the lakes and ponds; and there are many sweet-scented flowers, the perfume of which, though otherwise exquisite, is in general too powerful for Europeans.

Whole plains are covered with cotton, tobacco, and poppies for opium; even roses are grown, in some places, over fields of great extent, for atar and rose-water. Sugar-cane, though still more abundant, requires rich and well-watered spots, and is not spread over the face of the country like the productions just mentioned. Large tracts of land are given up to indigo, and many other more brilliant dyes are among the produce of the fields. Flax, mustard, sesamum, palma Christi, and other plants, yield an ample supply of oil, both for culinary and other purposes. Agricultural produce.

The principal food of the people of Hindostan is wheat, and in the Deckan jowár and bájra:[8] rice, as a general article of subsistence, is confined to Bengal and part of Behár, with the low country along the sea all round the coast of the Peninsula: in most parts of India it is only used as a luxury.[9] In the southern part of the table-land of the Deckan the body of the people live on a small and poor grain called rágí.[10]

Though these grains each afford the principal supply to particular divisions, they are not confined to their own tracts.

[8] Jowár (Holcus sorgum). It grows on a reedy stem to the height of 8 or 10 feet, and bears irregularly-shaped clusters of innumerable round grains, about twice as big as mustard seed. It is common all over the Levant, under the name of dúrra (or dourrah); and in Greece, where it is called kálamboki; there is likewise a coarse sort in Italy, called melica rossa, or sorgo rossa.

Bájra (Holcus spicatus) resembles a bulrush, the *head* being covered with a round grain, smaller, sweeter, and more nourishing than that of jowár.

[9] It was probably the circumstance of our early settlements in Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel that led to the common opinion that rice is the general food of India.

[10] Cynosurus coracanus.

Bájra and jowár are almost as much consumed as wheat in Hindostan, and are grown, though in a less degree, in the rice-countries; wheat is not uncommon in the Deckan, and is sown in the rice-countries; rice is more or less raised all over India in favourable situations, as under hills, or where a great command of water is obtained by artificial means.

Barley is little eaten, and oats till lately were unknown; but there are several smaller sorts of grain, such as millet, panicum Italicum, and other kinds for which we have no name. Maize is a good deal grown for the straw; and the heads, when young and tender, are toasted and eaten as a delicacy by the villagers; but I doubt if the grain is ever made into bread.

There are many kinds of pulse, of which there is a very great consumption by people of all ranks; and a variety of roots and vegetables,[11] which, with a large addition of the common spices, form the ordinary messes used by the poor to give a relish to their bread. Many fruits are accessible to the poor; especially mangoes, melons, and water-melons, of which the two last are grown in the wide beds of the rivers during the dry weather. Gourds and cucumbers are most abundant. They are sown round the huts of the poor, and trailed over the roofs, so that the whole building is covered with green leaves and large yellow flowers. The mango, which is the best of the Indian fruits, is likewise by much the most common, the tree which bears it being everywhere planted in orchards and singly, and thriving without any further care. Plantains or bananas, guavas, custard-apples, jujubes, and other fruits of tropical climates, are also common.[12] Grapes are plentiful as a garden-fruit, but not planted for wine. Oranges, limes, and citrons are also in general use, and some sorts are excellent. Figs are not quite so general, but are to be had in most places, and in some (as at Púna, in the Deckan) they are perhaps the best in the world. Pine-apples are common everywhere, and grow wild in Pegu.[13]

Horses, camels, and working-cattle are fed on pulse.[14] Their

[11] As the egg plant or brinjal, the love apple or tomato, yams, sweet potatoes, carrots, radishes, onions, garlic, spinach, and many other sorts, wild and cultivated, known or unknown in Europe.

[12] One of the most remarkable, and in some places the most common, is the jack, an exceedingly rich and luscious fruit, which grows to the weight of sixty or seventy pounds, directly from *the trunk* of a tall forest tree.

[13] Several Chinese fruits have lately been introduced with success, and some European ones, of which the peach and strawberry are the only kinds that are completely naturalized. The apples are small and bad; and pears, plums, etc., do not succeed at all.

[14] In Hindostan it is a sort called channa, of which each pod contains a single pea on a low plant, from the leaves of which the natives make vinegar. It is the Cicer

forage is chiefly wheat-straw; and that of the jowár and bájra, which, being full of saccharine matter, is very nourishing. Horses get fresh grass dried in the sun; but it is only in particular places that hay is stacked.

There are in some places three harvests; in all two. Bájra, jowár, rice, and some other grains are sown at the beginning of the rains and reaped at the end. Wheat, barley, and some other sorts of grain and pulse ripen during the winter, and are cut in spring.

Elephants, rhinoceroses, bears, and wild buffaloes are confined to the forests. Tigers, leopards, panthers, and some other wild beasts are found there also, but likewise inhabit patches of underwood, and even of high grain, in the cultivated lands. This is also the case with wild boars, hyenas, wolves, jackals, and game of all descriptions, in the utmost abundance. Lions are only found in particular tracts. Great numbers of many sorts of deer and antelopes are met with in all parts. Monkeys are numerous in the woods, in the cultivated country, and even in towns. Porcupines, ichneumons, a species of armadillo, iguanas, and other lizards, are found in all places; as are serpents and other reptiles, noxious or innocent, in abundance. Animals.

There are horses in plenty, but they are only used for riding. For every sort of draught (ploughs, carts, guns, native chariots, &c.), and for carriage of all sorts of baggage and merchandise, almost the whole dependence is on oxen. The frequency of rugged passes in some parts, and the annual destruction of the roads by the rains in others, make the use of pack-cattle much greater than that of draught-cattle, and produce those innumerable droves which so often choke up the travellers' way, as they are transporting grain, salt, and other articles of commerce from one province to another.

Camels, which travel faster, and can carry more bulky loads, are much employed by the rich, and are numerous in armies. Elephants are also used, and are indispensable for carrying large tents, heavy carpets, and other articles which cannot be divided. Buffaloes are very numerous, but they are chiefly kept for milk, of which great quantities (in various preparations) are consumed:[15] they are not unfrequently put in carts, are used for ploughing in deep and wet soils, and more rarely for carriage.

aristinum of botanists, and exactly the Cece of Italy. In the Deckan the pulse used is cúlti, a small hard pea, which must be boiled before it is eaten, even by animals.

[15] The commonest of these are clarified butter (ghí) and a sort of acid curd (dahí), which is called yourt in the Levant. Cheese is scarcely known, and butter never used in its natural state.

Sheep are as common as in European countries, and goats more so. Swine are kept by the lowest casts; poultry are comparatively scarce, in small villages at least, from the prejudice of the Hindús against fowls; but the common fowl is found wild in great numbers, and resembles the bantam kind. The peacock also is common in a wild state. White cranes and egrettes are extremely numerous throughout the year; and grey cranes, wild geese, snipes, ortolans, and other birds of passage, come in incredible numbers at their season. Eagles are found in some places, as are various kinds of falcons. Vultures are very common, and kites beyond number. Most English birds are common (except singing-birds); besides parrots, or rather peroquets, and various birds of splendid plumage, for which we have not even names.

Fish is abundant, and is a great article of food in Bengal, and some other countries.

Crocodiles are often seen both in rivers and large ponds.

Minerals. None of the minerals of India have attracted attention except diamonds and iron. The steel of India was in request with the ancients:* it is celebrated in the oldest Persian poem, and is still the material of the scimitars of Khorásán and Damascus. The inferior stones—opals, amethysts, garnets, chrysolites, beryls, cornelians, agates, &c., are found in considerable quantities. Most of the pearls in the world, and all the best, are taken up from beds near Ceylon. Rock-salt is found in a range of mountains in the Panjáb; and salt is made in large quantities from the water of the Sámber Lake in Ajmír, and from that of the sea. Saltpetre is so abundant as to supply many other countries.

The conformation of the countries and the peculiarities of climate and season have great effect on military operations in India. The passes through the chains of hills that intersect the country regulate the direction of the roads, and often fix the fields of battle. Campaigns are generally suspended during the rains, and resumed at the end of that season, when grain and forage are abundant. The site of encampments is very greatly affected by the supply of water, which must be easy of access to the thousands of cattle which accompany every army, chiefly for carriage. One party is often able to force his enemy into action by occupying the water at which he intended to halt. A failure of the periodical rains brings on all the horrors of famine.

* It is mentioned in the Talmud, (Avodáh Zárâh) as "parzelá Hindúâh."

HINDÚS.

BOOK I.

STATE OF THE HINDÚS AT THE TIME OF MENU'S CODE.

Preliminary observations.

As the rudest nations are seldom destitute of some account of the transactions of their ancestors, it is a natural subject of surprise that the Hindús should have attained to a high pitch of civilization without any work that at all approaches to the character of a history.[1]

The fragments which remain of the records of their transactions are so mixed with fable, and so distorted by a fictitious and extravagant system of chronology, as to render it hopeless to deduce from them any continued thread of authentic narrative.

No *date* of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no *connected* relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Mahometan conquest.[2]

But notwithstanding this remarkable failure in the annals of the early Hindús, there is no want of information regarding their laws, manners, and religion; which it would have been the most useful object of an account of their proceedings to teach; and if we can ascertain their condition at a remote period, and mark the changes that have since taken place, we shall lose very little of the essential part of their history.

A view of the religion of the Hindús is given, and some light is thrown on their attainments in science and philosophy, by the Védas, a collection of ancient hymns and prayers which are supposed to have been reduced to their present form in the fourteenth century before the Christian era; but the first complete picture of the state of society is afforded by the code of laws which bears

[1] The history of Cashmír scarcely forms an exception. Though it refers to earlier writings of the same nature, it was begun more than a century after the Mahometan conquest of Cashmír: even if it were ancient, it is the work of a small sequestered territory on the utmost borders of India, which, by the accounts contained in the history itself, seems to have been long liable to be affected by foreign manners; and the example seems never to have been followed by the rest of the Hindús.

[2] [It is most important for the reader to bear this sentence in mind, during the whole of the "Hindú period." It is only at those points when other nations came into contact with the Hindús, that we are able to settle any details accurately.—Ed.]

the name of Menu, and which was probably drawn up in the ninth century before Christ.[3]

With that code, every history of the Hindús must begin. But to gain accurate notions even of the people contemporary with the supposed Menu, we must remember that a code is never the work of a single age, some of the earliest and rudest laws being preserved and incorporated with the improvements of the most enlightened times. To take a familiar example, there are many of the laws in Blackstone the existence of which proves a high state of refinement in the nation; but those relating to witchcraft and the wager of battle afford no corresponding proof of the continuance of barbarism down to the age in which the Commentaries were written.

Even if the whole code referred to one period it would not show the real state of manners. Its injunctions are drawn from the model to which it is wished to raise the community, and its prohibitions from the worst state of crime which it was possible to apprehend. It is to the general spirit of the code, therefore, that we must look for that of the age; and even then we must soften the features before we reach the actual condition of the people. I have adhered to the usual phraseology in speaking of this compilation; but, though early adopted as an unquestionable authority for the law, I should scarcely venture to regard it as a code drawn up for the regulation of a particular state under the sanction of a government. It seems rather to be the work of a learned man, designed to set forth his idea of a perfect commonwealth under Hindú institutions. On this supposition it would show the state of society as correctly as a legal code; since it is evident that it incorporates the existing laws, and any alterations it may have introduced, with a view to bring them up to its preconceived standard of perfection, must still have been drawn from the opinions which prevailed when it was written. These considerations being premised, I shall now give an outline of the information contained in Menu; and, afterwards, a description of the Hindús as they are to be seen in present times.

The alterations effected during the interval will appear from a comparison of the two pictures; and a view of the nation, at a particular point of the transition, will be afforded from the accounts which have been left to us by the Greeks.

[3] See Appendix I. "On the Age of Menu." [This date is quite unfounded,—see this, and some other questions connected with the code, discussed in the notes to App. I.—Ed.]

CHAPTER I.

DIVISION AND EMPLOYMENT OF CLASSES.

THE first feature that strikes us in the society described by Menu is the division into four classes[1] or casts (the sacerdotal, the military, the industrious, and the servile). In these we are struck with the prodigious elevation and sanctity of the Bramins, and the studied degradation of the lowest class.

The three first classes, though by no means equal, are yet admitted into one pale: they all partake in certain sacred rites, to which peculiar importance is attached throughout the code; and they appear to form the whole community for whose government the laws are framed. The fourth class and the outcasts are no further considered than as they contribute to the advantage of the superior casts.

A Bramin is the chief of all created beings; the world and all in it are his: through him, indeed, other mortals enjoy life;[2] by his imprecations he could destroy a king, with his troops, elephants, horses, and cars;[3] could frame other worlds and regents of worlds, and could give being to new gods and new mortals.[4] A Bramin is to be treated with more respect than a king.[5] His life and person are protected by the severest laws in this world,[6] and the most tremendous denunciations for the next.[7] He is exempt from capital punishment, even for the most enormous crimes.[8] His offences against other classes are treated with remarkable lenity,[9] while all offences against him are punished with tenfold severity.[10] Bramins.

Yet it would seem, at first sight, as if the Bramins, content with gratifying their spiritual pride, had no design to profit by worldly wealth or power. The life prescribed to them is one of laborious study, as well as of austerity and retirement.

The first quarter of a Bramin's life he must spend as a student;[11] during which time he leads a life of abstinence and humiliation. His attention should be unremittingly directed to the Védas, and

[1] The word *class* is adopted here, as being used in Sir W. Jones's translation of Menu; but *cast* is the term used in India, and by the old writers on that country. It is often written *caste* in late books, and has sometimes been mistaken for an Indian word, but it is an English word, found in Johnson's Dictionary, and derived from the Spanish or Portuguese, – casta, a breed.

[2] Ch. i. 96, 100, 101.

[3] Ch. ix. 313.

[4] Ch. ix. 315.

[5] Ch. ii. 139.

[6] Ch. ix. 232, and viii. 281—283.

[7] Ch. xi. 205—208, and iv. 165—169.

[8] Ch. viii. 380.

[9] Ch. viii. 276, 378, 379.

[10] Ch. viii. 272, 283, 325, 377, and xi. 205, 206.

[11] Ch. ii. 175—210.

should on no account be wasted on worldly studies. He should treat his preceptor with implicit obedience, and with humble respect and attachment, which ought to be extended to his family. He must perform various servile offices for his preceptor, and must labour for himself in bringing logs and other materials for sacrifice, and water for oblations. He must subsist entirely by begging from door to door.[12]

For the second quarter of his life, he lives with his wife and family, and discharges the ordinary duties of a Bramin. These are briefly stated to be, reading and teaching the Védas; sacrificing and assisting others to sacrifice; bestowing alms, and accepting gifts.

The most honourable of these employments is teaching.[13] It is remarkable that, unlike other religions, where the dignity of the priesthood is derived from their service at the temples, a Bramin is considered as degraded by performing acts of worship or assisting at sacrifices, as a profession.[14] All Bramins are strongly and repeatedly prohibited from receiving gifts from low-born, wicked, or unworthy persons.[15] They are not even to take many presents from unexceptionable givers, and are carefully to avoid making it a habit to accept of unnecessary presents.[16] When the regular sources fail, a Bramin may, for a mere subsistence, glean, or beg, or cultivate, or even (in case of extreme necessity) he may trade; but he must in no extremity enter into service; he must not have recourse to popular conversation, must abstain from music, singing, dancing, gaming, and generally from everything inconsistent with gravity and composure.[17]

He should, indeed, refrain from all sensual enjoyments, should avoid all wealth that may impede his reading the Védas,[18] and should shun all worldly honour as he would shun poison.[19] Yet he is not to subject himself to fasts, or other needless severities.[20] All that is required is, that his life should be decorous, and occupied in the prescribed studies and observances. Even his dress is laid down with minuteness; and he may easily be figured (much as learned Bramins are still), quiet and demure, clean and decent, "his hair and beard clipped, his passions subdued, his mantle white, and his body pure;" with a staff and a copy of the Védas in his hands, and bright golden rings in his ears.[21] When he has paid the three debts, by reading the scrip-

[12] These rules are now observed by professed students only—if by them.
[13] Ch. x. 75, 76, 85.
[14] Ch. iii. 180, and iv. 205. A feeling which still subsists in full force.
[15] Ch. iv. 84; x. 109, 110, 111; xi. 194—197.
[16] Ch. iv. 186.
[17] Ch. iv. 63, 64.
[18] Ch. ii. 162.
[19] Ch. iv. 16, 17.
[20] Ch. iv. 34.
[21] Ch. iv. 35, 36.

tures, begetting a son, and performing the regular sacrifices, he may (even in the second portion of his life) make over all to his son, and remain in his family house, with no employment but that of an umpire.[22]

The third portion of a Bramin's life he must spend as an anchorite in the woods. Clad in bark, or in the skin of a black antelope, with his hair and nails uncut, sleeping on the bare earth, he must live "without fire, without a mansion, wholly silent, feeding on roots and fruit." He must also submit to many and harsh mortifications, expose himself, naked, to the heaviest rains, wear humid garments in winter, and in summer stand in the midst of five fires under the burning sun.[23] He must carefully perform all sacrifices and oblations, and consider it his special duty to fulfil the prescribed forms and ceremonies of religion.

In the last period of his life, the Bramin is nearly as solitary and abstracted as during the third. But he is now released from all forms and external observances: his business is contemplation: his mortifications cease. His dress more nearly resembles that of ordinary Bramins; and his abstinence, though still great, is not so rigid as before. He is no longer to invite suffering, but is to cultivate equanimity and to enjoy delight in meditation on the Divinity; till, at last, he quits the body "as a bird leaves the branch of a tree at its pleasure."[24]

Thus it appears that, during three-fourths of a Bramin's life, he was entirely excluded from the world, and, during the remaining fourth, besides having his time completely occupied by ceremonies, and in reading the Védas, he was expressly debarred from the enjoyment of wealth or pleasure and from the pursuit of ambition. But a little further acquaintance with the code makes it evident that these rules are founded on a former condition of the Bramins; and that, although still regarded as the model for their conduct, they had already been encroached on by the temptations of power and riches.

The King must have a Bramin for his most confidential counsellor;[25] and by Bramins is he to be instructed in policy as well as in justice and all learning.[26] The whole judicial authority (except that exercised by the King in person) is in the hands of Bramins;[27] and, although the perusal of the sacred writings is not withheld from the two nearest classes,[28] yet the sense of them is only to be obtained through the exposition of a Bramin.[29]

[22] Ch. iv. 257.
[23] Ch. vi. 1—29. [Rather "four fires."—ED.]
[24] Ch. vi. 33, to the end.
[25] Ch. vii. 58.
[26] Ch. vii. 43.
[27] Ch. viii. 1, 9, 10, 11, and 60.
[28] Ch. x. 1.
[29] Ch. xii. 108—113.

The interpretation of the laws is expressly confined to the Bramins; and we can perceive, from the code itself, how large a share of the work of legislation was in the hands of that order.

The property of the sacred class is as well protected by the law as its power. Liberality to Bramins is made incumbent on every virtuous man,[30] and is the especial duty of a King.[31] Sacrifices and oblations, and all the ceremonies of religion, involve feasts and presents to the Bramins,[32] and those gifts must always be liberal: "the organs of sense and action, reputation in this life, happiness in the next, life itself, children, and cattle, are all destroyed by a sacrifice offered with trifling gifts to the priests."[33] Many penances may be commuted for large fines, which all go to the sacred class.[34] If a Bramin finds a treasure, he keeps it all; if it is found by another person, the King takes it, but must give one half to the Bramins.[35] On failure of heirs, the property of others escheats to the King, but that of Bramins is divided among their class.[36] A learned Bramin is exempt from all taxation, and ought, if in want, to be maintained by the King.[37]

Stealing the gold of Bramins incurs an extraordinary punishment, which is to be inflicted by the King in person, and is likely, in most cases, to be capital.[38] Their property is protected by many other denunciations; and for injuring their cattle, a man is to suffer amputation of half his foot.[39]

The military class, though far from being placed on an equality with the Bramins, is still treated with honour. It is indeed Cshatriyas. acknowledged that the sacerdotal order cannot prosper without the military, or the military without the sacerdotal; and that the prosperity of both in this world and the next depends on their cordial union.[40]

The military class enjoys, in a less degree, with respect to the Veisyas, the same inequality in criminal law that the Bramin possesses in respect to all the other classes.[41] The King belongs to this class, as probably do all his ordinary ministers.[42] The command of armies and of military divisions, in short, the whole military profession, and in strictness all situations of

[30] Ch. xi. 1–6, and iv. 226–235.
[31] Ch. vii. 83–86.
[32] Ch. iii. 123–146, especially 138, 143.
[33] Ch. xi. 39, 40. Priest is the word used by Sir W. Jones throughout his translation; but as it has been shown that few Bramins performed the public offices of religion, some other designation would have been more appropriate.
[34] Ch. xi. 117, 128–139.
[35] Ch. viii. 37, 38. [36] Ch. ix. 188, 189.
[37] Ch. vii. 133, 134.
[38] Ch. viii. 314–316, and xi. 101.
[39] Ch. viii. 325. [40] Ch. ix. 322.
[41] Ch. viii. 267, 268. [42] Ch. vii. 54.

command, are also their birthright. It is indeed very observable, that even in the code drawn up by themselves, with the exception of interpreting the law, no interference in the executive government is ever allowed to Bramins.

The duties of the military class are stated to be, to defend the people, to give alms, to sacrifice, to read the Védas, and to shun the allurements of sensual gratification.[43]

The rank of Veisyas is not high; for where a Bramin is enjoined to show hospitality to strangers, he is directed to show benevolence, *even to a merchant*, and to give him food at the same time with his domestics.[44] Veisyas.

Besides largesses, sacrifice, and reading the Védas, the duties of a Veisya are to keep herds of cattle, to carry on trade, to lend at interest, and to cultivate the land.[45]

The practical knowledge required from a Veisya is more general than that of the other classes; for in addition to a knowledge of the means of breeding cattle, and a thorough acquaintance with all commodities and all soils, he must understand the productions and wants of other countries, the wages of servants, the various dialects of men, and whatever else belongs to purchase and sale.[46]

The duty of a Súdra is briefly stated to be to serve the other classes,[47] but it is more particularly explained in different places that his chief duty is to serve the Bramins;[48] and it is specially permitted to him, in case of want of subsistence and inability to procure service from that class, to serve a Cshatriya; or if even that service cannot be obtained, to attend on an opulent Veisya.[49] It is a general rule that, in times of distress, each of the classes may subsist by the occupations allotted to those beneath it, but must never encroach on the employments of those above it. A Súdra has no class beneath him; but, if other employments fail, he may subsist by handicrafts, especially joinery and masonry, painting and writing.[50] Súdras.

A Súdra may perform sacrifices with the omission of the holy texts;[51] yet it is an offence requiring expiation for a Bramin to assist him in sacrificing.[52] A Bramin must not read the Véda, even to himself, in the presence of a Súdra.[53] To teach him the

[43] Chap. i. 89.
[44] Ch. i. 90.
[45] Ch. i. 91.
[46] Ch. x. 121.
[47] Ch. x. 99, 100. I do not observe in Menu the permission which is stated to be somewhere expressly given to a Súdra to become a trader or a husbandman. (Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, v. 63.) Their employment in husbandry, however, is now so common, that most people conceive it to be the special business of the cast.
[48] Ch. iii. 112.
[49] Ch. ix. 329—332.
[50] Ch. ix. 334.
[51] Ch. x. 127, 128.
[52] Ch. x. 109, 110, 111, and xi. 42, 43.
[53] Ch. iv. 99.

law, or to instruct him in the mode of expiating sin, sinks a Bramin into the hell called Asamvrita.

It is even forbidden to give him temporal advice.[54] No offence is more repeatedly or more strongly inveighed against than that of a Bramin receiving a gift from a Súdra: it cannot even be expiated by penance, until the gift has been restored.[55] A Bramin, starving, may take dry grain from a Súdra, but must never eat meat cooked by him. A Súdra is to be fed by the leavings of his master, or by his refuse grain, and clad in his worn-out garments.[56] He must amass no wealth, even if he has the power, lest he become proud, and give pain to Bramins.[57]

If a Súdra use abusive language to one of a superior class, his tongue is to be slit.[58] If he sit on the same seat with a Bramin, he is to have a gash made on the part offending.[59] If he advise him about his religious duties, hot oil is to be dropped into his mouth and ears.[60]

These are specimens of the laws, equally ludicrous and inhuman, which are made in favour of the other classes against the Súdras.

The proper name of a Súdra is directed to be expressive of contempt,[61] and the religious penance for killing him is the same as for killing a cat, a frog, a dog, a lizard, and various other animals.[62]

Yet, though the degraded state of a Súdra be sufficiently evident, his precise civil condition is by no means so clear. Súdras are universally termed the *servile* class; and, in one place, it is declared that a Súdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude, "for," it is added, "of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?"[63]

Yet every Súdra is not necessarily the slave of an individual; for it has been seen that they are allowed to offer their services to whom they please, and even to exercise trades on their own account: there is nothing to lead to a belief that they are the slaves of the state; and, indeed, the exemption of Súdras from the laws against emigration,[64] shows that no perfect right to their services was deemed to exist anywhere.

Their right to property (which was denied to slaves[65]) is admitted in many places:[66] their persons are protected, even

[54] Ch. iv. 80, 81.
[55] Ch. xi. 194—197, and x. 111.
[56] Ch. x. 125. [57] Ch. x. 129.
[58] Ch. viii. 270. [59] Ch. viii. 281.
[60] Ch. viii. 272. [61] Ch. ii. 31.
[62] Ch. xi. 131, 132. [63] Ch. viii. 414.
[64] Ch. ii. 24. [65] Ch. viii. 416.
[66] For one instance, ch. ix. 157.

against their master, who can only correct them in a manner fixed by law, and equally applicable to wives, children, pupils, and younger brothers.[67] That there were some Súdra slaves is indisputable; but there is every reason to believe that men of the other classes were also liable to fall into servitude.

The condition of Súdras, therefore, was much better than that of the public slaves under some ancient republics, and, indeed, than that of the villains of the middle ages, or any other servile class with which we are acquainted.[68]

Though the line between the different classes was so strongly marked, the means taken to prevent their mixture do not seem to have been nearly so much attended to as in after times. The law in this respect seems rather dictated by jealousy of the honour of the women of the upper classes than by regard for the purity of descents. Mixture of classes.

Men of the three first classes are freely indulged in the choice of women from any inferior cast,[69] provided they do not give them the first place in their family.[70] But no marriage is permitted with women of a higher class: criminal intercourse with them is checked by the severest penalties;[71] and their offspring is degraded far below either of its parents.[72] The son of a Bramin, by a woman of the class next below him, takes a station intermediate between his father and mother;[73] and the daughters of such connexions, if they go on marrying Bramins for seven generations, restore their progeny to the original

[67] Ch. viii. 299, 300.

[68] ["The condition of a Súdra in the Hindú system was infinitely preferable to that of the helot, the slave, or the serf of the Greek, the Roman, and the feudal systems. He was independent, his services were optional; they were not agricultural, but domestic and personal, and claimed adequate compensation. He had the power of accumulating wealth, or injunctions against his so doing would have been superfluous. He had the opportunity of rising to rank, for the Puránas record dynasties of Súdra kings; and even Manu notices their existence. He might to a certain extent study and teach religious knowledge ('a believer in Scripture may receive pure knowledge, even from a Súdra:' Manu, ii. 238), and he might perform religious acts. 'As a Súdra, without injuring another man, performs the lawful acts of the twice-born, even thus, without being censured, he gains exaltation in this world, and the next.' Manu, x. 128. See also 121—131, and Vishnu Puráṇa, p. 292, and note.

"No doubt the Súdra was considered in some degree the property of the Bráhman, but he had rights and privileges, and freedom, much beyond any other of the servile classes of antiquity." *Mill* (Wilson, *note*,) i. 194.

At Yudhishthira's inauguration, as described in the Mahabhárata, we find that, although the principal guests are Brahmans and warriors, "the invitations are extended to respectable Vaisyas and to Súdras universally; the agricultural and servile classes thus having their due consideration, even at a ceremonial of a religious as well as of a political tendency." At the actual sacrifice, however, no Súdras were present. See Wilson, Journ. R. A. S. vol. vii. p. 138. ED.]

[69] Ch. iii. 238—240, and iii. 13.

[70] Ch. iii. 14—19.

[71] Ch. viii. 366, 374—377.

[72] Ch. x. 11—19. [73] Ch. x. 6.

purity of the sacerdotal class;[74] but the son of a Súdra by a Bramin woman is a Chandála, "the lowest of mortals,"[75] and *his* intercourse with women of the higher classes produces "a race more foul than their begetter."[76]

The classes do not seem to have associated at their meals even in the time of Menu; and there is a striking contrast between the cordial festivity recommended to Bramins with their own class, and the constrained hospitality with which they are directed to prepare food *after the Bramins* for a military man coming as a guest.[77] But there is no *prohibition* in the code against eating with other classes, or partaking of food cooked by them (which is now the great occasion for loss of cast), except in the case of Súdras; and even then the offence is expiated by living on water-gruel for seven days.[78]

Loss of cast seems, in general, to have been incurred by crimes, or by omitting the prescribed expiations for offences.

It is remarkable that, in the four classes, no place is assigned to artisans: Súdras, indeed, are permitted to practise mechanic trades during a scarcity of other employment, but it is not said to whom the employment regularly belongs. From some of the allotments mentioned in Chap. X. it would appear that the artisans were supplied, as they are now, from the mixed classes: a circumstance which affords ground for surmise that the division into casts took place while arts were in too simple a state to require separate workmen for each; and also that many generations had elapsed between that division and the code to allow so important a portion of the employments of the community to be filled by classes formed subsequently to the original distribution of the people.

CHAPTER II.

GOVERNMENT.

The King

The government of the society thus constituted was vested in an absolute monarch. The opening of the chapter on government employs the boldest poetical figures to display the irresistible power, the glory, and almost the divinity of a King.[1]

He was subject, indeed, to no legal control by human autho-

[74] Ch. x. 64. [75] Ch. x. 12. [76] Ch. iii. 110—113. [77] Ch. xi. 153.
[78] Ch. x. 29, 30. All marriage with women of lower classes is now prohibited. [1] Ch. vii. 1—13.

rity; and, although he is threatened with punishment in one place,[2] and spoken of as subject to fine in another;[3] yet no means are provided for enforcing those penalties, and neither the councils nor the military chiefs appear to have possessed any constitutional power but what they derived from his will. He must, however, have been subject to the laws promulgated in the name of the Divinity; and the influence of the Bramins, both with him and with his people, would afford a strong support to the injunctions of the code.

Like other despots, also, he must have been kept within some bounds by the fear of mutiny and revolt.[4]

The object of the institution of a king is declared to be, to restrain violence and to punish evil-doers.

"Punishment wakes when guards are asleep."

"If a king were not to punish the guilty, the stronger would roast the weaker like fish on a spit."

"Ownership would remain with none; the lowest would overset the highest."[5]

The duties of a king are said generally to be, to act in his own domains with justice, chastise foreign foes with rigour, behave without duplicity to his friends, and with lenity to Bramins.[6] He is respectfully to attend to the Bramins, and from them to learn lessons of modesty and composure; from them, also, he is to learn justice, policy, metaphysics, and theology. From the people he is to learn the theory of agriculture, commerce, and other practical arts.[7]

He is to withstand pleasure, restrain his angry passions, and resist sloth.

He is to appoint seven ministers, or rather counsellors (who seem to be of the military class), and to have one learned Bramin distinguished above them all, in whom he is to repose his full confidence. He is to appoint other officers also, among whom the most conspicuous is the one called "the Ambassador,"[8] though he seems rather to be a minister for foreign affairs. This person, like all the others, must be of noble birth; and must be endued with great abilities, sagacity, and penetration. He should be honest, popular, dexterous in business,

Administration of the Government.

[2] Ch. vii. 27—29. [3] Ch. viii. 336.

[4] In the "Toy Cart," a drama written about the commencement of our era, the king is dethroned, for tyranny, by a cowherd; and in another drama, the "Uttara Rama Charitra," the great monarch Rama is compelled by the clamours of his people to banish his beloved queen. See WILSON's *Hindu Theatre*.

[5] Ch. vii. 13—26. [6] Ch. vii. 32.

[7] Ch. vii. 43.

acquainted with countries and with the times, handsome, intrepid, and eloquent.

The army is to be immediately regulated by a commander-in-chief; the actual infliction of punishment, by the officers of justice; the treasury and the country, by the king himself; peace and war, by the Ambassador.[8] The king was doubtless to superintend all those departments; but, when tired of overlooking the affairs of men, he might allow that duty to devolve on a well-qualified prime minister.[9]

His internal administration is to be conducted by a chain of civil officers, consisting of lords of single townships or villages, lords of 10 towns, lords of 100, and lords of 1000 towns.[10]

These are all to be appointed by the king, and each is to report all offences and disturbances to his immediate superior.

The compensation of a lord of one town is to be the provisions and other articles to which the king is entitled from the town; that of a lord of 2 villages, 10 ploughs of land; the lord of 100 is to have the land of a small village; and of 1000, that of a large town.[11]

These officers are all to be under the inspection of superintendents of high rank and great authority. There is to be one in every large town or city; and on them it depends to check the abuses to which the officers of districts (it is said) are naturally prone.[12]

The country is also to be partitioned into military divisions, in each of which is to be a body of troops, commanded by an approved officer,[13] whose territorial limits do not necessarily correspond with those of any of the civil magistrates.

Revenue

The revenue consists of a share of all grain and of all other agricultural produce; taxes on commerce; a very small annual imposition on petty traders and shopkeepers; and a forced service of a day in each month by handicraftsmen.[14]

The merchants are to be taxed on a consideration of the prime cost of their commodities, the expenses of travelling, and their net profits.

The following are the rates of taxation:—

On cattle, gems, gold, and silver, added each year to the

[8] Ch. vii. 54—69. [9] Ch. vii. 141.

[10] [The word used in Manu is *grâma*, explained in Wilson's Sanak. Dict. as "a village, a hamlet, an inhabited and unfortified place, in the midst of fields and meadow land, where men of the servile class mostly reside, and where agriculture thrives."—Ed.]

[11] [Ch. vii. 119.] In the first case the compensation is derived from the small fees in kind, which still form the remuneration of the village officers; in the other three cases, it consists of the King's share of the produce of the land specified.

[12] Ch. vii. 119-123. [13] Ch. vii. 114.

[14] Ch. vii. 137, 138.

capital stock, one-fiftieth; which in time of war or invasion may be increased to one-twentieth.

On grain, one-twelfth, one-eighth, or one-sixth, "according to the soil and the labour necessary to cultivate it."[15] This also may be raised, in cases of emergency, even as far as one-fourth; and must always have been the most important item of the public revenue.

On the clear annual increase of trees, flesh-meat, honey, perfumes, and several other natural productions and manufactures, one-sixth.[16]

The king is also entitled to 20 per cent. on the profit of all sales.[17] Escheats for want of heirs have been mentioned as being his, and so also is all property to which no owner appears within three years after proclamation.[18] Besides possessing mines of his own, he is entitled to half of all precious minerals in the earth.[19] He appears, likewise, to have a right of pre-emption on some descriptions of goods.[20]

It has been argued that, in addition to the rights which have just been specified, the king was regarded in the code as possessing the absolute property of the land. This opinion is supported by a passage (VIII. 39) where he is said to be "lord paramount of the soil;" and by another, where it is supposed to be directed that an occupier of land shall be responsible to the king if he fails to sow it (VIII. 243).

In reply to this it is urged, that the first quotation is deprived of its force by a similar passage (VII. 7), where the king is said to be "the regent of the waters and the lord of the firmament."

The second is answered by denying its correctness; but even if undisputed, it might only be a provision against the king's losing his share of the produce in consequence of the neglect of the proprietor. A text is also produced in opposition to the king's claim, in which it is stated that "land is the property of him who cut away the wood;" or, in the words of the commentator, "who tilled and cleared it" (IX. 44). But the conclusive argument is, that the king's share being limited, as above, to one-sixth, or at most one-fourth, there must have been another proprietor for the remaining five-sixths or three-fourths, who must obviously have had the greatest interest of the two in the whole property shared.[21]

[15] The words between inverted commas are an addition by the ancient commentator Culluca.

[16] Ch. vii. 127—132.

[17] Ch. viii. 398.

[18] Ch. viii. 30.

[19] Ch. viii. 39.

[20] Ch. viii. 399.

[21] The arguments in favour of individual proprietors are stated in Wilks's *History of Mysore*, i. ch. v., and Appendix, p. 483; and those in favour of the king in Mill's *History of British India*, i. 180.

It is remarkable, however, that so little allusion is made in the code to the property of individuals in land, although so many occasions seem to require it. It is directly mentioned in a passage about boundaries (VIII. 262-265), and in another place (IX. 49, 52-54) an argument is illustrated by supposing seed belonging to one man to be sown in land belonging to another; and in IV, 230, 233, gifts of land are spoken of as if in the power of individuals to confer them; but the last two passages may be construed to refer to villages, or to the king.

In the division of inheritances, and the rules about mortgages, in describing the wealth of individuals, and in disposing of the property of banished men, other possessions are mentioned, but land never alluded to.

Were it not for the passage first quoted (VIII. 262-265), we might conclude that all land was held in common by the village communities, as is still the case in many parts of India; and *this* may, perhaps, have been the general rule, although individuals may have possessed property by grants of land from the villages or of his share of the produce from the king.

The king is recommended to fix his capital in a fertile part of his dominions, but in an immediate neighbourhood difficult of access, and incapable of supporting invading armies.

The Court.

He should keep his fortress always well garrisoned and provisioned. In the centre should be his own palace, also defensible; "well finished, and brilliant, surrounded with water and trees." He is then to choose a queen distinguished for birth and beauty, and to appoint a domestic priest.[23]

He is to rise in the last watch of the night, and, after sacrifices, to hold a court in a hall decently splendid, and to dismiss his subjects with kind looks and words. This done, he is to assemble his council on a mountain or a terrace, in a bower or a forest, or other lonely place, without listeners; from which women and talking-birds are to be carefully removed.[24] He is then, after manly exercises and bathing, to dine in his private apartments, and this time and midnight are to be allotted to the regulation of his family, to considering appointments, and such other public business as is most of a personal nature.[25]

He is now, also, to give some time to relaxation; and then to review his troops, perform his religious duties at sunset, and afterwards to receive the reports of his emissaries. At length he withdraws to his most private apartments to supper; and, after indulging for some time in music, is to retire to rest.[26]

[23] Ch. vii. 69—78. [24] Ch. vii. 145—151. [25] Ch. vii. 216—225.

This rational and pleasing picture is broken by the mention of many of those precautions which must take from all the enjoyments of an Asiatic monarch. His food is only to be served by trustworthy persons, and is to be accompanied by antidotes against poison. He is to be armed when he receives his emissaries; even his female attendants are to be searched, for fear of hidden weapons; and, whether at home or abroad, he is to be constantly on his guard against the plots of his enemies.

Foreign policy and war are the subjects of many of the rules for government. These are interesting, from the clear proofs which they afford of the division of India, even at that early period, into many unequal and independent states; and also from the signs which they disclose of a civilized and gentle people. The king is to provide for his safety by vigilance and a state of preparation; but he is to act on all occasions without guile, and never with insincerity.[25] The arts which may be employed against enemies are four; presents, sowing divisions, negotiations, and force of arms: the wise, it is said, prefer the two last.[26] Policy.

The king is to regard his nearest neighbours and their allies as hostile, the powers next beyond these natural foes as amicable, and all more remote powers as neutral.[27] It is remarkable that, among the ordinary expedients to be resorted to in difficulties, the protection of a more powerful prince is more than once adverted to.[28]

Yet this protection appears to involve unqualified submission; and on the last occasion on which it is mentioned, the king is advised, if he thinks it an evil, even when in extremities, to persevere alone, although weak, in waging vigorous war without fear.[29]

Vast importance is attached to spies, both in foreign politics and in war. Minute instructions are given regarding the sort of persons to be employed, some of whom are of the same description that are now used in India,—active artful youths, degraded anchorets, distressed husbandmen, decayed merchants, and fictitious penitents.[30]

The rules of war are simple; and, being drawn up by Brahmins, they show nothing of the practical ability for which the Indians are often distinguished at present. War.

The plan of a campaign resembles those of the Greek republics

[25] Ch. vii. 103, 104.
[26] Ch. vii. 160.
[27] Ch. vii. 109.
[28] Ch. viii. 175, 176.
[29] Ch. vii. 158.
[30] Ch. vii. 154.

or the early days of Rome; and seems suited to countries of much less extent than those which now exist in India.

The king is to march when the vernal or autumnal crop is on the ground, and is to advance straight to the capital. In another place 100 bowmen in a fort are said to be a match for 10,000 enemies; so far was the art of attack behind that of defence: a siege, therefore, is out of the question; but, if not opposed, the king is to ravage the country, and intrigue with the enemy's chiefs, until he can bring his foe to an action on favourable terms,[31] or, what is still more desirable, bring him to terms by negotiation.

Armies were composed of cavalry and infantry. The great weapon of both was probably the bow, together with the sword and target. Elephants were much employed in war; and chariots seem still to have formed an important branch of the army.

Several different orders of march and battle are briefly given. The king is advised to recruit his forces from the upper parts of Hindostan, where the best men are still found.[32] He is in person to set an example of valour to his troops, and is recommended to encourage them, when drawn up for battle, with short and animated speeches.

Prize property belongs to the individual who took it; but when not captured separately, it is to be distributed among the troops.[33]

The laws of war are honourable and humane. Poisoned and mischievously barbed arrows, and fire arrows, are all prohibited. There are many situations in which it is by no means allowable to destroy the enemy. Among those who must always be spared are unarmed or wounded men, and those who have broken their weapon, and one who asks his life, and one who says, "I am thy captive." Other prohibitions are still more generous: a man on horseback or in a chariot is not to kill one on foot; nor is it allowed to kill one who sits down fatigued, or who sleeps, or who flees, or who is fighting with another man.[34]

The settlement of a conquered country is conducted on equally liberal principles. Immediate security is to be assured to all by proclamation. The religion and laws of the country are to be maintained and respected; and as soon as time has been allowed for ascertaining that the conquered people are to be trusted, a prince of the old royal family is to be placed on the throne, and

[31] Ch. vii. 181—197.

[32] ["Men born in Kurukshetra, the Matsyas, the inhabitants of Panchála and Surasena," (Manu, vii. 193,) i. e. the district near Delhi, Jaipur (?), Kanauj, and Mathura: cf. also ii. 19.—Ed.]

[33] Ch. vii. 96, 97.

[34] Ch. vii. 90—93.

to hold his kingdom as a dependence on the conqueror.[35]

It is remarkable that, although the pay of the King's household servants is settled with some minuteness,[36] not a syllable is said regarding that of the army, or the source from which its support is derived. The practice of modern Hindú nations would lead us to suppose that it was maintained by assignments of land to the chiefs; but, if that practice had existed at the time of the code, it is impossible that so important a body as those chiefs would have formed should not have been alluded to in discussing the internal administration; even if no rules were suggested for regulating their attendance, and for securing some portion of the King's authority over the lands thus alienated. It is possible that the army may have been paid by separate assignments of land to each individual soldier, in the same manner as the local troops of the small states in the south of India (which have been little visited by the Mahometans) are still; and this opinion derives some support from the payment of the civil officers having been provided for by such assignments.[37]

From one passage it would appear that the monarchy descended, undivided, to one son, probably (according to Hindú rule) to him whom his father regarded as most worthy.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

JUSTICE is to be administered by the King in person, assisted by Bramins and other counsellors;[1] or that function may General rules. be deputed to one Bramin, aided by three assessors of the same class.[2] There is no exception made for the conduct of criminal trials; but it may be gathered from the general tone of the laws, that the King is expected to take a more active share in this department than in the investigation of civil causes.

From the silence of the code regarding local administration, it may perhaps be inferred that the King's representative fills his place in the courts of justice, at towns remote from the royal residence.[3]

[35] Ch. vii. 201—203.
[36] Ch. vii. 126.
[37] See ch. vii. 119, already referred to.
[1] Ch. viii. 1, 2. [2] Ch. viii. 9—11.
[3] The early practice of the Hindús recorded in other books leaves this question in some uncertainty; for, in those books, it appears that there were local judges

The King is entitled to 5 per cent. on all debts admitted by the defendant on trial, and to 10 per cent. on all denied and proved.[4] This fee probably went direct to the judges, who would thus be remunerated without infringing the law against Bramins serving for hire.

A King or judge in trying causes is carefully to observe the countenances, gestures, and mode of speech of the parties and witnesses. He is to attend to local usages of districts, the peculiar laws of classes and rules of families, and the customs of traders: when not inconsistent with the above, he is to observe the principles established by former judges.

Neither he nor his officers are to encourage litigation, though they must show no slackness in taking up any suit regularly instituted.[5]

A King is reckoned among the worst of criminals who receives his revenue from his subjects without affording them due protection in return.[6]

The King is enjoined to bear with rough language from irritated litigants, as well as from old or sick people, who come before him.[7]

He is also cautioned against deciding causes on his own judgment, without consulting persons learned in the law;[8] and is positively forbidden to disturb any transaction that has once been settled conformably to law.[9] In trials he is to adhere to established practice.[10]

1. *Criminal Law.*

Criminal law.

The criminal law is very rude, and this portion of the code, together with the religious penances, leaves a more unfavourable impression of the early Hindús than any other part of the Institutes.

It is not, however, sanguinary, unless when influenced by superstition or by the prejudice of cast; and if punishments

appointed by the King in different parts of the country; and also a provision for arbitrations, to be authorized by the judges, in three gradations,—first, of kinsmen; secondly, of men of the same trade; and thirdly, of townsmen: an appeal from the first lying to the second, and from the second to the third. Appeals lay from all three to the local court, from that to the chief court at the capital, and from that to the King in his own court, composed of a certain number of judges, to whom were joined his ministers, and his domestic chaplain (who was to direct his conscience); but, though these might advise, the decision rested with the King. The precise date when this system was in perfection is not stated.—Colebrooke on the Hindú Courts of Judicature, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 156. [Wilson, in a note to Mill (vol. i. p. 213), assigns these regulations to "a period not long subsequent to the code of Manu, if not contemporary."—Ed.]

[4] Ch. viii. 139.
[5] Ch. viii. 41—46.
[6] Ch. viii. 307.
[7] Ch. viii. 312.
[8] Ch. viii. 390.
[9] Ch. ix. 233.
[10] Ch. viii. 45.

are, in some cases, too severe, in others they are far too lenient. Mutilation (chiefly of the hand) is among the punishments, as in all Asiatic codes. Burning alive is one of the inflictions on offenders against the sacerdotal order; but it is an honourable distinction from most ancient codes, that torture is never employed either against witnesses or criminals. But the laxness, confusion, and barbarism which pervade this branch of the law seem to prove that it was drawn from the practice of very early times; and the adoption of it at the time of the compilation of these Institutes shows an unimproved condition even then, though it is not unlikely that parts of it were early superseded by an arbitrary system more conformable to reason, as is the case in Hindú countries in modern times; and by no means improbable that the bloody laws in favour of religion and of the priesthood, though inserted in the code by the Bramin author, as the ideal perfection of a Hindú criminal law, may never have been acted on by any Cshatriya King.[11]

The punishments, though not always in themselves severe, are often disproportioned to the offence; and are frequently so indistinctly or contradictorily declared as to leave the fate of an offender quite uncertain.

Both these faults are conspicuous in the following instance:— Slaying a priest, drinking spirits, stealing the gold of a priest, and violating the bed of one's natural or spiritual father, are all classed under one head, and subject to one punishment.[12] That punishment is at first declared to be, branding on the forehead, banishment, and absolute exclusion from the society of mankind (unless previously expiated by penance,[13] in which case the highest fine is to be substituted for branding); and this is declared applicable to all the classes.[14] Yet it is immediately afterwards directed that, when expiation has been performed, a priest guilty of those offences shall pay the middle fine, and shall in no case be deprived of his effects or the society of his family; while it is pronounced that the other classes, even after expiation, shall, in case of premeditation, suffer death.[15]

Still more inconsistent are the punishments for adultery and what are called overt acts of adulterous inclination. Among these last are included, talking to the wife of another man at a place

[11] In the "Toy Cart," the earliest of the Hindú dramas, and written about the commencement of our era, this extravagant veneration for Bramins nowhere appears. The King sentences one of that class convicted of murder to be put to death; and though he is afterwards deposed by a successful rebellion, and although the Bramin's innocence is proved, this open defiance of the laws of Menu is not made a charge against the dethroned prince.

[12] Ch. ix. 235. [13] Ch. ix. 237.

[14] Ch. ix. 240. [15] Ch. ix. 241, 242.

of pilgrimage, or in a forest, or at the confluence of rivers; sending her flowers or perfumes; touching her apparel or her ornaments, and sitting on the same couch with her;[16] yet the penalty is banishment, with such bodily marks as may excite aversion.[17]

For adultery itself, it is first declared, without reserve, that the woman is to be devoured by dogs, and the man burned on an iron bed;[18] yet, in the verses next following, it appears that the punishment of adultery without aggravation is a fine of from 500 to 1000 panas.[19] The punishment, indeed, increases in proportion to the dignity of the party offended against. Even a soldier committing adultery with a Bramin woman, if she be of eminently good qualities, and properly guarded, is to be burned alive in a fire of dry grass or reeds.[20] These flat contradictions can only be accounted for by supposing that the compiler put down the laws of different periods, or those supported by different authorities, without considering how they bore on each other.

There is no express punishment for murder. From one passage[21] it would appear that it (as well as arson and robbery attended with violence) is capital, and that the slighter punishments mentioned in other places were in cases where there was no premeditation; but, as the murder of particular descriptions of persons is afterwards declared capital,[22] it remains doubtful what is the punishment for the offence in simple cases.

Theft is punished, if small, with fine; if of greater amount, with cutting off the hand; but if the thief be taken with the stolen goods upon him, it is capital.[23]

Receivers of stolen goods, and persons who harbour thieves, are liable to the same punishment as the thief.[24]

It is remarkable that, in cases of small theft, the fine of a Bramin offender is at least eight times as great as that of a Súdra, and the scale varies in a similar manner and proportion between all the classes.[25] A King committing an offence is to pay a thousand times as great a fine as would be exacted from an ordinary person.[26] Robbery seems to incur amputation of the limb principally employed. If accompanied with violence it is capital; and all who shelter robbers, or supply them with food or implements, are to be punished with death.

Forging royal edicts, causing dissensions among great min-

[16] Ch. viii. 356, 357.
[17] Ch. viii. 352.
[18] Ch. viii. 371, 372.
[19] Ch. viii. 376, 382—385.
[20] Ch. viii. 377.
[21] Ch. viii. 344—347.
[22] Ch. ix. 232.
[23] Ch. ix. 270.
[24] Ch. ix. 278.
[25] Ch. viii. 337, 338.
[26] Ch. viii. 336.

isters, adhering to the King's enemies, and slaying women, priests, or children, are put under one head as capital.[27]

Men who openly oppose the King's authority, who rob his treasury, or steal his elephants, horses, or cars, are liable to capital punishment; as are those who break into a temple to steal.[28]

For cutting purses, the first offence is cutting off the fingers, the second the hand, the third is capital.[29]

False evidence is to be punished with banishment accompanied by fine, except in case of a Bramin, when it is banishment alone.[30]

Banishment is likewise the sentence pronounced upon men who do not assist in repelling an attempt to plunder a town,[31] to break down an embankment, or to commit robbery on the highway.

Public guards, not resisting or apprehending thieves, are to be punished like the thieves.[32]

Gamesters and keepers of gaming-houses are liable to corporal punishment.[33]

Most other offences are punished by fines, though sometimes other punishments are substituted.

No fine must exceed 1000 panas, or fall short of 250.[34]

Defamation is confined to this sort of penalty, except with Súdras, who are liable to be whipped. It is to be observed, however, that this class is protected by a fine from defamation, even by a Bramin.[35]

Abusive language is still more distinguished for the inequality of punishments among the casts, but even in this branch of the law are traces of a civilized spirit. Men reproaching their neighbours with lameness, blindness, or any other natural infirmity, are liable to a small fine, even if they speak the truth.[36]

Assaults, if among equals, are punished by a fine of 100 panas for blood drawn, a larger sum for a wound, and banishment for breaking a bone.[37] The prodigious inequality into which the penalty runs between men of different classes has already been noticed.[38]

Proper provisions are made for injuries inflicted in self-defence; in consequence of being forcibly obstructed in the

[27] Ch. ix. 232. [28] Ch. ix. 280. [29] Ch. ix. 277. [30] Ch. viii. 120-123. [31] Ch. ix. 274. If this law does not refer to foreign enemies, it shows that gang robbery, now so well known under the name of *dacoity*, existed even when this code was compiled. [Cullúca explains it as referring to robbers, &c.—ED.] [32] Ch. ix. 272. [33] Ch. ix. 224. [34] Ch. viii. 138. [35] Ch. viii. 267-277. [36] Ch. viii. 274. [37] Ch. viii. 284. [38] P. 13.

execution of one's duty, or in defence of persons unjustly attacked.[39]

Furious and careless driving involves fines as different in degree as the loss occasioned by the death of a man and of the lowest animal.[40]

Persons defiling the highways are subject to a small fine, besides being obliged to remove the nuisance.[41]

Ministers taking bribes in private affairs are punished by confiscation of their property.[42]

The offences of physicians or surgeons who injure their patients for want of skill; breaking hedges, palisades, and earthen idols; mixing pure with impure commodities, and other impositions on purchasers, are all lumped up under a penalty of from 250 to 500 panas.[43] Selling bad grain for good, however, incurs severe corporal punishment;[44] and, what far more passes the limits of just distinction, a goldsmith guilty of fraud is ordered to be cut to pieces with razors.[45]

Some offences not noticed by other codes are punished in this one with whimsical disregard to their relative importance; forsaking one's parents, son, or wife, for instance, is punished by a fine of 600 panas; and not inviting one's next neighbour to entertainments on certain occasions, by a fine of one másha of silver.[46]

The rules of police are harsh and arbitrary. Besides maintaining patrols and fixed guards, open and secret, the King is to have many spies, who are to mix with the thieves, and lead them into situations where they may be entrapped. When fair means fail, the prince is to seize them and put them to death, with their relations: the ancient commentator, Cullúca, inserts, "on proof of their guilt, and the participation of their relations;" which, no doubt, would be a material improvement on the text, but for which there is no authority.[47]

Gamesters, public dancers, and singers, revilers of scripture, open heretics, men who perform not the duties of their several classes, and sellers of spirituous liquors, are to be instantly banished the town.[48]

2. *Civil Law.*

Civil law

The laws for civil judicature are very superior to the penal code, and, indeed, are much more rational and matured than could well be expected of so early an age.

[39] Ch. viii. 348, &c.
[40] Ch. ix. 231.
[41] Ch. ix. 292.
[42] Ch. ix. 225.
[43] Ch. viii. 290—298.
[44] Ch. ix. 284—287.
[45] Ch. vii. 389, 392.
[46] Ch. ix. 282, 283.
[47] Ch. ix. 291.
[48] Ch. ix. 252—269.

Cases are first stated in which the plaintiff is to be non-suited, or the decision to go by default[49] against the defendant; and rules then given in case the matter comes to a trial. Mode of proceeding.

The witnesses must be examined standing in the middle of the court-room, and in the presence of the parties. The judge must previously address a particular form of exhortation to them, and warn them in the strongest terms of the enormous guilt of false evidence, and the punishment with which it will be followed in a future state.[50] If there are no witnesses, the judge must admit the oaths of the parties.[51]

The law of evidence in many particulars resembles that of England: persons having a pecuniary interest in the cause, infamous persons, menial servants, familiar friends, with others disqualified on slighter grounds, are in the first instance excluded from giving testimony; but, in default of other evidence, almost every description of persons may be examined, the judge making due allowance for the disqualifying causes.[52] Law of evidence.

Two exceptions which disgrace these otherwise well-intentioned rules have attracted more attention in Europe than the rules themselves. One is the declaration that a giver of false evidence, for the purpose of saving the life of a man of whatever class, who may have exposed himself to capital punishment,[53] shall not lose a seat in heaven; and, though bound to perform an expiation, has, on the whole, performed a meritorious action.[54] The other does not relate to judicial evidence, but pronounces that, in courting a woman, in an affair where grass or fruit has been eaten by a cow, and in case of a promise made for the preservation of a Bramin, it is no deadly sin to take a light oath.[55]

From these passages it has been assumed that the Hindú law gives a direct sanction to perjury; and to this has been ascribed the prevalence of false evidence, which is common to men of all religions in India: yet there is more space devoted in this code to the prohibition of false evidence, than to that of any other crime, and the offence is denounced in terms as awful as have ever been applied to it in any European treatise either of religion or of law.[56]

[49] Ch. viii. 52—57. [50] Ch. viii. 79—101. [51] Ch. viii. 101. [52] Ch. viii. 61—72. [53] The ancient Commentator Culláca inserts, after "capital punishment," the words, "through inadvertence or error;" which proves that in his time the words of the text were repugnant to the moral feeling of the community. [54] Ch. viii. 103, 104. [55] Ch. viii. 112. [56] "Marking well all the murders comprehended in the crime of perjury, declare

A party advancing a wilfully false plea or defence is liable to a heavy fine: a judicious rule, which is pushed to absurdity in subjecting to corporal punishment a plaintiff who procrastinates the prosecution of his demand.[57] Appeals to ordeal are admitted, as might be expected in so superstitious a people.[58]

Mode of proceedings resumed.

The following statement of the principal titles of law implies an advanced stage of civilization, and would not, in itself, be deficient in clearness and good sense, if it were not for the mixture of civil and criminal suits:—1st, debt on loans for consumption; 2nd, deposits and loans for use; 3rd, sale without ownership; 4th, concerns among partners; 5th, subtraction of what has been given; 6th, non-payment of wages or hire; 7th, non-performance of agreements; 8th, rescission of sale and purchase; 9th, disputes between master and servant; 10th, contests on boundaries; 11th and 12th, assault and slander; 13th, larceny; 14th, robbery and other violence; 15th, adultery; 16th, altercation between man and wife, and their several duties; 17th, the law of inheritance; 18th, gaming with dice and with living creatures.[59] Some of these heads are treated of in a full and satisfactory manner, while the rules in others are meagre, and such as to show that the transactions they relate to were still in a simple state. I shall only mention a few of the most remarkable provisions under each head.

A creditor is authorized, before complaining to the court, to recover his property by any means in his power, resorting even to force within certain bounds.[60]

Debts.

This law still operates so strongly in some Hindú states, that a creditor imprisons his debtor in his private house, and even keeps him for a period without food and exposed to the sun, to compel him to produce the money he owes.

Interest varies from 2 per cent. per mensem for a Bramin to 5 per cent. for a Súdra. It is reduced one-half when there is a pledge, and ceases altogether if the pledge can be used for the profit of the lender.[61]

Interests of money.

There are rules regarding interest on money lent on bottomry

thou the whole truth with precision."—Ch. viii. 101

"Whatever places of torture have been prepared for the slayer of a priest, those places are ordained for a witness who gives false evidence."—Ch. viii. 89

"Naked and shorn, tormented with hunger and thirst, and deprived of sight, shall the man who gives false evidence go with a potsherd to beg food at the door of his enemy."—"Headlong, in utter darkness, shall the impious wretch tumble into hell, who, being interrogated on a judicial inquiry, answers one question falsely."—Ch. viii. 93, 94.

[57] Ch. viii. 58, 59. [58] Ch. viii. 114—116.
[59] Ch. viii. 4—7. [60] Ch. viii. 48—50
[61] Ch. viii. 140—143.

for sea voyages, and on similar risk by land; and others for preventing the accumulation of interest on money above the original amount of the principal.[62]

Various rules regarding sureties for personal appearance and pecuniary payments, as well as regarding contracts, are introduced under this head. Contracts.

Fraudulent contracts, and contracts entered into for illegal purposes, are null. A contract made, even by a slave, for the support of the family of his absent master, is binding on the master.[63]

A sale by a person not the owner is void, unless made in the open market; in that case it is valid if the purchaser can produce the seller, otherwise the right owner may take the property on paying half the value.[64] Sale without ownership.

A trader breaking his promise is to be fined; or, if it was made on oath, to be banished.[65]

A sale may be unsettled by either party within ten days after it is made, but not later.[66]

Disputes between master and servant refer almost entirely to herdsmen and their responsibilities about cattle.[67] Disputes between master and servant.

Boundaries of villages are to be marked by natural objects, such as streams, or by planting trees, digging ponds, and building temples along them, as well as other open marks above ground, and secret ones buried in the earth. In case of disputes, witnesses are to be examined on oath, in the presence of all the parties concerned, putting earth on their heads, wearing chaplets of red flowers, and clad in red garments. If the question cannot be settled by evidence, the King must make a general inquiry and fix the boundary by authority. The same course is to be adopted about the boundaries of private fields.[68] Disputes about boundaries.

The rules regarding man and wife are full of puerilities; the most important ones shall be stated after a short account of the laws relating to marriage. Relations between man and wife

Six forms of marriage are recognised as lawful. Of these, four only are allowed to Bramins, which (though differing in minute particulars) all agree in insisting that the father shall give away his daughter without receiving a price. The remaining two forms are permitted to the military class alone, and are abun-

[62] Ch. viii. 151, 156, 157
[63] Ch. viii. 158—167.
[64] Ch. viii. 197—202.
[65] Ch. viii. 219, &c.
[66] Ch. viii. 222.
[67] Ch. viii. 229—234.
[68] Ch. viii. 245—265.

dantly liberal even with that limitation. One is, when a soldier carries off a woman after a victory, and espouses her against her will; and the other, when consummation takes place by mutual consent, without any formal ceremony whatever. Two sorts of marriage are forbidden; when the father receives a nuptial present;[69] and when the woman, from intoxication, or other cause, has been incapable of giving a real consent to the union.[70] A girl may marry at eight, or even earlier; and, if her father fails to give her a husband for three years after she is marriageable (*i. e.* capable of being a parent), she is at liberty to choose one for herself.[71]

Men may marry women of the classes below them, but on no account of those superior to their own.[72] A man must not marry within six known degrees of relationship on either side, nor with any woman whose family name, being the same, shows her to be of the same race as his own.[73]

The marriage of people of equal class is performed by joining hands; but a woman of the military class, marrying a Bramin, holds an arrow in her hand; a Veisya woman, a whip; and a Súdra, the skirt of a mantle.[74]

The marriage of equals is most recommended, for the first wife at least: that of a Bramin with a Súdra is discouraged; and as a first wife, it is positively forbidden.[75]

Marriage is indissoluble, and the parties are bound to observe mutual fidelity.[76]

From the few cases hereafter specified, in which the husband may take a second wife, it may be inferred that, with those exceptions, he must have but one wife. A man may marry again on the death of his wife; but the marriage of widows is discouraged, if not prohibited (except in the case of Súdras).

A wife who is barren for eight years, or she who has produced no male children in eleven, may be *superseded* by another wife.[78]

It appears, notwithstanding this expression, that the wife first married retains the highest rank in the family.[77]

Drunken and immoral wives, those who bear malice to their husbands, or are guilty of very great extravagance, may also be superseded.[78]

[69] There is, however, throughout the code, a remarkable wavering on this head, the acceptance of a present being in general spoken of with disgust, as a sale of the daughter, while, in some places, the mode of disposing of presents so received, and the claims arising from them, are discussed as legal points.

[70] Ch. iii. 20—34.
[71] Ch. ix. 88—93.
[72] Ch. iii. 12—19.
[73] Ch. iii. 5.
[74] Ch. iii. 44.
[75] Ch. ix. 46, 47, 101, 102.
[76] Ch. ix. 81.
[77] Ch. ix. 122.
[78] Ch. ix. 80.

A wife who leaves her husband's house, or neglects him, for a twelvemonth, without a cause, may be deserted altogether.[79]

A man going abroad must leave a provision for his wife.[80]

The wife is bound to wait for her absent husband for eight years, if he be gone on religious duty; six, if in pursuit of knowledge or fame; and three, if for pleasure only.[81]

The practice of allowing a man to raise up issue to his brother, if he died without children, or even if (though still alive) he have no hopes of progeny, is reprobated, except for Súdras, or in case of a widow who has lost her husband before consummation.[82]

The natural heirs of a man are the sons of his body, and their sons, and the sons of his daughters, when appointed in default of heirs male to raise up issue to him.[83] Inheritance.

The son of his wife, begotten by a neaf kinsman, at some time when his own life had been despaired of, according to the practice formerly noticed[84] (which, though disapproved of as heretical, would appear to be recognised when it has actually taken place), is also entitled to inherit as a son.[85]

On the failure of issue of the above description, an adopted son succeeds: such a son loses all claim on the inheritance of his original father; and is entitled to a sixth of the property of his adoptive one, even if, subsequently to his adoption, sons of the body should be born.[86]

On failure of the above heirs follow ten descriptions of sons, such as never could have been thought of but by Hindús, with whom the importance of a descendant for the purpose of performing obsequies is superior to most considerations. Among these are included the son of a man's wife by an uncertain father, begotten when he himself has long been absent, and the son of his wife of whom she was pregnant, without his knowledge; at the time of the marriage. The illegitimate son of his daughter by a man whom she afterwards marries, the son of a man by a married woman who has forsaken her husband, or by a widow,

[79] Ch. ix. 77—79. [80] Ch. ix. 74.

[81] Chapter ix. 76. Cullúca in his Commentary, adds, "after those terms she must follow him;" but the code seems rather to refer to the term at which she may contract a second marriage. From the contradictions in the code regarding marriages of widows (as on some other subjects) we may infer that the law varied at different places or times; or rather, perhaps, that the writer's opinion and the actual practice were at variance. The opinion against such marriages prevails in modern times, and must have done so to a great extent in that of Cullúca.

[82] Ch. ix. 59—70. [83] Ch. ix. 104, 133.

[84] Ch. ix. 59, &c.

[85] Ch. ix. 145. Perhaps this recognition is intended to be confined to the son of a Súdra wife, in whom such a proceeding would be legal; but it is not so specified in the text, and the language of the code on this whole subject is contradictory. The practice is at the present day entirely forbidden to all classes.

[86] Ch. ix. 141, 142, 168, 169.

are also admitted into this class; as are, last of all, his own sons by a Súdra wife.[87] These and others (ten in all) are admitted, by a fiction of the law, to be sons, though the author of the code himself speaks contemptuously of the affiliation, even as affording the means of efficacious obsequies.[88]

On the failure of sons come brothers' sons, who are regarded as standing in the place of sons, and who have a right to be adopted, if they wish it, to the exclusion of all other persons.[89] On failure of sons, grandsons, adopted sons, and nephews, come fathers and mothers; then brothers, grandfathers, and grandmothers;[90] and then other relations, such as are entitled to perform obsequies to common ancestors; failing them, the preceptor, the fellow-student, or the pupil; and failing them, the Bramins in general; or, in case the deceased be of another class, the King.[91]

A father may distribute his wealth among his sons while he lives (it is not stated whether arbitrarily or in fixed proportions), but his power to make a will is never alluded to.[92]

When a man dies, his sons may either continue to live together with the property united, or they may divide it according to certain rules. If they remain united, the eldest brother takes possession of the property, and the others live under him as they did under their father. In this case, the acquisitions of all the sons (who have not formally withdrawn) go to augment the common stock.[93]

If they divide, one twentieth is set aside for the eldest son,

[87] Ch. ix. 159—161, 167—180. The whole of these sons, except the son of a man's own body, and his adopted sons, are entirely repudiated by the Hindú law of the present day.

[88] Ch. ix. 161. [89] Ch. ix. 182.

[90] Ch. ix. 185, 217.

[91] Ch. ix. 186—189. The dependence of inheritance on obsequies leads to some remarkable rules. The first sort of obsequies are only performed to the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. Preference is given to those who perform obsequies to all three; then to those who perform them to two, then to one. Those who perform obsequies to none of the three are passed over. A great-great-grandson, by this rule, would be set aside, and the succession go to some collateral who was within three degrees of the great-grandfather. After those who perform the first sort of obsequies come the more numerous body, who only perform the second.—*Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 179. Colebrooke's *Digest*, vol. iii. p. 623.

[92] Ch. ix. 104. Even the power to distribute rests only on the authority of Culluca. ["In ancestral property the occupant had joint right only with his sons, analogously in some respects to our entailed estates. One of the great objects of the descent of property is to provide for the perpetual performance of obsequial rites to the whole body of deceased ancestors. These cannot be properly discharged by aliens to the family, and therefore they cannot have a valid claim to succeed. A man cannot will that a stranger shall perform his family rites in preference to his kinsmen, and cannot, therefore, make away with property essential to their celebration."—Wilson, note to Mill, i. p. 250.—Ed.]

[93] Ch. ix. 103—105. There are exceptions to this rule; but it is still so effective that, in recent times, the humble relations of a man who had raised himself to be prime minister to the Péshwa, were admitted to be entitled to share in his immense property, which they so little contributed to acquire.

one eightieth for the youngest, and one fortieth for the intermediate sons; the remainder is then equally divided among them all. Unmarried daughters are to be supported by their brothers, and receive no share of the father's estate;[94] but share equally with their brothers in that of their mother.[95]

This equality among the sons is in case of brothers of *equal birth;* but otherwise the son of a Bramin wife takes four parts; of a Cshatriya, three; a Veisya, two; and a Súdra, one.

One such share, or one tenth, is the most the son of a Súdra mother can take, even if there are no other sons.[96]

Eunuchs, outcasts, persons born deaf, dumb, or blind; persons who have lost the use of a limb, madmen, and idiots, are excluded from succession, but must be maintained by the heirs.

The sons of excluded persons, however, are capable of inheriting.[97]

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION.

THE religion taught in the Institutes is derived from the Védas, to which scriptures they refer in every page.[1]

There are four Védas; but the fourth is rejected by many of the learned Hindús, and the number reduced to three. Each Véda is composed of two, or perhaps of three, parts. The first[2] consists of hymns and prayers; the second part[3] of precepts which inculcate religious duties, and of arguments relating to theology.[4] Some of these last are embodied in separate tracts, which are sometimes inserted in the second part above-mentioned, and sometimes are in a detached collection, forming a third part.[5]

Every Véda likewise contains a treatise explaining the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper period for the performance of each of the duties enjoined.

The Védas are not single works; each is the production of various authors, whose names (in the case of hymns and prayers at least) are attached to their compositions, and to whom,

[94] Ch. ix. 112—118. [95] Ch. ix. 192.

[96] Ch. ix. 151—155. In these rules, throughout the code, great confusion is created by preference shown to sons and others, who are "learned and virtuous;" no person being specified who is to decide on their claims to those qualities.

[97] Ch. ix. 201—203.

[1] [Since Elphinstone's history was written, so much progress has been made in the study of the Védas, that the account given in the text is necessarily very incomplete. For some further information, see the Additional Appendix (VII.). ED.]

[2] Called Mantra. [3] Bráhmana.

[4] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 387.

[5] Upanishad.

according to the Hindús, those passages were separately revealed. They were probably written at different periods; but were compiled in their present form in the 14th century before Christ.[6]

They are written in an ancient form of the Sanscrit, so different from that now in use that none but the more learned of the Bramins themselves can understand them. Only a small portion of them has been translated into European languages; and although we possess a summary of their contents (by a writer whose judgment and fidelity may be entirely depended on[7]) sufficient to give us a clear notion of the general scope of their doctrines, yet it does not enable us to speak with confidence of particulars, or to assert that no allusion whatever is made in any part of them to this or that portion of the legends or opinions which constitute the body of the modern Hindú faith.

Monotheism. The primary doctrine of the Védas is the Unity of God. "There is in truth," say repeated texts, "but one Deity, the Supreme Spirit, the Lord of the Universe, whose work is the Universe."[8]

Among the creatures of the Supreme Being are some superior to man, who should be adored, and from whom protection and favours may be obtained through prayer. The most frequently mentioned of these are the gods of the elements, the stars, and the planets; but other personified powers and virtues likewise appear. "The three principal manifestations of the Divinity (Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva), with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the other gods of Hindú mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated, in the Véda; but the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system."[9]

Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, are rarely named, enjoy no pre-eminence, nor are they ever objects of special adoration;[10] and Mr. Colebrooke could discover no passage in which their incarnations were suggested. There seem to have been no images, and no visible types of the objects of worship.[11]

[6] See Appendix I.

[7] Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 369.

[8] Prof. Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 11. The following view of the divine character, as presented in the Védas, is given by a learned Bramin, quoted by Sir William Jones.—"Perfect truth; perfect happiness; without equal; immortal; absolute unity; whom neither speech can describe nor mind comprehend; all-pervading; all-transcending; delighted with his own boundless intelligence; not limited by space or time; without feet, moving swiftly; without hands, grasping all worlds; without eyes, all-surveying; without ears, all-hearing; without an intelligent guide, understanding all; without cause, the first of all causes; all-ruling; all-powerful; the creator, preserver, transformer of all things: such is the Great One."—Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. vi. p. 418.

[9] Colebrooke on the Védas, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 494.

[10] Prof. Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 12.

[11] Ibid., p. 12; and see also Preface to the *Vishnu Purána*, p. 2.

The doctrine of Monotheism prevails throughout the Institutes; and it is declared towards the close, that, of all duties, "the principal is to obtain from the Upanishad a true knowledge of one supreme God."[12] Religion of Menu.

But although Menu has preserved the idea of the unity of God, his opinions on the nature and operations of the Divinity have fallen off from the purity of their original.

This is chiefly apparent in his account of the creation. There are passages in the Védas which declare that God is "the material, as well as the efficient, cause of the universe; the potter by whom the fictile vase is formed; the clay out of which it is fabricated:" yet those best qualified to interpret conceive that these expressions are not to be taken literally, and mean no more than to assert the origin of all things from the same first cause. The general tendency of the Védas is to show that the substance as well as the form of all created beings was derived from the *will* of the Self-existing Cause.[13] Creation.

The Institutes, on the contrary, though not very distinct, appear to regard the universe as formed from the substance of the Creator, and to have a vague notion of the eternal existence of matter as part of the Divine substance. According to them, "the Self-existing Power, himself undiscerned, but making this world discernible, with five elements and other principles, appeared with undiminished glory dispelling the gloom."

"He, having willed to produce various beings from his own Divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed."[14]

From this seed sprung the mundane egg, in which the Supreme Being was himself born in the form of Brahmá.

By similar mythological processes, he, under the form of Brahmá, produced the heavens and earth, and the human soul; and to all creatures he gave distinct names and distinct occupations. He likewise created the deities "with divine attributes and pure souls," and "inferior genii exquisitely delicate."[15]

This whole creation only endures for a certain period; when that expires, the Divine energy is withdrawn, Brahmá is absorbed in the supreme essence, and the whole system fades away.[16]

These extinctions of creation, with corresponding revivals, occur periodically, at terms of prodigious length.[17]

[12] Ch. xii. 85.
[13] Ch. i. 8—22.
[14] Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 48.
[15] Ch. i. 51—57.
[16] Ch. i. 5, 7.
[17] Ch. i. 73, 74.

Inferior deities.

The inferior deities are representatives of the elements, as Indra, air; Agni, fire; Varuna, water; Prithiví, earth: or of heavenly bodies, Súrya, the sun; Chandra, the moon; Vrihaspati and other planets: or of abstract ideas, as Dharma, god of Justice; Dhanwantari, god of Medicine.[18] None of the heroes who are omitted in the Véda, but who now fill so prominent a part in the Hindú Pantheon (Ráma, Crishna, &c.) are ever alluded to.

Even the deities of which these are incarnations are never noticed. Brahmá is more than once named, but Vishnu and Siva never. These three forms of the Divinity occupy no conspicuous place among the deities of the Védas; and their mystical union or triad is never hinted at in Menu, or probably in the Védas. The three forms, into some one of which all other deities are there said to be resolvable, are fire, air, and the sun.[19]

Spirits.

Altogether distinct from the gods are good and evil genii, who are noticed in the creation rather among the animals than the divinities. "Benevolent genii, fierce giants, bloodthirsty savages, heavenly choristers, nymphs and demons, huge serpents and birds of mighty wing, and separate companies of Pitris, or progenitors of mankind."[20]

Man.

Man is endowed with two internal spirits, the vital soul, which gives motion to the body, and the rational, which is the seat of passions and good and bad qualities; and both these souls, though independent existences, are connected with the divine essence which pervades all beings.[21]

It is the vital soul which expiates the sins of the man. It is subjected to torments for periods proportioned to its offences, and is then sent to transmigrate through men and animals, and even plants; the mansion being the lower the greater has been its guilt, until at length it has been purified by suffering and humiliations, is again united to its more pure associates,[22] and again commences a career which may lead to eternal bliss.

God endowed man from his creation with "consciousness, the internal monitor;"[23] and "made a total difference between right and wrong," as well as between pleasure and pain, and other opposite pairs.[24]

He then produced the Védas for the due performance of the

[18] Ch. ix. 303—311, and other places.
[19] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. 395—397.
[20] Ch. i. 37.
[21] Ch. i. 14, 15, and xii. 12—14, 24, &c.
[22] Ch. xii. 16—22.
[23] Ch. i. 14.
[24] Ch. i. 26.

sacrifice ordained from the beginning. But it does not seem necessary to enter further into the metaphysical part of the work of Menu.

The practical part of religion may be divided into ritual and moral.

Ritual observances.

The ritual branch occupies too great a portion of the Hindú code, but not to the exclusion of the moral.

There are religious ceremonies during the pregnancy of the mother, at the birth of the child, and on various subsequent occasions, the principal of which is the shaving of his head, all but one lock, at the first or third year.[25] But by far the most important ceremonial is the investiture with the sacred thread, which must not be delayed beyond 16 for a Bramin, or 24 for a merchant.[26] This great ceremony is called the second birth, and procures for the three classes who are admitted to it the title of "twice-born men," by which they are always distinguished throughout the code. It is on this occasion that the persons invested are taught the mysterious word óm, and the gáyatrí, which is the most holy verse of the Védas, which is enjoined in innumerable parts of the code to be repeated either as devotion or expiation; and which, indeed, joined to universal benevolence, may raise a man to beatitude without the aid of any other religious exercise.[27] This mysterious text, though it is now confined to the Bramins, and is no longer so easy to learn, has been well ascertained by learned Europeans, and is thus translated by Mr. Colebrooke:[28] "Let us meditate the adorable light of the Divine Ruler; may it guide our intellects."

From fuller forms of the same verse, it is evident that the light alluded to is the Supreme Creator, though it might also appear to mean the sun.

It is not easy to see on what its superior sanctity is founded, unless it may at one time have communicated, though in ambiguous language, the secret of the real nature of God to the initiated, when the material sun was the popular object of worship.[29]

Every Bramin, and, perhaps, every twice-born man, must

[25] Ch. ii. 26—35. [26] Ch. ii. 36—40.
[27] Ch. ii. 74—87.
[28] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 400.
[29] There are many commentaries on this text, and some difference of opinion as to the sense. The following interpretation is given by Professor Wilson, in a note in the "Hindu Theatre," vol. i. p. 184 — "Let us meditate on the supreme splendour of that divine sun, who may illuminate our understandings." And the following is published as a literal translation by Rám Móhun Rái (*Translation of the Vedas*, p. 117):—"We meditate on that supreme spirit of the splendid sun who directs our understandings." [The gáyatrí occurs in a hymn of Viswámitra's, numbered as the 62nd of the third Mandala of the Rig Veda, see Wilson's transl. of the Rig Veda, vol. iii. p. 110.—ED.]

bathe daily; must pray at morning and evening twilight, in some unfrequented place near pure water;[30] and must daily perform five sacraments, viz., studying the Véda; making oblations to the manes and to fire in honour of the deities; giving rice to living creatures; and receiving guests with honour.[31]

The gods are worshipped by burnt offerings of clarified butter, and libations of the juice of the Soma or moon-plant, at which ceremonies they are invoked by name; but, although idols are mentioned, and in one place desired to be respected,[32] yet the adoration of them is never noticed but with disapprobation; nor is the present practice of offering perfumes and flowers to them ever alluded to. The oblations enjoined are to be offered by Bramins at their domestic fire, and the other ceremonies performed by themselves in their own houses.[33]

Most of the other sacraments are easily despatched, but the reading of the Védas is a serious task.

They must be read distinctly and aloud, with a calm mind, and in a respectful posture. The reading is liable to be interrupted by many omens, and must be suspended likewise on the occurrence of various contingencies which, by disturbing the mind, may render it unfit for such an occupation. Wind, rain, thunder, earthquakes, meteors, eclipses, the howling of jackals, and many other incidents, are of the first description: the prohibition against reading where lutes sound or where arrows whistle, when a town is beset by robbers, or when terrors have been excited by strange phenomena, clearly refers to the second.[34]

The last sacrament, that of hospitality to guests, is treated at length, and contains precepts of politeness and self-denial which would be very pleasing if they were not so much restricted to Bramins entertaining men of their own class.[35]

Besides the daily oblations, there are monthly obsequies to the manes of each man's ancestors. These are to be performed "in empty glades, naturally clean, or on the banks of rivers and in solitary spots." The sacrificer is there to burn certain offerings, and, with many ceremonies, to set down cakes of rice and clarified butter, invoking the manes to come and partake of them.

He is afterwards to feast a small number of Bramins (not, however, his usual friends or guests). He is to serve them with respect, and they are to eat in silence.

"Departed ancestors, no doubt, are attendant on such invited

[30] Ch. ii. 101—104. [31] Ch. iii. 69, 70. [32] Ch. iv. 130.
[33] Ch. iii. 82, &c. [34] Ch. iv. 99—126. [35] Ch. iii. 99—118.

Bramins, hovering around them like pure spirits, and sitting by them when they are seated."[36]

No obsequies are to be performed for persons of disreputable or criminal life, or for those who illegally kill themselves;[37] but, on the other hand, there is a striking ceremony by which a great offender is renounced by his family, his obsequies being solemnly performed by them while he is yet alive. In the event of repentance and expiation, however, he can by another ceremony be restored to his family and to civil life.[38]

Innumerable are the articles of food from which a twice-born man must abstain; some for plain reasons, as carnivorous birds, tame hogs, and other animals whose appearance or way of living is disgusting; but others are so arbitrarily fixed, that a cock, a mushroom, a leek, or an onion, occasions immediate loss of cast;[39] while hedgehogs, porcupines, lizards, and tortoises are expressly declared to be lawful food. A Bramin is forbidden, under severe penalties, to eat the food of a hunter or a dishonest man, a worker in gold or in cane, or a washer of clothes, or a dyer. The cruelty of a hunter's trade may join him, in the eyes of a Bramin, to a dishonest man; but, among many other arbitrary proscriptions, one is surprised to find a physician,[40] and to observe that this learned and beneficent profession is always classed with those which are most impure.

What chiefly surprises us is to find most sorts of flesh permitted to Bramins,[41] and even that of oxen particularly enjoined on solemn festivals.[42]

Bramins must not, indeed, eat flesh, unless at a sacrifice; but sacrifices, as has been seen, are among the daily sacraments; and rice-pudding, bread, and many other things equally innocent, are included in the very same prohibition.[43]

It is true that humanity to animals is everywhere most strongly inculcated, and that abstaining from animal food is declared to be very meritorious, from its tendency to diminish their sufferings; but, though the use of it is dissuaded on these grounds,[44] it is never once forbidden or hinted at as impure, and is in many places positively declared lawful.[45]

The permission to eat beef is the more remarkable as the *cow* seems to have been as holy in those days as she is now. Saving

[36] Ch. iii. 189.
[37] Ch. xi. 192—187.
[38] Ch. iv. 212.
[39] Ch. v. 41, 42.
[40] Ch. v. 43—56.
[41] "He who eats according to law commits no sin, even if he every day tastes the flesh of such animals as may lawfully be tasted, since both animals which may be eaten, and those who eat them, were equally created by Brahmá." (V. 30.)
[42] Ch. v. 89.
[43] Ch. v. 18, 19.
[44] Ch. v. 22—36.
[45] Ch. v. 7.

the life of a cow was considered to atone for the murder of a Bramin;[46] killing one required to be expiated by three months' austerities and servile attendance on a herd of cattle.[47]

Besides these restraints on eating, a Bramin is subjected to a multitude of minute regulations relating to the most ordinary occupations of life, the transgressing of any of which is nevertheless to be considered as a sin.

More than half of one book of the code is filled with rules about purification. The commonest cause of impurity is the death of a relation; and this, if he is near, lasts for ten days with a Bramin, and for a month with a Súdra.

An infinity of contacts and other circumstances also pollute a man, and he is only purified by bathing, and other ceremonies, much too tedious to enumerate.[48] Some exceptions from these rules show a good sense which might not have been expected from the framers. A King can never be impure, nor those whom he wishes to be freed from this impediment to business. The hand of an artist employed in his trade is always pure; and so is every commodity when exposed to sale. The relations of a soldier slain in battle are not impure; and a soldier himself, who falls in the discharge of his duty, performs the highest of sacrifices, and is instantly freed from all impurities.[49] Of all pure things, none impart that quality better than purity in acquiring wealth, forgiveness of injuries, liberality, and devotion.[50]

Penances, as employed by the Hindús, hold a middle place between the ritual and moral branches of religion. They help to deter from crimes, but they are equally employed against breaches of religious form; and their application is at all times so irregular and arbitrary as to prevent their being so effectual as they should be in contributing to the well-being of society.

Drinking spirits is classed in the first degree of crime. Performing sacrifices to destroy the innocent only falls under the third. Under the same penance with some real offences come giving pain to a Bramin and "smelling things not fit to be smelled."[51]

Some penances would, if compulsory, be punishments of the most atrocious cruelty. They are sufficiently absurd when left, as they are, to the will of the offenders, to be employed in averting exclusion from society in this world or retribution in the next. For incest with the wife of a father, natural or spiritual, or with a sister, connexion with a child under the age of

[46] Ch. xi. 80. [47] Ch. xi. 109—117. [48] Ch. v. 57, to the end.
[49] Ch. v. 93—98. [50] Ch. v. 107. [51] Ch. xi. 55—68.

puberty, or with a woman of the lowest class, the penance is death by burning on an iron bed, or embracing a red-hot metal image.[52] For drinking spirits the penance is death by drinking the boiling-hot urine of a cow.[53]

The other expiations are mostly made by fines and austerities. The fines are almost always in cattle to be given to Bramins, some as high as a bull and 1,000 cows.

They, also, are oddly enough proportioned: for killing a snake a Bramin must give a hoe; for killing a eunuch, a load of rice-straw.

Saying "hush" or "pish" to a superior, or overpowering a Bramin in argument, involves each a slight penance. Killing insects, and even cutting down plants and grass (if not for a useful purpose) require a penance; since plants are also supposed to be endued with feeling.[54]

One passage about expiation is characteristic in many ways. "A priest who should retain in his memory the whole Rig Véda would be absolved from all guilt, even if he had slain the inhabitants of the three worlds, *and had eaten food from the foulest hands.*"[55]

Some of the penances, as well as some of the punishments under the criminal law, relate to pollutions which imply great corruption of manners in the people, or great impurity in the imagination of the lawgiver;[56] but they probably originate in the same perverted ingenuity which appears in some of the European casuists.

Others are of a more pleasing character, and tend to lessen our impression of the force of superstition even among the Bramins. A man who spends his money in gifts, even for his spiritual benefit, incurs misery hereafter if he have left his family in want.[57] Every man who has performed penance is legally restored to society; but all should avoid the communion of those whose offences were in themselves atrocious, among which are reckoned killing a suppliant and injuring a benefactor.[58]

The effect of the religion of Menu on morals is, indeed, generally good. The essential distinction between right and wrong, it has been seen, is strongly marked at the outset, and is in general well preserved. The well-known passages relating to false evidence, one or two where the property of another may be appropriated for the purposes of sacrifice,[59] and some laxity in

Moral effect

[52] Ch. xi. 104, 105, 171.
[53] Ch. xi. 92.
[54] Ch. xi. 125, to the end.
[55] Ch. xi. 262.
[56] Ch. xi. 171—179, &c.
[57] Ch. ix. 9, 10.
[58] Ch. xi. 190, 191.
[59] Ch. xi. 11—19.

the means by which a King may detect and seize offenders,[60] are the only exceptions I recollect.

On the other hand there are numerous injunctions to justice, truth, and virtue; and many are the evils, both in this world and the next, which are said to follow from vicious conduct. The upright man need not be cast down though oppressed with penury, while, "the unjust man attains no felicity, nor he whose wealth proceeds from false evidence."[61]

The moral duties are in one place distinctly declared to be superior to the ceremonial ones.[62] The punishments of a future state are as much directed against the offences which disturb society as against sins affecting religion.

One maxim, however, on this subject, is of a less laudable tendency; for it declares that the men who receive from the government the punishment due to their crimes go pure to heaven, and become as clean as those who have done well.[63]

It may be observed, in conclusion, that the morality thus enjoined by the law was not, as now, sapped by the example of fabled gods, or by the debauchery permitted in the religious ceremonies of certain sects.

From many passages cited in different places, it has been shown that the code is not by any means deficient in generous maxims or in elevated sentiments; but the general tendency of the Bramin morality is rather towards innocence than active virtue, and its main objects are to enjoy tranquillity, and to prevent pain or evil to any sentient being.

CHAPTER V.

MANNERS AND STATE OF CIVILIZATION.

In inquiring into the manners of a nation, our attention is first attracted to the condition of the women. This may be gathered from the laws relating to marriage, as well as from incidental regulations or observations which undesignedly exhibit the views under which the sex was regarded.

State of women.

The laws relating to marriage, as has been seen, though in some parts they bear strong traces of a rude age, are not on the whole unfavourable to the weaker party. The state of women in other respects is such as might be expected from those laws.

[60] Ch. ix. 256—269. [61] Ch. iv. 170—179. [62] Ch. iv. 204. [63] Ch. viii. 318.

A wife is to be entirely obedient and devoted to her husband, who is to keep her under legal restrictions, but to leave her at her own disposal in innocent and lawful recreations.[1] When she has no husband, she is to be in a state of similar dependence on her male relations;[2] but, on the other hand, the husband and all the male relations are strictly enjoined to honour the women: "where women are dishonoured, all religious acts become fruitless;"—"where female relations are made miserable, the family very soon wholly perishes;" but "where a husband is contented with his wife, and she with her husband, in that house will fortune assuredly be permanent." The husband's indulgence to his wife is even regulated on points which seem singular in a code of laws; among these it is enjoined that she be "constantly supplied with ornaments, apparel, and food, at festivals and jubilees."[3]

Widows are also under the particular protection of the law. Their male relations are positively forbidden to interfere with their property. (III. 52.) The King is declared the guardian of widows and single women, and is directed to punish relations who encroach on their fortunes, as thieves. (VIII. 28, 29.)

There is little about domestic manners except as relates to the Bramins, and they, as usual, are placed under austere and yet puerile restrictions. A man of that class must not eat with his wife, nor look at her eating, or yawning, or sitting carelessly, or when setting off her eyes with black powder, or on many other occasions.[4]

In all classes women are to be "employed in the collection and expenditure of wealth; in purification and female duty; in the preparation of daily food, and the superintendence of household utensils."

"By confinement at home, even under affectionate and observant guardians, they are not secure; but those women are truly secure who are guarded by their own inclinations."[5]

There is not the least mention of Satís; indeed, as the widows of Bramins are enjoined to lead a virtuous, austere, and holy life,[6] it is plain that their burning with their husbands was never thought of.

The only suicides authorized in the code are for a Bramin hermit suffering under an incurable disease, who is permitted to proceed towards a certain point of the heavens with no sustenance but water, until he dies of exhaustion;[7] and for a King,

[1] Ch. ix. 2, &c. [2] Ch. v. 147, &c. Ch. iii. 55—61.
[3] Ch. iv. 43, &c. [4] Ch. ix. 11, 12. [5] Ch. v. 156—158.
[6] Ch. vi. 31.

who, when he finds his end draw near, is to bestow such wealth as he may have gained by legal fines on the Bramins, commit his kingdom to his son, and seek death in battle, or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food.[8]

Few more particulars can be gleaned regarding manners. Manners. The strict celibacy imposed on the Bramin youths seems to have excited a just distrust of their continence: a student who is enjoined to perform personal services, and to kiss the feet of his spiritual father's other near relations, is directed to omit those duties in the case of his young wife; he is desired to be always on his guard when in company with women, and to beware how he trusts himself in a sequestered place even with those who should be the most sacred in his eyes.[9]

Some notion of the pleasures most indulged in may be formed from those against which a King is cautioned. (VII. 47.) Among them are hunting, gaming, sleeping by day, excess with women, intoxication, singing, instrumental music, dancing, and useless travel. Some little light is also thrown on manners, by the much-frequented places where thieves, quacks, fortune-tellers, and other impostors are said to haunt. They include cisterns of water, bakehouses, the lodgings of harlots, taverns, and victualling shops, squares where four ways meet, large well-known trees, assemblies, and public spectacles.

Minute rules are given for the forms of salutation and civility to persons of all classes, and in all relations.

Great respect is inculcated for parents[10] and for age; for learning and moral conduct, as well as for wealth and rank. "Way must be made for a man in a wheeled carriage, or above ninety years old, or afflicted with disease, or carrying a burden,

[8] Ch. ix. 323. It is singular that the practice of self-immolation by fire, which is stated by Mr. Colebrooke (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 458) to have been authorized by the Védas, and is related by the ancients to have been practised by Calanus, is nowhere mentioned in the code.—[Mr. Colebrooke, in *As. Res.*, vol. iv. p. 213, quoted from modern Hindú works the verse of a Vedic hymn which has been supposed to authorize Sati; it is found in the second hymn of the second Anuváka of the tenth Mandala of the Rig Veda. But the careful editing of the text by European scholarship has disclosed the fact that no such authority exists in the original text. The Sanskrit runs simply thus: "May these women who are not widows, who have good husbands, who are mothers, enter with unguents and clarified butter; without tears, without sorrow, let them first go up into the dwelling." It is these last words, "*árohantu yonim ágre*," which have been altered into the fatal variant "*árohantu yonim agnéh*," "let them go up into the place of fire;" but there is no authority whatever for this reading. The verse, in fact, is not addressed to widows at all. A succeeding verse in the same hymn, which was addressed to the widow at the funeral, expressly bids her "to rise up and come to the world of living beings," and the ceremonial Sútras direct that she is then to be taken home. See Prof. Wilson, *R. As. Soc. Journ.*, vol. xvi. p. 203.—Ed.]

[9] Ch. ii. 211—215. [10] Ch. ii. 225—237.

for a woman, for a priest (in certain cases), for a prince, and for a bridegroom."[11]

I scarcely know where to place, so as to do justice to the importance assigned to it in the code, the respect enjoined to *immemorial custom*. It is declared to be "transcendent law," and "the root of all piety."[12] It is, indeed, to this day the vital spirit of the Hindú system, and the immediate cause of the permanence of these institutions. Learning is greatly honoured throughout the code, and the cultivation of it is recommended to all classes. It is true the Védas, and the commentaries on them, with a few other books, are the only ones to which the student is directed; but he is to learn theology, logic, ethics, and physical science from those works;[13] and we know that those subjects are discussed in the tracts appended to each Véda; each is also accompanied by a treatise entirely relating to astronomy; and, from the early excellence of the Bramins in all these branches of learning, it is probable that they had made considerable progress even when this code was formed.

The arts of life, though still in a simple state, were far from being in a rude one. Gold and gems, silks and orna- Arts of life. ments, are spoken of as being in all families.[14] Elephants, horses, and chariots are familiar as conveyances for men, as are cattle, camels, and waggons for goods. Gardens, bowers, and terraces are mentioned; and the practice, still subsisting, of the construction of ponds and orchards by wealthy men for the public benefit, is here, perhaps, first enjoined.[15] Cities are seldom alluded to, nor are there any regulations or any officers beyond the wants of an agricultural township. The only great cities were, probably, the capitals.

The professions mentioned show all that is necessary to civilized life, but not all required for high refinement. Though gems and golden ornaments were common, embroiderers and similar workmen, who put those materials to the most delicate uses, are not alluded to; and painting and writing could scarcely have attained the cultivation which they reached in aftertimes, when they were left among the trades open to a Súdra in times of distress.

Money is often mentioned, but it does not appear whether its value was ascertained by weight or fixed by coining. The usual payments are in *panas*, the name *now* applied to a certain num-

[11] Ch. ii. 130—138. [12] Ch. i. 108 110. [14] Ch. v. 111, 112, and vii. 130.
[13] Ch. xii. 98, 105, 106. [15] Ch. iv. 226

ber of the shells called couris, which are used as change for the lowest copper coins.[16]

The number of kinds of grain, spices, perfumes, and other productions, are proofs of a highly cultivated country; and the code in general presents the picture of a peaceful and flourishing community. Some of the features which seem to indicate misgovernment are undiminished at the present day, but affect the society in a far less degree than would seem possible to a distant observer. On the other hand, the frequent allusions to times of distress give ground for a suspicion that the famines, which even now are sometimes the scourge of India, were more frequent in ancient times. There is no trace of nomadic tribes, such as still subsist in most Asiatic countries.

General remarks.

Of all ancient nations, the Egyptians are the one whom the Hindús seem most to have resembled; but our knowledge of that people is too limited to reflect light on any other with which they might be compared.[17]

It might be easier to compare them with the Greeks, as painted by Homer, who was nearly contemporary with the compilation of the code; and however inferior in spirit and energy, as well as in elegance, to that heroic race, yet, on contrasting their law and forms of administration, the state of the arts of life, and the general spirit of order and obedience to the laws, the eastern nation seems clearly to have been in the more advanced stage of society. Their internal institutions were less rude; their conduct to their enemies more humane; their general learning was much more considerable; and, in the knowledge of the being and nature of God, they were already in possession of a light which was but faintly perceived even by the loftiest intellects in the best days of Athens. Yet the Greeks were polished by free communication with many nations, and have recorded the improvements which they early derived from each; while the Hindú civilization grew up alone, and thus acquired an original and peculiar character, that continues to spread an interest over the higher stages of refinement to which its unaided efforts afterwards enabled it to attain. It may, however, be doubted whether this early and independent civilization was not a misfortune to the Hindús; for, seeing themselves superior to all the tribes of whom they had knowledge, they learned to despise the institutions of

[16] [Prof. Wilson, *Ariana Ant.*, p. 403, seems to think that the *pana* may have been a copper coin.—Ed.]

[17] The particular points of resemblance are set forth by Heeren.—*Historical Researches* (Asiatic Nations), vol. iii. p. 411, to the end.

foreigners, and to revere their own, until they became incapable of receiving improvement from without, and averse to novelties even amongst themselves.

On looking back to the information collected from the code, we observe the three twice-born classes forming the whole community embraced by the law, and the Súdras in a servile and degraded condition. Yet it appears that there are cities governed by Súdra Kings, in which Bramins are advised not to reside,[18] and that there are "whole territories inhabited by Súdras, overwhelmed with atheists, and deprived of Bramins."[19] Origin of the Hindús and formation of their society.

The three twice-born classes are directed invariably to dwell in the country between the Himavat[20] and the Vindhya mountains,[21] from the eastern to the western ocean. But, though the three chief classes are confined to this tract, a Súdra distressed for subsistence may sojourn wherever he chooses.[22]

It seems impossible not to conclude from all this, that the twice-born men were a conquering people; that the servile class were the subdued aborigines; and that the independent Súdra towns were in such of the small territories, into which Hindostan was divided, as still retained their independence, while the whole of the tract beyond the Vindhya mountains remained as yet untouched by the invaders, and unpenetrated by their religion.

A doubt, however, soon suggests itself, whether the conquerors were a foreign people, or a local tribe, like the Dorians in Greece; or whether, indeed, they were not merely a portion of one of the native states (a religious sect, for instance) which had outstripped their fellow-citizens in knowledge, and appropriated all the advantages of the society to themselves.

The different appearance of the higher classes from the Súdras, which is so observable to this day, might incline us to think them foreigners; but, without entirely denying this argument (as far, at least, as relates to the Bramins and Cshatriyas), we must advert to some considerations which greatly weaken its force.

The class most unlike the Bramins are the Chandálas, who are, nevertheless, originally the offspring of a Bramin mother; and who might have been expected to have preserved their resem-

[18] Ch. iv. 61. [19] Ch. viii. 22.
[20] Himálaya.
[21] Still so called, and forming the boundaries of Hindostan proper, on the south, as Himálaya does on the north. The legislator must have had an indistinct idea of the eastern termination of the range.
[22] Ch. ii. 21—24.

blance to their parent stock, as, from the very lowness of their cast, they are prevented mixing with any race but their own. Difference of habits and employments is, of itself, sufficient to create as great a dissimilarity as exists between the Bramin and the Súdra; and the hereditary separation of professions in India would contribute to keep up and to increase such a distinction.[23]

It is opposed to their foreign origin, that neither in the code, nor, I believe, in the Védas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the code, is there any allusion to a prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no farther than the Himálaya chain, in which is fixed the habitation of the gods.

The common origin of the Sanscrit language with those of the west leaves no doubt that there was once a connexion between the nations by whom they are used; but it proves nothing regarding the place where such a connexion subsisted, nor about the time, which might have been in so early a stage of their society as to prevent its throwing any light on the history of the individual nations. To say that it spread from a central point is a gratuitous assumption, and even contrary to analogy; for emigration and civilization have not spread in a circle, but from east to west. Where, also, could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldea, Syria, and Arabia untouched?

The question, therefore, is still open.[24] There is no reason whatever for thinking that the Hindús ever inhabited any country but their present one; and as little for denying that they may have done so before the earliest trace of their records or traditions.

Assuming them to be a conquering tribe, whether foreign or native, the institution of cast, and other Hindú peculiarities, may have arisen from their situation, without premeditation or design. On taking possession of a new settlement, the richer or more warlike members of the community would continue to confine themselves to the profession of arms, while the less eminent would betake themselves to agriculture, arts, and commerce. As in all rude tribes in the old or new world, there

[23] Observe the difference which even a few years can produce between two individuals, who were alike when they began life; between a soldier of a well disciplined regiment, for instance, and a man of the least active and healthy classes in a manufacturing town.

[24] [On this subject, see Additional Appendix.—Ed.]

would be priests and soothsayers, who would pretend to a knowledge of the designs of the Supreme Being, and of the means of propitiating him; but these would at first be individuals possessed of more sagacity than their neighbours; and though they might transmit their art to their sons, it would be some time before their number and power had so far increased as to enable them to confine the sacred character to particular families. The pride of the military order would prevent their degrading their blood by marriages with the industrious classes, —a feeling which long operated in many European nations as effectually as the rules of cast. The priests would not be left behind in this assumption of superiority, and would be borne out by the necessity of preserving the purity of a race consecrated to the service of the Deity. The conquered people, as in all similar cases, would remain a class apart, at first cultivating the land for the use of the conquerors, but afterwards converted by the interest or convenience of their masters into free tenants. So far, except for the separation of the priesthood, the progress of society would have been the same with the early stages of most nations in ancient times or in the middle ages. The first striking difference appears in the permanence of the Hindú institutions, which were fixed at a certain point, and admitted of no subsequent alteration or improvement. The origin of this stability seems to have lain in the union and consequent power of the priesthood, when once formed into a separate class, and in their close alliance with the secular ruler. The Prince's laws came forth with the sanction of the Divinity, and perhaps as revelations from heaven: they, therefore, admitted of no dispute; and, as they embraced religious as well as moral and civil duties, they took a complete control over the conduct and consciences of those subject to them, and cast the whole into a mould from which it could never after vary. To effect their purpose, the priests would invent the genealogy of casts and other fables calculated to support the existing institutions, or to introduce such alterations as they thought desirable; and, while they raised the power of the chief to the highest pitch, they would secure as much influence to their own order as could be got without creating jealousy or destroying the ascendancy which they derived from the public opinion of their austerity and virtue. The immediate causes of this powerful combination, and the particular means by which it was brought about, are beyond our powers of conjecture; but, if we suppose that the Catholic Church had been without a separate head at

the time of its alliance with Charlemagne, and that the clergy, retaining their other restrictions, had been allowed to marry and bring up their progeny in their own profession, it is not difficult to imagine a course which would lead to the result which we see exemplified in the Hindús.

It would be some time before the existing usages and the occasional regulations of the Prince came to be embodied in a code; and afterwards alterations would be silently made to suit the changes in the progress of society or in the policy of the rulers: even new codes incorporating the old ones might long be framed without occasioning doubts of the Divine authority for the whole; but at length the text of the code would become fixed, and all subsequent innovations would be effected by glosses on the original, or by new laws promulgated by the royal authority.

To all appearance the present code was not compiled until long after the community had passed the earliest stages of civilization.

Peculiarities relating to the Bramins.

In making a general review of the code, we are struck with two peculiarities in its relation to the Bramins, by whom it seems to have been planned. The first is the little importance attached by them to the direction of public worship and religious ceremonies of all sorts. Considering the reverence derived by the ministers of religion from their apparent mediation between the laity and the Divinity, and also the power that might be obtained by means of oracles, and other modes of deception, it might rather have been expected that such means of influence should be neglected by the priesthood, in the security arising from long possession of temporal authority, than renounced in an early code, the main object of which is to confirm and increase the power of the Bramins.

The effects of this neglect are also deserving of observation. It was natural that the degradation of public worship should introduce the indifference now so observable in the performance of it; but it is surprising that the regular practice of it by all classes should still be kept up at all; and that on some occasions, as pilgrimages, festivals, &c., it should be able to kindle enthusiasm.

The second peculiarity is the regulation of all the actions of life, in a manner as strict and minute as could be enforced in a single convent, maintained over so numerous a body of men as the Bramins, scattered through an extensive region, living with their families like other citizens, and subject to no common

chief or council, and to no form of ecclesiastical government or subordination. Various causes contributed to support this discipline, which, at first, seems to have been left to chance,—the superstitious reverence for the Divine law, which must in time have been felt even by the class whose progenitors invented it; their strict system of early education; the penances enjoined by religion, perhaps enforced by the aid of the civil authority; the force of habit and public opinion after the rules had obtained the sanction of antiquity; but, above all, the vigilance of the class itself, excited by a knowledge of the necessity of discipline for the preservation of their power, and by that intense feeling of the common interest of the class, which never, perhaps, was so deeply seated as in the heart of a Bramin.

In spite of these forces, however, the Bramin discipline has gradually declined. Their rules have been neglected in cases where the temptation was strong, or the risk of loss of influence not apparent, until the diminished sanctity of their character has weakened their power, and has thrown a considerable portion of it into the hands of men of other classes, who form the great body of the monastic orders.

BOOK II.

CHANGES SINCE MENU, AND STATE OF THE HINDÚS IN LATER TIMES.

Though the Hindús have preserved their customs more entire than any other people with whom we are acquainted, and for a period exceeding that recorded of any other nation, yet it is not to be supposed that changes have not taken place in the lapse of twenty-five centuries.

I shall now attempt to point out those changes; and, although it may not always be possible to distinguish such of them as may be of Mahometan origin, I shall endeavour to confine my account to those features, whether in religion, government, or manners, which still characterize the Hindús.

I shall preserve the same order as in the code, and shall commence with the present state of the classes.

CHAPTER I.

CHANGES IN CAST.

Changes in the four great classes.

It is, perhaps, in the division and employment of the classes that the greatest alterations have been made since Menu. Those of Cshatriya and Veisya, perhaps even of Súdra, are alleged by the Bramins to be extinct; a decision which is by no means acquiesced in by those immediately concerned. The Rájpúts still loudly assert the purity of their descent from the Cshatriyas,* and some of the industrious classes claim the same relation to the Veisyas. The Bramins, however, have been almost universally successful, so far as to exclude the other classes from access to the Védas, and to confine all learning, human and divine, to their own body.

The Bramins themselves, although they have preserved their own lineage undisputed, have, in a great measure, departed from the rules and practice of their predecessors. In some particulars they are more strict than formerly, being denied the use of ani-

[* A late decision of the Privy Council has decided that the Kshatriya cast still exists among the Rájputs. See Cowell's *Tagore Law Lectures* for 1870, p. 173.—Ed.]

mal food,[1] and restrained from intermarriages with the inferior classes; but in most respects their practice is greatly relaxed. The whole of the fourfold division of their life, with all the restraints imposed on students, hermits, and abstracted devotees, is now laid aside as regards the community; though individuals, at their choice, may still adopt some one of the modes of life which formerly were to be gone through in turn by all.

Bramins now enter into service, and are to be found in all trades and professions. The number of them supported by charity, according to the original system, is quite insignificant in proportion to the whole. It is common to see them as husbandmen, and, still more, as soldiers; and even of those trades which are expressly forbidden to them under severe penalties, they only scruple to exercise the most degraded, and in some places not even those.[2] In the south of India, however, their peculiar secular occupations are those connected with writing and public business. From the minister of state down to the village accountant, the greater number of situations of this sort are in their hands, as is all interpretation of the Hindú law, a large share of the ministry of religion, and many employments (such as farmers of the revenue, &c.) where a knowledge of writing and of business is required.

In the parts of Hindostan where the Mogul system was fully introduced, the use of the Persian language has thrown public business into the hands of Mussulmans and Cáyets.[3] Even in the Nizám's territories in the Deckan the same cause has in some degree diminished the employment of the Bramins; but still they must be admitted to have everywhere a more avowed share in the government than in the time of Menu's code, when one Bramin counsellor, together with the judges, made the whole of their portion in the direct enjoyment of power.

It might be expected that this worldly turn of their pursuits would deprive the Bramins of some part of their religious influence; and, accordingly, it is stated by a very high authority,[4] that (in the provinces on the Ganges, at least) they are null as a hierarchy, and as a literary body few and little countenanced. Even in the direction of the consciences of families and of individuals they have there been supplanted by Gosáyens and other monastic orders.[5]

[1] Some casts of Bramins in Hindostan eat certain descriptions of flesh that has been offered in sacrifice. In such circumstances flesh is everywhere lawful food; but in the Deckan this sort of sacrifice is so rare that probably few Bramins ever witnessed it.

[2] Ward, vol. i. p. 87.

[3] A cast of Sudras; see p. 61.

[4] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. pp. 310, 311.

[5] Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 311.

Yet even in Bengal they appear still to be the objects of veneration and of profuse liberality to the laity.[6] The ministry of most temples, and the conduct of religious ceremonies, must still remain with them; and in some parts of India no diminution whatever can be perceived in their spiritual authority. Such is certainly the case in the Maratta country, and would appear to be so likewise in the west of Hindostan.[7] The temporal influence derived from their numbers, affluence, and rank subsists in all parts; but, even where the Bramins have retained their religious authority, they have lost much of their popularity. This seems to be particularly the case among the Rájpúts,[8] and is still more so among the Marattas, who have not forgiven their being supplanted in the government of their country by a class whom they regard as their inferiors in the military qualities, which alone, in their estimation, entitle men to command.

Mixed classes.

The two lowest classes that existed in Menu's time are now replaced by a great number of casts of mixed, and sometimes obscure, descent, who, nevertheless, maintain their divisions with greater strictness than the ancient classes were accustomed to do, neither eating together, nor intermarrying, nor partaking in common rites. In the neighbourhood of Púna, where they are probably not particularly numerous, there are about 150 different casts.[9] These casts, in many cases, coincide with trades; the goldsmiths forming one cast, the carpenters another, &c. This is conformable to Menu, who assigns to each of the mixed classes an hereditary occupation.

The enforcement of the rules of cast is still strict, but capricious. If a person of low cast were to step on the space of ground cleared out by one of the higher classes for cooking, the owner would immediately throw away his untasted meal, even if he had not the means of procuring another.

The loss of cast is faintly described by saying that it is civil death. A man not only cannot inherit, nor contract, nor give evidence, but he is excluded from all the intercourse of private life, as well as from the privileges of a citizen. He must not be admitted into his father's house; his nearest relations must not communicate with him; and he is deprived of all the consolations of religion in this life, and all hope of happiness in that which is to follow. Unless, however, cast be lost for an enormous offence, or for long-continued breach of rules, it can always be regained by expiation; and the means of recovering it must be

[6] Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. i. pp. 68 71.
[7] Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i. pp. 511, 512.
[8] Ibid.; and see also Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. ii. p. 124.
[9] Steele, *Summary of the Laws and Customs of Hindoo Casts*, preface, p. xi.

very easy, for the effects of the loss of it are now scarcely observable. It occurs, no doubt, and prosecutions are not unfrequent in our courts for unjust exclusion from cast; but in a long residence in India I do not remember ever to have met with or heard of an individual placed in the circumstances which I have described.

The greatest change of all is, that there no longer exists a servile class. There are still prædial slaves in the south of India, and in some of the mountain and forest districts elsewhere. These may possibly be the remains of the ancient Súdras, but in other parts of the country all *classes* are free. Domestic slaves form no exception, being individuals of any class reduced by particular circumstances to bondage.

Though scrupulous genealogists dispute the existence of pure Súdras at the present day, yet many descriptions of people are admitted to be such, even by the Bramins. The whole of the Marattas, for instance, belong to that class. The proper occupation of a Súdra is now thought to be agriculture; but he is not confined to that employment, for many are soldiers; and the Cáyets, who have been mentioned as rivalling the Bramins in business and everything connected with the pen, are (in Bengal, at least) [10] pure Súdras, to whom their profession has descended from ancient times.[11]

The institution of casts, though it exercises a most pernicious influence on the progress of the nation, has by no means so great an effect in obstructing the enterprise of individuals as European writers are apt to suppose. There is, indeed, scarcely any part of the world where changes of condition are so sudden and so striking as in India. The last Péshwa had, at different times, two prime ministers; one of them had been either an officiating priest or a singer in a temple (both degrading employments), and the other was a Súdra, and originally a running footman. The Rája of Jeipúr's prime minister was a barber. The founder of the reigning family of Hólcar was a goatherd; and that of Sindia a menial servant; and both were Súdras. The great family of Rástia, in the Maratta country, first followed the natural occupations of Bramins, then became great bankers, and, at length, military commanders. Many similar instances of elevation might be quoted. The changes of professions in private

[10] [In Bengal, the next divisions below the Brahmans are the *Baidyas* or medical, and the *Káyasthas*, or writer cast, then come the nine divisions called the Nobo Sák, i.e., the *gopa* or cowherd, the *mali* or gardener, the *tailí* or oilman, the *tantrí* or weaver, the *modaka* or confectioner, the *varuji* or betel-cultivator, the *kulala* or potter, the *karmakára* or smith, and the *napita* or barber. Below these are the numerous low casts, from whom a Brahman cannot accept water, such as the *kaivartaka* or fisherman, *saurarna-banij* or goldsmith, &c.—ED.]

[11] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 58.

life are less observable; but the first good Hindú miniature painter, in the European manner, was a blacksmith. A new cast may be said to have been introduced by the establishment of the monastic orders. The origin of these communities can only be touched on as a matter of speculation.

Monastic orders.

By the rules of Menú's code, a Bramin in the fourth stage of his life, after having passed through a period of solitude and mortification as an anchoret,[12] is released from all formal observances, and permitted to devote his time to contemplation. It is probable that persons so situated might assemble for the purpose of religious discussion, and that men of superior endowments to the rest might collect a number of hearers, who would live around them without forming any religious community. Such, at least, was the progress from single monks to cenobites, among the early Christians. The assemblies of these inquirers might in time be attended by disciples, who, though not Bramins, were of the classes to whom the study of theology was permitted, each, however, living independently, according to the practice of his own class. This would seem to be the stage to which these religious institutions had attained in the time of Alexander, though there are passages in the early Greek writers from which it might be inferred that they had advanced still further towards the present model of regular monastic orders.[13] Unless that evidence be thought sufficient, we have no means of conjecturing at what period those assemblages formed themselves into religious communities, subject to rules of their own, distinct from those of their respective classes. The earliest date to which the foundation of any such order can be traced in the Hindú books is the eighth century of our era; and few of those now in existence are older than the fourteenth.[14] Some orders are still composed of Bramins alone, and a few among *them* may be regarded as the representatives of the original societies adverted to above; but the distinguishing peculiarity of the great majority of the orders is, that all distinctions of cast are levelled on admission. Bramins break their sacerdotal thread; and Cshatriyas, Veisyas, and Súdras renounce their own class on entering an order, and all become *equal* members of

[12] See p. 15.

[13] See Appendix III. It appears, in the same place, that these assemblies included persons performing the penances enjoined to Bramins of the third stage of life (or anchorets), who, by the strict rule laid down for them, were bound to live in solitude and silence.

[14] It may, perhaps, be construed into an indication of the existence of such orders in Menu's time, that in Ch. v. 89, funeral rites are denied to heretics, *who wear a dress of religion unauthorized by the Veda*. [The Schol. explains it of wandering ascetics who wear red garments, &c.—Ed.]

their new community. This bold innovation is supposed by Professor Wilson to have been adopted about the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century.[15]

The Hindú orders do not present the same regular aspect as similar fraternities in Europe, and do not so easily furnish marked characteristics to distinguish them from the rest of mankind or from each other. There is not even a general name for the class, though that of Gosáyen (which, in strictness, should be confined to one subdivision) is usually applied to the whole. They can all be recognised by their dress, as all wear some part of their clothes (generally the turban and scarf) of a dirty orange colour, except a few, who go quite naked: all are bound by some vows; and all accept (though all do not solicit) charity.

These are, perhaps, the only particulars which can be asserted of them all; but by far the greater number have many other features in common. An order generally derives its character from a particular spiritual instructor, whose doctrines it maintains, and by whose rules of life the members are bound. Many of these founders of orders have been likewise founders of sects; for which reason the tenets of Gosáyens are seldom purely orthodox. They vary greatly in numbers, some being confined to a small knot of votaries in one part of the country, and others spread in numbers over all India.

Most of them possess convents, to which, in some cases, landed property is attached. They derive an additional income from the contributions of devout persons, from money collected by begging, and, in many cases, from trade, which is often carried on openly, but more frequently in a covert manner. These convents are all under a mohant (or abbot), who is generally elected by his own community or by the other mohants of the order; but who is sometimes hereditary, and often named by his predecessor. Admission into an order is not given until after a probation of a year or two. The novice is in a manner adopted by a particular instructor, or guru, who has often several such disciples; all subject, as well as the guru himself, to the head of the convent. One order in Bengal admits of males and females living in one convent, but under strict vows of chastity.

Many of the Gosáyens who belong to convents nevertheless spend much of their lives in wandering about, and subsist by begging. Other Gosáyens lead an entirely erratic life; in some cases

[15] [Similarly distinctions of cast cease for the time among the worshippers at the temple of Jagannáth. The earliest protest against cast was the rise of Buddhism.—ED.]

still subordinate to mohants, and in others, quite independent and free from all rules, except such as they impose on themselves. But among these last are to be found some of the most austere religionists; those, in particular, who retire to the heart of forests, and live entirely unconnected with mankind, exposed to the chance of famine, if no charitable person should think of them, and to still greater danger from the beasts of prey that alone inhabit those wild and solitary tracts.[16]

Few of the orders are under very strict vows; and they have no attendance on chapels, general fasts, vigils, or other monkish observances. Most are bound to celibacy; but many allow their members to marry, and to reside with their families like laymen. One order, particularly devoted to Crishna, in his infant form, hold it to be their duty to indulge in costly apparel and choice food, and to partake of every description of innocent enjoyment; and these tenets are so far from lowering their character that their influence with their followers is unbounded, and they are amply supplied with the means of living according to their liberal notions of religious duty.

Some orders, however, differ widely from these last; such are those of which individuals hold up one or both arms until they become fixed in that position, and until the nails grow through the hands; those who lie on beds of spikes, who vow perpetual silence, and who expose themselves to other voluntary mortifications. Some few affect every sort of filth and pollution, and extort alms by the disgust which their presence creates, or by gashing their limbs with knives.

Others, as has been said, go naked, and many nearly so. Of this description are the Nágas, who serve as mercenary soldiers, often to the number of several thousands, under their own leaders.

These people do not profess to take arms for the advancement of their religion, but serve any chief for hire; and are, in general, men of violent and profligate habits, but with the reputation of desperate courage. Their naked limbs smeared with ashes, their shaggy beards, and their matted hair, artificially increased and twisted round the head, give a striking appearance to these martial devotees. When not hired, they have been known to wander about the country in large bands, plundering and levying contributions. In former days the British possessions were more than once invaded by such marauders.

[16] Mr. Ward on the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 342, where he states that he was informed, on a spot on Ságar Island, that six of these hermits had been carried off by tigers in the preceding three months.

But these armed monks sometimes assemble in great numbers, without being formed into bands or associated for military service; and the meeting of large bodies of opposite sects has often led to sanguinary conflicts. At the great fair at Hardwár, in 1760, an affray, or rather a battle, took place between the Nagás of Siva and those of Vishnu, in which it was stated, on the spot, that 18,000 persons were left dead on the field.[17] The amount must, doubtless, have been absurdly exaggerated, but it serves to give an idea of the numbers engaged.

One description of Gosáyens, of the sect of Siva, are Yógis (see Chap. V.); and attempt, by meditation, and by holding in the breath, and other mummeries, to procure a union with the Divinity. The lowest of this class pretend to work miracles; and some are even professed mountebanks, who go about the country with monkeys and musical instruments, and amuse the populace with juggling and other tricks of dexterity. Another sort is much more remarkable. These profess to be enthusiastic devotees, and practise their imposture not for money, but to increase their reputation for sanctity. Among them are persons who manage, by some contrivance hitherto unexplained, to remain seated, for many minutes, in the air, at as great a distance from the ground as four feet, with no other *apparent* support but what they derive from slightly resting on a sort of crutch with the back of one hand, the fingers of which are all the time employed in counting their beads.[18]

Among the Gosáyens there are, or have been, some few learned men: many are decent and inoffensive religionists, and many respectable merchants; but many, also, are shameless and importunate beggars, and worthless vagabonds of all descriptions, attracted to the order by the idle and wandering life which it admits of. In general, the followers of Vishnu are the most respectable, and those of Siva the most infected by the offensive qualities of the class. It is to the credit of the good sense of the Hindús that these devotees fall off in public esteem exactly in proportion to the extravagance and eccentricity of their observances.

The veneration of some of the Váishnava sectarians for their mendicant directors is carried to an almost incredible pitch. In Bengal, some of them consider their spiritual guide as of

[17] Captain Raper, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 455.

[18] The most authentic account of one of these is quoted by Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 186, from a statement by an eye-witness in the *Asiatic Monthly Journal* for March, 1829.

superior importance, and entitled to greater regard than their Deity himself.[19]

The want of a common head to the Hindú religion accounts or the lax discipline of many orders, and the total absence of rules among single Beirágis and Yógis, and such lawless assemblages as those formed by the military Nágas.[20]

The same circumstance has preserved the independence of these orders, and prevented their falling, like the monks of Europe, under the authority of the ecclesiastical body; and to their independence is to be ascribed the want of concord between them and the sacerdotal class. The rivalry thus engendered might have produced more serious effects; but the influence which the Bramins derive from their possession of the literature and law of their nation has had an operation on the orders, as it has on other Hindús; and, in recognising the code of Menu, and the religious traditions of their country, they could not withhold their acknowledgment of the high station to which the class had raised itself by the authority of those writings.

CHAPTER II.

CHANGES IN THE GOVERNMENT.

The modern Hindú government differs from that described by Menu, less in consequence of any deliberate alterations, than of a relaxation of the systematic form which was recommended by

[19] Professor, Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 119. The above account is chiefly from Professor Wilson's essay in vols xvi. and xvii. of the *Asiatic Researches*, with some particulars from Ward's *Hindoos*, and some from the account of the Gosáyens in the Appendix to Steele's *Summary*. See Appendix, on "Changes in Cast."

[20] The same laxity prevailed at different periods among the Christian orders, and called forth the interference of the popes and councils.

In the early ages of the church the Sarabaites belonged to no convent, and were under no rule, but roamed about the country, subsisting by charity, and often practising every sort of debauchery; and thus licence continued until the middle of the ninth century, when all professed monks were compelled to enter themselves as members of particular convents. Even members of convents sometimes led the same vagabond life until restrained by authority. (*Histoire du Clergé Seculier et Regulier*, vol. ii. p. 15; *Muratori*, 75th Dissertation, vol. iii. part 2, pp. 80, 94.) New Orders multiplied among the Christians with as little restraint as among the Hindús, until they were prohibited under Innocent III., A.D. 1215. (*Muratori*, p. 97).

Commerce was carried on, even in recent times, to a great extent by the Jesuits, and was one of the arguments in favour of the suppression of the order. (Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. iii. pp. 138, 206.) As late as the last century some even of the strictest orders admitted into their community a class which took certain vows and wore a monastic dress, but were allowed to live in the world and to exercise professions; even married persons were not excluded.

the old lawgiver, and which, perhaps, was at no time exactly conformed to in the actual practice of any state.

The chief has no longer a fixed number of ministers and a regular council. He has naturally some heads of departments, and occasionally consults them, and his prime minister, on matters affecting the peculiar province of each. Administration.

Traces of all the revenue divisions of Menu,[1] under lords of 10 towns, lords of 100, and lords of 1000 towns, are still to be found, especially in the Deckan; but the only one which remains entire is that called Perganneh, which answers to the lordship of 100 towns. Even the officers of the old system are still kept up in those divisions, and receive a remuneration in lands and fees; but they are no longer the active agents of the government, and are only employed to keep the records of all matters connected with land. (A). It is generally supposed that these officers fell into disuse after the Mahometan conquest; but as, like everything Hindú, they became hereditary, and liable to division among heirs, the sovereign, Hindú as well as Mussulman, must have felt their inadequacy to fulfil the objects they were designed for, and the necessity of replacing them by officers of his own choosing, on whom he could rely. Revenue divisions.

At present, even Hindú territories are divided into governments of various extent, which are again divided and subdivided, as convenience requires. The King names the governors of the great divisions, and the governor chooses his own deputies for those subordinate.

The governor unites all the functions of administration; there being no longer military divisions as in Menu's time; and no courts of justice, but at the capital (if there).

But among all these changes, the townships* remain entire, and are the indestructible atoms, from an aggregate of which the most extensive Indian empires are composed.

A township is a compact piece of land, varying in extent, inhabited by a single community. The boundaries are accurately defined and jealously guarded. The lands may be of all descriptions; those actually under cultivation and those neglected; arable lands never yet cultivated; and land which is altogether incapable of cultivation. These lands are divided into portions, the boundaries of which are as carefully Description of a township.

[1] As many of the notes on this account of the revenue system are long, and not required for a general understanding of the subject, I have thought it best to place them in an Appendix, to which reference will be made by letters of the alphabet.

* [*cf.* Sir. H. Maine's *Village Communities in the East and West*, 1871.]

marked as those of the township; and the names, qualities, extent, and proprietors of which are minutely entered in the records of the community. The inhabitants are all assembled in a village within the limits, which in many parts of India is fortified, or protected by a little castle or citadel.

Its privileges.

Each township conducts its own internal affairs. It levies on its members the revenue due to the state; and is collectively responsible for the payment of the full amount. It manages its police, and is answerable for any property plundered within its limits. It administers justice to its own members, as far as punishing small offences, and deciding disputes in the first instance. It taxes itself, to provide funds for its internal expenses; such as repairs of the walls and temple, and the cost of public sacrifices and charities, as well as of some ceremonies and amusements on festivals.

It is provided with the requisite officers for conducting all those duties, and with various others adapted to the wants of the inhabitants; and, though entirely subject to the general government, is in many respects an organized commonwealth, complete within itself. This independence, and its concomitant privileges, though often violated by government, are never denied; they afford some little protection against a tyrannical ruler, and maintain order within their own limits, even when the general government has been dissolved.

I quote the following extract from a minute of Sir Charles Metcalfe, as well for the force of his language as the weight of his authority:—

"The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn; but the village community remains the same. In times of trouble they arm and fortify themselves: an hostile army passes through the country: the village communities collect their cattle within their walls, and let the enemy pass unprovoked. If plunder and devastation be directed against themselves, and the force employed be irresistible, they flee to friendly villages at a distance; but, when the storm has passed over, they return and resume their occupations. If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers

nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers; the same site for the village, the same positions for the houses, the same lands will be re-occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated; and it is not a trifling matter that will drive them out, for they will often maintain their post through times of disturbance and convulsion, and acquire strength sufficient to resist pillage and oppression with success. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."[2]

Government of a township by one head.

A township in its simplest form is under a Headman (B), who is only spoken of in Menu as an agent of the King, and may have been removable at his pleasure. His office has now become hereditary; and though he is still regarded as an officer of the King, he is really more the representative of the people. The selection of an individual from the proper family rests sometimes with the village community, and oftener with the government; but to be useful to either he must possess the confidence of both. He holds a portion of land, and receives an annual allowance from the government; but the greater part of his income is derived from fees paid by the villagers. So far is he identified with the village, that he is held personally responsible for its engagements, and thrown into prison in all cases of resistance or failure of the revenue.

Duties of the headman

The headman settles with the government the sum to be paid to it for the year; and apportions the payment among the villagers according to the extent and tenures of their lands. He also lets such lands as have no fixed occupants, partitions the water for irrigation, settles disputes, apprehends offenders, and sends them to the government office of the district; and, in short, does all the duties of municipal government.

All this is done in public, at a place appropriated for the purpose; and on all points affecting the public interest, in free consultation with the villagers. In civil disputes the headman is

[2] Sir C. T. Metcalfe, *Report of Select Committee of House of Commons*, 1832, vol. iii. Appendix 84, p. 331.

assisted by arbitrators named by the parties, or by assessors of his own choice. His office confers a great deal of respectability with all the country people, as well as influence in his own village. It is saleable; but the owner seldom parts with it entirely, reserving the right of presiding at certain ceremonies and other honorary privileges, when compelled to dispose of all the solid advantages.

The headman is assisted by different officers, of whom the accountant and the watchman are the most important.

Village establishment; the accountant, watchman, &c.

The accountant (C) keeps the village records, which contain a full description of the nature of the lands of the village, with the names of the former and present holders, the rent, and other terms of occupancy. He also keeps the accounts of the village community and those of the villagers individually, both with the government and with each other. He acts as notary in drawing up deeds for them, and writes private letters for those who require such a service. He is paid by fees on the inhabitants, and sometimes has an allowance or an assignment of land from the government.

The watchman (D) is the guardian of boundaries, public and private. He watches the crops, is the public guide and messenger, and is, next to the headman, the principal officer of police. In this capacity he keeps watch at night, observes all arrivals and departures, makes himself acquainted with the character of every individual in the village, and is bound to find out the possessor of any stolen property within the township, or to trace him till he has passed the boundary, when the responsibility is transferred to the next neighbour.

These duties may seem beyond the powers of one man; but the remuneration is hereditary in a particular family all the members of which contribute to perform the service.[1] They are always men of a low cast.

The money-changer may also be considered an assistant of the headman, as one of his duties is to assay all money paid. He is also the silversmith of the village. Besides these, there are other village officers, the number of which is fixed by the native name and by common opinion at twelve; but, in fact, it varies in different villages, and the officers included are not always the same.

[1] This is the only office in which the sort of joint tenancy described is beneficial. In most others the sharers act in turn in that of the accountant the evil is most conspicuous, as the records are lost or thrown into confusion by frequently changing hands, and none of the coparceners is long enough in office to be perfect in his business.

The priest and the astrologer (one of whom is often the schoolmaster), the smith, carpenter, barber, potter, and worker in leather, are seldom wanting. The tailor, washerman, physician, musician, minstrel, and some others, are not so general: the dancing-girl seems only to be in the south of India.

The minstrel recites poems and composes verses. His most important character (in some places at least) is that of genealogist.[4] Each of these village officers and artisans has a fee, sometimes in money, more frequently a portion of produce, as a handful or two out of each measure of grain.

This is the mode of village government when there is nobody between the tenant and the prince; but in one half of India, especially in the north and the extreme south, there is in each village a community which represents, or rather which constitutes, the township; the other inhabitants being their tenants (E). These people are generally regarded as absolute proprietors of the soil, and are admitted wherever they exist to have an hereditable and transferable interest in it; but, as the completeness of their proprietary right is doubtful, it will be convenient to preserve the ambiguity of their native name, and call them "village landholders" (F). Government by a village community.

Where they exist, the village is sometimes governed by one head, as above described; but more frequently each branch of the family composing the community (or each family, if there be more than one) has its own head, who manages its internal affairs, and unites with the heads of the other divisions to conduct the general business of the village. The council thus composed fills precisely the place occupied in other cases by the single headman, and its members share among them the official remuneration allowed to that officer by the government and the villagers. Their number depends on that of the divisions, but seldom exceeds 8 or 10. Each of these heads is generally chosen from the oldest branch of his division, but is neither richer or otherwise distinguished from the rest of the landholders.

Where there are village landholders, they form the first class of the inhabitants of villages; but there are four other classes of inferior degree:—2. Permanent tenants. 3. Temporary tenants. 4. Labourers. 5. Shopkeepers, who take up their abode in a village for the convenience of a market. Classes of inhabitants

The popular notion is that the village landholders are all

[4] The widely extended *entail* of all property in India, and the complicated restrictions on the intermarriage of families, make the business of a genealogist of much more serious concern in that country than it is with us.

descended from one or more individuals who first settled the village; and that the only exceptions are formed by persons who have derived their rights by purchase, or otherwise, from members of the original stock. The supposition is confirmed by the fact that, to this day, there are often only single families of landholders in small villages, and not many in large ones (G); but each has branched out into so many members, that it is not uncommon for the whole agricultural labour to be done by the landholders, without the aid either of tenants or labourers.

Village landholders.

The rights of the landholders are theirs *collectively*; and, though they almost always have a more or less perfect partition of them, they never have an entire separation. A landholder, for instance, can sell or mortgage his rights; but he must first have the consent of the village, and the purchaser steps exactly into his place and takes up all his obligations. If a family becomes extinct, its share returns to the common stock.

In some villages the rights of the landholders are held in common, the whole working for the community, and sharing the net produce, after satisfying the claims of the government. In some they divide the cultivated lands, but still with mutual responsibility for the dues of government, and sometimes with periodical interchanges of their portions; and in others they make the separation between the portions of cultivated land complete, retaining only the waste land and some other rights in common; but, at times, they divide the waste land also. In dividing their lands they do not in general give one compact portion to each landholder, but assign to him a share of every description of soil; so that he has a patch of fertile land in one place, one of sterile in another, one of grazing ground in a third, and so on, according to the variety of qualities to be found within the village (G[a]).

Their rights are various in different parts of the country. Where their tenure is most perfect, they hold their lands subject to the payment of a fixed proportion of the produce to government, or free of all demand. When at the lowest, they retain some honorary exemptions that distinguish them from the rest of the villagers (H).

There are many instances where the government has taken advantage of the attachment of the landholders to their land to lay on them heavier imposts than other cultivators are willing to pay. Even then, however, some advantage, actual or prospective, must still remain; since there is no tract in which village landholders are found in which their rights are not

occasionally sold and mortgaged. One advantage, indeed, they always enjoy in the consideration shown towards them in the country, which would induce a family to connect itself by marriage with a landholder who laboured with his own hands, rather than with a wealthy person, equally unexceptionable in point of cast, but of an inferior class society.

So rooted is the notion of property in the village landholders, that, even when one of them is compelled to abandon his fields from the demand of government exceeding what they will pay, he is still considered as proprietor, his name still remains on the village register, and, for three generations, or one hundred years, he is entitled to reclaim his land, if from any change of circumstances he should be so disposed.

In the Tamil country and in Hindostan,[5] a tenant put in by the government will sometimes voluntarily pay the proprietor's fee to the defaulting and dispossessed landholder.[6]

Permanent tenants.

In all villages there are two descriptions of tenants, who rent the lands of the village landholders (where there are such), and those of the government, where there is no such intermediate class. These tenants are commonly called ryots (I), and are divided into two classes,—permanent and temporary.

The permanent ryots are those who cultivate the lands of the village where they reside, retain them during their lives, and transmit them to their children (K).

[5] Mr. Ellis, *Report of Select Committee*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 376; Mr. Fortescue, *Selections*, vol. iii. p. 405.

[6] [Mr. Robinson, in his valuable little book on *The Land Revenue of British India* (published in 1856), gives three principal kinds of land tenure in India, the Zemindaree, the Putteedaree, and the Ryutwaree. "The distinguishing feature of the Zemindaree tenure is, that when an estate belongs to several proprietors, it is managed in joint-stock, with no separate possession of portions of land by the sharers." "The characteristic of the Putteedaree tenure is partition, or apportionment of the land in severalty, with joint responsibility. Each owner, or shareholder, undertakes the management of his separate portion, paying through the headman that proportion of the whole assessment on the estate which, by previous agreement, has been fixed on his portion of the land." "Under the Ryutwaree tenure the various proprietary subdivisions of the estate are recognised, and joint responsibility ceases. The owner of each petty holding is made responsible to government for the payment exclusively of his own fixed assessment. The principle is that of a field-assessment, with total separation of interests." Besides these three, there is a fourth, the Talooqdaree, which was superinduced over the others by the Muhammadan custom of granting the collection of revenue to great officers of state or powerful chiefs, who in course of time made the office hereditary. In Bengal proper, these talooqdars obtained great power by the perpetual settlement, and made themselves generally the sole owners or zemindars of the land. The Putteedaree tenure prevails in the North-west Provinces and the Saugor and Nerbudda territories; the Zemindaree in the North-west, and the Maratta and Tamil country; the Ryutwaree chiefly in Madras. See Robinson's *Land Revenue*, pp. 1-17, and Wilson's *Glossary* (*Gram* and *Zamindar*). Wilson also mentions an imperfect form of Putteedaree in the North-west, where part of the land is held in common and part in severalty.—ED.]

They have often been confounded with the village landholders, though the distinction is marked in all cases where any proprietor's fee exists. In it no tenant ever participates.[1]

Many are of opinion that they are the real proprietors of the soil; while others regard them as mere tenants at will. All, however, are agreed within certain limits; all acknowledging, on the one hand, that they have some claim to occupancy, and on the other, that they have no right to sell their land.

But, though all admit the right of occupancy, some contend that it is rendered nugatory by the right of the landlord to raise his rent; and others assert that the rent is so far fixed, that it ought never to go beyond the rate customary in the surrounding district.

The truth probably is, that the tenant's title was clear as long as the demand of the state was fixed; but that it became vague and of no value when the public assessment became arbitrary. At present, the permanent tenant is protected by the interest of the landlord; he will pay more than a stranger for lands long held by his family, and situated in a village where he has a house; but if driven to extremities, he could easily get a temporary lease, in another village, on lighter terms (L).

It is thought by some that the permanent tenants are the remains of village landholders reduced by oppression; others think they are temporary tenants who have gained their rights by long possession. It is probable that both conjectures are partially right; as well as a third, that their tenure was, in many instances, conferred on them by the landholders at the first settlement of the township.

Temporary tenants

The temporary tenant (M) cultivates the lands of a village different from that to which he belongs, holding them by an annual lease, written or understood. The first description of land being occupied by the resident tenant, an inferior class falls to his share, for which there is little competition; for this reason, and on account of his other disadvantages, he gets his land at a lower rent than the permanent tenant.

There is another sort of tenant who deserves to be mentioned, though of much less importance than either of the other two (N). These are persons whose cast or condition in life prevents their engaging in manual labour, or their women from taking part in any employment that requires their appearing before men. In consideration of these disadvantages, they are allowed

[1] Mr. Ellis, *Report of Select Committee of House of Commons*, 1832, vol. iii. p. 385.

to hold land at a favourable rate, so as to admit of their availing themselves of their skill or capital by the help of hired labourers (O). The services and remuneration of hired labourers are naturally various; but they differ too little from those of other countries to require explanation. Hired labourers.

It need scarcely be repeated that each of these classes is not necessarily found in every village. One village may be cultivated entirely by any one of them, or by all, in every variety of proportion.

Shopkeepers, &c., are subject to a ground-rent, and sometimes a tax besides, to the person on whose land they reside. They are under the general authority of the headman as a magistrate, but have little else to do with the community. Shopkeepers, &c.

It seems highly probable that the first villages founded by Hindús were all in the hands of village communities. In the early stage of their progress it was impossible for single men to cut fields out of the forest, and to defend them against the attacks of the aborigines, or even of wild beasts: there was no capital to procure the services of others; and, unless the undertaker had a numerous body of kindred, he was obliged to call in associates who were to share in the profits of the settlement; and thence came the formation of village communities, and the division of the land into townships. Probable origin and decline of the village communities.

The unoccupied waste, as in all other cases where society has assumed a regular form, must no doubt have belonged to the state; but the King, instead of transferring this property to the intended cultivators for a price paid once for all, or for a fixed annual rent or quit-rent (as is usual in other countries), reserved a certain proportion of the produce, which increased or diminished according to the extent and nature of the cultivation. The rest of the produce belonged to the community of settlers; but if they found they had more good land than they could themselves till, they would endeavour to make a profit of it through the labour of others. No method seemed easier than to assign it to a person who should engage to pay the government's proportion, with an additional share to the community: but while land was plenty, and many villages in progress, no man would undertake to clear a spot unless he was to enjoy it for ever; and hence permanent tenants would arise. Temporary tenants and labourers would follow as society advanced. The subdivision of property by inheritance would have a natural tendency to destroy this state of things, and to reduce all ranks to the condition of labourers;

but as long as there was plenty of waste land, that principle would not come into full operation.

But for this, the village community would remain unaltered as long as the King's proportion of the produce was unchanged. When he raised his demand, the profits of the landholders and permanent tenants diminished; and when it rose above a certain point, both classes cultivated their land at a loss. If this continued they were obliged to throw up their lands, and seek other means of living.

As the highest proportion claimed by the King, which at the time of Menu's code was one sixth, is now one half, it is easy to account for the annihilation of many village communities, and the shattered condition of others. The lands abandoned by the landholders reverted to the state.

But though this progress may have been very general, it need not have been universal; conquered lands already cultivated would become the property of the Prince, and might be cultivated on his account by the old proprietors reduced to serfs. Even at this day, the state constantly grants lands to speculators, for the purpose of founding villages, without recognising a body of landholders. The terms of these grants are various; in general they provide for total or partial exemption from revenue for a certain number of years; after which the payment is to be the same as in neighbouring villages.

Other processes must also have taken place, as we perceive from the results, though we cannot trace their progress. In Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, the land is held in absolute property by single individuals, subject to a fixed payment to the state.

Public land revenue.

The Sovereign's full share is now reckoned at one half; and a country is reckoned moderately assessed where he takes only one-third.[8] This increase has been made, not so much by openly raising the King's proportion of the crop as by means of various taxes and cesses, some falling directly on the land, and others more or less circuitously affecting the cultivator. Of the first sort are taxes on ploughs, on cattle, and others of the same description: of the second, taxes on the use of music at certain ceremonies, on marriages with widows, &c., and new taxes on consumption. Besides these, there are arbitrary cesses of both descriptions, which were professedly laid on for temporary purposes, but have been rendered permanent in practice. Of this

[8] [Mr. Robinson states, on the authority of Sir T. Munroe, that "in the districts of the chiefdoms of the Northern Circars, descended from the ancient sovereigns of Orissa, and in other Hindú States, the assessment fluctuated from two to three fifths of the gross produce."—Ed.]

kind are a cess on all occupants of land, proportioned to their previous payments, and a cess on the emoluments of village and district functionaries.

As there is no limit to these demands, but the ability of those on whom they fall to satisfy them, the only defence of the villagers lies in endeavouring to conceal their income. For this purpose they understate the amount of produce, and contrive to abstract part without the knowledge of the collector; more frequently they conceal the quantity of land cultivated, falsifying their records, so as to render detection impossible, without a troublesome and expensive scrutiny, involving a survey of the land. The landholders, where there are such, possess other indirect advantages, the extent of which the government is seldom able to ascertain. Some degree of connivance on the collector's part is obtained by bribes, which are levied as part of the internal expenses, and charged as "secret service;" an item into which it is a point of honour, both with the villagers and with future collectors and auditors, never to inquire.

It is only by the existence of such abuses, counterbalancing those on the part of the government, that we can account for land yielding a rent and being saleable when apparently assessed to the utmost of its powers of bearing.[9]

In the confusion produced by these irregularities on both sides, the principle of proportions of the produce is lost sight of; and in most parts of India the revenue is annually settled by a reference to that paid in former years, with such alterations as the peculiarity of the season, or the occurrence of any temporary advantage or calamity, may render expedient.

When the parties cannot agree by this mode of settlement, they have recourse to a particular inquiry into the absolute ability of the village for the year. The land being classed (as has been mentioned) according to its fertility, and the facilities it possesses for cultivation, the surplus remaining after the expense of production can be conjectured: a sufficient proportion is set aside for the maintenance of the cultivator; and the rest, after deducting village expenses, &c., goes to the government. As a final resource, when all other amicable means fail, an appeal is made to an actual division of the crops; but this mode of adjustment is so open to frauds that it is generally avoided by both parties; except, indeed, in places where long connexion between the representative of

[9] As in the village described by Mr. Hodgson (*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 77), where the landholders pay 57½ per cent. of their produce. See also Mr. Chaplin and the Deccan collectors, and Mr. Elphinstone for Guzerat, both in the selections published by the East India Company; Mr Hamilton Buchanan for Deinajpúr and other districts under Bengal, in his separate reports.

government and the people has established mutual confidence, in which case the division of the crop is the most popular of all settlements.

If the result of the contest with the government officers is the imposition of a burden beyond the patience of the cultivators, the whole body by common consent abandon their lands, leave their village, and refuse to enter into any engagement with the government. The public officers then have recourse to conciliation and intimidation, and, when necessary, to concession: force would be reckoned very oppressive, and, if used, would be ineffectual: the most it could do would be to disperse the villagers, and drive them into other jurisdictions.

It may easily be supposed that such modes of settlement cannot be carried on without much interference with the internal constitution of the township. In general the government officer carries on his exactions through the headman, but interferes when necessary to support him against individuals; but he sometimes suspends the headman from his duties, and takes the details of imposing and collecting the public revenue for the time into his own hands. Appeals and complaints are also incited to afford pretences for extortion in matters connected with justice and police; so that under a bad government the privileges of the townships are often reduced to insignificance.

All these evils are aggravated in many parts of India by the system of farming the revenue. The governments of provinces in such cases are conferred on the person who engages to give security for the largest annual payment to the treasury. This contractor in like manner farms his subdivisions to the highest bidder; and these last, in their turn, contract with the headmen for fixed payments from the villages, leaving each of them to make what profit he can for himself. By these means the natural defender of the cultivators becomes himself their principal oppressor; and, if the headman refuses the terms offered to him, the case is made worse by the transfer of his office to any stranger who is willing to accept the contract.

It is by such exactions that village landholders have in many cases been reduced from masters of the township to mere tenants of the crown; and in some have been obliged to fly from their lands, to avoid being compelled to cultivate them under terms which it was impossible for them to bear.

Hitherto each sharer in the village has been supposed to be acting on his own rights; but the King and the landholders are each entitled to alienate their share in the advantages derived

from it. The headman and accountant also, if not others of the village functionaries, can sell their offices and official emoluments. Thus a new description of persons is introduced into the township; but the new comers occupy precisely the station of their predecessors. The grantee of the King's share becomes entitled to receive *his* proportion of the produce, but does not supersede the headman in his local duties, still less interfere with private occupants; the new landholder takes up all the relations of the old; and the headman, accountant, &c. must henceforth be taken from the new family, but his functions undergo no change. The purposes of the King's alienations will be explained a little further on.

This account of the different occupants of the land naturally leads to the much agitated question of the property in the soil; which some suppose to be vested in the state; some, in the great Zemíndárs; some, in the village landholders; and some, in the tenants. The claim of the great Zemíndárs will be shown, in its proper place, to be derived from one of the remaining three; among whom, therefore, the discussion is confined. Property in the soil.

Property in land seems to consist in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of the soil in perpetuity; together with the right to alter or destroy the soil itself, where such an operation is possible. These privileges, combined, form the abstract idea of property; which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Where *they* are found united, *there* is property, and nowhere else. Now the King possesses the exclusive right to a proportion only of the produce This right is permanent, and the King can dispose of it at his pleasure; but he cannot interfere with the soil or its produce beyond this limit. If he requires the land for buildings, roads, or other public purposes, he takes it as magistrate, and ought to give compensation to his fellow-shareholders, as he can on emergency seize carts, boats, &c., and can demolish houses in besieged towns, although in those cases he has no pretensions whatever to property.

As much of the produce as comes into the hands of the landholder, after the King's proportion is provided, is his; and his power to dispose of his right to it for all future years is unrestrained. The tenant has what remains of the produce after the King's proportion and the landlord's rent is paid; and this he enjoys in perpetuity; but the right is confined to himself and his heirs, and cannot be otherwise disposed of.

Neither the landholder nor the tenant can destroy, or even

suspend, the use of the powers of the soil: a tenant forfeits his land when he fails to provide a crop from which the other sharers may take their proportions; and a landholder guilty of the same default would be temporarily superseded by a tenant of the community's or the King's, and, after a certain long period, would be deprived of his right altogether.

From all this it is apparent that, where there are village communities and permanent tenants, there is no perfect property in any of the sharers. Where there are neither communities nor permanent tenants, the King doubtless is the full and complete proprietor; all subsequent rights are derived from his grant or lease. The extent of those grants varies with circumstances; but when they are given without reserve and in perpetuity, they constitute a perfect form of private property.

Many of the disputes about the property in the soil have been occasioned by applying to all parts of the country, facts which are only true of particular tracts; and by including, in conclusions drawn from one sort of tenure, other tenures totally dissimilar in their nature. Many also are caused by the assumption, that where the government attends to no rights, no rights are now in being. Yet those rights are asserted by the sufferers, and not denied by those who violate them; and often, in favourable circumstances, recover their former efficiency. Practically, the question is not in whom the property resides, but what proportion of the produce is due to each party; and this can only be settled by local inquiries, not by general rules founded on a supposed proprietary right, nor even on ancient laws long since forgotten.

Other branches of the king's revenue

The King's share in the produce of all land, and his rent on such as belongs to the crown, form by far the greatest part of the public revenue. The rest is derived from various sources: of these, some are drawn from the land, as the cesses and taxes above alluded to; and others from classes unconnected with agriculture, as taxes on shops and trades, and houses in towns, or on articles of consumption, market duties, transit duties on the great roads, sea customs, and a few others. Most of them, especially the transit duties, are fertile sources of oppression and vexation, and yield little clear profit in return for so much evil. These revenues are generally collected by the village and other local authorities; but some of them, especially transit duties and customs, are often farmed to separate contractors.

Alienations

It has been mentioned that the King can alienate his share in a village. In like manner he often alienates large

portions of territory, including numerous villages as well as tracts of unappropriated waste. But in all these cases it is only his own rights that he makes over: those of the village landholders and permanent tenants (where such exist), of district and village officers, and of persons holding by previous grants from himself or his predecessors, remaining unaffected by the transfer.[10] These grants are made for the payment of troops and civil officers, for the support of temples, the maintenance of holy men, or for rewards of public service. Lands given for the two first purposes are called Jágírs.[11] This mode of remunerating the services of certain officers, and of providing for holy men, is as old as Menu. When it came to be applied to troops is uncertain. It was in use in Bijayanagar, and other states of the south of India, when they were overturned by the Mussúlmans; but the more perfect form in which it is now found among the Marattas is probably of modern date. Such grants originate in the convenience of giving an assignment on a district near the station of the troops, instead of an order on the general treasury; a mode of transfer particularly adapted to a country where the revenue is paid in kind.

Lands alienated for military service.

These assignments at first were for specific sums equal to the pay due: but when they had long been continued, and were large enough to swallow up the whole revenue of a district, it was natural to simplify the arrangement, by transferring the collection to the chief of the military body. This was done with every precaution to prevent the chiefs appropriating more than the pay of the troops, or exercising any power not usually vested in other collectors. The system adopted by the Marattas gives a full illustration of the means resorted to for this purpose.

According to their plan, the number and description of troops to be maintained by each chief was prescribed; the pay of each division carefully calculated; allowances made for officers, sometimes even to the extent of naming individuals; a sum was allotted for the personal expenses of the chief himself; and every particular regarding the terms of service, the mode of mustering, and other arrangements, was laid down. A portion of territory was then selected, of which the share belonging to government

[10] Want of advertence to this circumstance has led to mistakes regarding the property in the soil. The native expression being "to grant a village," or "a district," it has been inferred that the grant implied the whole, and excluded the notion of any other proprietors.

[11] ["Jágir, which is a Persian word in its origin, is applied to lands given by government for personal support, or as a fief for the maintenance of troops for the service of the state. Some service is implied in the personal, as well as the military Jagir." (Col. Sykes on Land Tenures in the Dekkan, Jour. R. A. S. 1835. —ED.]

should be sufficient, after deducting the expenses of collection and other charges, to supply the amount which had been shown to be requisite; and the whole territory yielding that amount was made over to the chief. The chief was now placed in the situation of the governor of a revenue division, and exercised all the other functions which are now united in the holder of that office.

The power to interfere for the protection of subordinate rights was, however, retained by the government, as well as a claim to any revenue which the tract assigned might yield beyond the amount for which it was granted. Those stipulations were enforced by the appointment of two or more civil officers, directly from the government, to inspect the whole of the chief's proceedings, as well in managing his troops as his lands.

Notwithstanding all these precautions, the usual consequences of such grants did not fail to appear. The lands had from the first a tendency to become hereditary; and the control of the government always grew weaker in proportion to the time that had elapsed from the first assignment. The original principle of the grant, however, was never lost sight of, and the necessity of observing its conditions was never denied.

These grants affected but a moderate proportion of the territory of the state; the rest of which was administered by local officers directly under the prince, according to the form laid down in Menu. The allotment of lands was adopted as a means of paying the troops, and not of governing the country; so that, although there were fiefs, there was no feudal system.

But though this was the progress of landed assignments in settled countries, they took another course in the case of foreign conquests. In some instances a chief was detached by the invaders, to occupy a remote part of the country, and to subsist his troops on its resources; and was allowed to remain undisturbed until his family had taken root, and had become tenants on condition of service instead of mere officers on detachment. Examples of this nature may be found among the Hindú governments in the south of India, and in abundance and perfection among the Marattas of later times. Even in these cases of foreign conquest, however, the intermediate tenure is the exception, and not the rule; the main portion of the territory remaining under the direct administration of the prince. But a course of proceeding yet remains, which carries the principle of alienation to a greater extent, and leads to a system which (with every caution in applying familiar names to remote institutions) it is impossible not to call *feudal*.

It is that which prevails among the Rájpúts. With them, the founder of a state, after reserving a demesne for himself, divided the rest of the country among his relations, according to the Hindú laws of partition. The chief to whom each share was assigned owed military service and general obedience to the prince, but exercised unlimited authority within his own lands. He, in his turn, divided his lands on similar terms among his relations, and a chain of vassal chiefs was thus established, to whom the civil government as well as the military force of the country was committed (P).

Lands for military service among the Rájpúts.

This plan differs from the feudal system in Europe, as being founded on the principle of family partition, and not on that of securing the services of great military leaders; but it may not always have originated in conquest, and when it did, the clannish connexion which subsists between the members of a Rájpút tribe makes it probable that command among the invaders depended also on descent; and that the same kinsmen who shared the chief's acquisitions had been the leaders of the tribe before the conquest by which they were gained.

The origin of present possession in family claims is still alive in the memory of the Rájpút chiefs, who view the prince as their coparcener in one point of view, though their sovereign in another. This mixed relation is well shown by the following passage, in a complaint from certain chiefs of Márwár against the Rája:—"When our services are acceptable," say they, "then he is our Lord: when not, we are again his brothers and kindred, claimants and laying claim to the land."[12]

The rule of partition was adhered to after the conquest, and each chief, in succession, was obliged to provide an appanage for the younger members of his father's family. When any of those claimants remained inadequately provided for, he was assisted to set out on military adventures, and to found new states, by conquests in other countries (Q).

The example of granting lands, which was set in the case of the Rája's family, came to be extended to strangers: many fiefs are now held by Rájpúts of entirely distinct tribes;[13] and one of the first order seems, in later times, to have been bestowed on a Mussulman[14] (R). From the accounts given by the Mahometans of the state of Sind, during their early invasion in A.D. 711, it seems not improbable that the species of feudal system preserved among the modern Rájpúts was then widely extended.[15]

[12] Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 198, *Rájasthán*.
[13] Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 166.
[14] In 1770. Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 200.
[15] See Book V. ch. i.

Lands for services not military.

Lands for services not military, besides those already noticed to local officers, are, to ministers and other persons engaged in the administration; and also to great officers of the household, and hereditary personal attendants.

Lands held free of service

Other alienations are, to temples or religious persons, or to meritorious servants and to favourites. Though very numerous, they are generally of small extent: often single villages; sometimes only partial assignments on the government share of a village; but, in some cases, also, especially religious grants, they form very large estates. Religious grants are always in perpetuity, and are seldom interfered with. A large proportion of the grants to individuals are also in perpetuity, and are regarded as among the most secure forms of private property; but the gradual increase of such instances of liberality, combined with the frequency of forged deeds of gift, sometimes induces the ruler to resume the grants of his predecessors, and, more frequently, to burden them with heavy taxes. When these are laid on transfers by sale, or even by succession, they are not thought unjust; but total resumptions, or the permanent levy of a fixed rate, is regarded as oppressive. The reaction must have begun long ago; for the ancient inscriptions often contain imprecations on any of the descendants of the granter who shall resume his gift.[16]

Tributary and other dependent territories.

It is probable that in all times there were heads of hill and forest tribes who remained independent of the Hindú monarchies, since even the more vigorous governments of the Moguls and the British have not always been able to reduce such chiefs to subjection. There were certainly others, who, though they acknowledged a sovereign, and paid him a real or nominal tribute, or furnished a regular quota of troops, or merely gave general assistance, yet retained the internal administration of their country, yielding different degrees of obedience according to circumstances.

The number of these half-subdued chieftains was from time to time increased on the breaking up of different Hindú states, when some of the governors of districts and the military feudatories were able to hold out against the conqueror, and to maintain themselves in different degrees of independence. Others of the same classes, and, still more, persons who farmed the public revenue, contrived to keep their stations by rendering themselves useful to the ruling power; and without the least pre-

[16] [The student will find many interesting illustrations of these different kinds of alienations of land in the chapter on the Feudal System in Hallam's "Middle Ages."—Ed.]

tension to independence, were admitted to have a sort of hereditary right or interest in their districts, as long as they administered them satisfactorily, and paid the revenue demanded by the government. It is these three descriptions of persons, together with others who have risen under the Mahometans, that form the great class known in English controversy by the name of Zemíndárs,[17] whose rights have been discussed with so much heat and confusion, and who will again be noticed as the requisite occasions arise. Zemíndárs, what.

The art of war is greatly changed. At the time of the Mahometan invasions from Ghazní, the Hindús were capable of systematic plans, pursued through several campaigns, and no longer confined to inroads of a few weeks' duration. The use of ordnance afterwards made another great alteration; and the introduction of regular battalions entirely changed the face of war. Setting aside that European improvement, their discipline, so far as relates to order of march and battle, is worse than that described in Menu; but they now show a skill in the choice of ground, an activity in the employment of light troops, and a judgment in securing their own supplies and cutting off those of the enemy, of which there is no sign in the long instructions laid down in the code. War.

The spirit of generosity and mercy which pervades the old laws of war is no longer to be found: but war in India is still carried on with more humanity than in other Asiatic countries; and more so by the Hindús than the Mahometans.

The longer duration of their campaigns renders the military part of their life much more marked than it was formerly. Some of the Maratta chiefs, in particular, have lived entirely in the field, and had no other capital but their camp. From this circumstance the numbers assembled are out of all proportion to the fighting men; and, when they move, they form a disorderly crowd, spread over the country for ten or twelve miles in length, and one or two in breadth, besides parties scattered to the right and left for forage or plunder.

The main body is, in some places dense, and in others rare,

[17] The Persian word zemín-dár means *farmer*, *holder* or *keeper* of the land, but by no means necessarily implies ownership; the termination *dár*, being applied to a person in any charge, down to the meanest; as *khezaneh-dár*, treasurer; *killa dár*, governor of a fort; *chob-dár*, mace-bearer; *ab-dár*, water cooler, &c. It is said by Mr. Stirling (*Asiatic Researches*), vol. xv. p. 239) that, until Aurangzíb's time, the term zemíndár was confined to such chiefs as enjoyed some degree of independence. In modern times it is not limited to that class; for in the Deckan it is most generally applied by the natives to the district officers désmúks, &c.; and in our provinces in Hindostan to the village landholders.

composed of elephants and camels, horse and foot, carts, palankeens, and bullock-carriages, loaded oxen, porters, women, children, droves of cattle, goats, sheep, and asses, all in the greatest conceivable disorder, and all enveloped in a thick cloud of dust that rises high into the atmosphere, and may be seen for miles.

Where there are regular infantry, they march in a body, or, at least, by regiments; and the guns form a long line, occasioning continual obstructions from the badness of the roads or the breaking down of carriages. The rest of the troops straggle among the baggage. Two tall standards, accompanied by kettledrums (all, perhaps, on elephants), represent a body which ought to be from 500 to 5000 horse, but are followed by from 5 to 50. The other horsemen belonging to them are riding singly or in groups, each, perhaps, with his spear poised on his shoulder, to the imminent danger of those who press behind, while the owner is joking with his companion, or singing in a voice that may be heard amidst the surrounding din.

The whole is generally so loosely spread that a horseman might go at a full trot from the rear to the head of the column, and have way made for him as he advanced, except at passes of ravines or narrow parts of the road, where he and everybody else must often suffer most tedious delay.

Partial halts occasionally take place towards the front, when the quartermaster-general is negotiating with a village how much it is to give him not to encamp on its lands; and towards the rear, as individuals wish to smoke, or to take other rest or refreshment.

Now and then a deer or a wild boar runs through the line: shouts and commotion precede and follow his course; sticks are thrown, shots are fired, and men spur through the crowd, without much thought of the risk of life or limb to themselves or others.

With all this want of order, its good intelligence and numbers of light troops prevent a native army from being surprised on the line of march. It would be difficult, in our wars, to find an instance even of the baggage of a native army being cut off, unless when fairly run down by a succession of hard marches. On the contrary, these apparently unwieldy masses have often gained great advantages from the secrecy and celerity of their movements. Heider, Tippoo, and the Marattas frequently overwhelmed separate detachments by attacking them when believed to be in some distant quarter; and as often have they slipped through difficult passes, and ravaged the country in the rear of our general, when he thought he was driving them before him towards their own capital.

When they reach their ground, things are arranged better than would be expected in such a scene of confusion. Conspicuous flags are pitched, which mark the place allotted to each chief or each department; and every man knows what part of his own line belongs to him.

The camp, when pitched, is a mixture of regularity and disorder. The bázárs are long and regular streets, with shops of all descriptions, as in a city. The guns and disciplined infantry are in lines, and the rest scattered about, without any visible regard to arrangement. The tents are mostly white, but often striped with red, green, or blue, and sometimes wholly of those colours.

Those of the poor are low, and of black woollen, sometimes merely a blanket of that description thrown over three spears stuck in the ground; though the owners of spears are seldom so ill lodged.

The tents of the great are splendid; they are disposed in courts formed of canvas screens; and some are large and lofty, for public receptions; while others are low, and of moderate size, with quilted, and sometimes double walls, that secure privacy, while they exclude the dust and wind. They are connected by covered passages, and contain every accommodation that would be met with in a palace. A Maratta court, indeed, appears to much greater advantage in their camps than in their cities. Yet, with all this magnificence, there is some of their usual carelessness and indifference to making anything complete: these canvas palaces are often so ill pitched that they are quite incapable of resisting the tempests of particular seasons. Sindia's whole suite of tents have been known to be levelled with the ground at midnight, and his women obliged to seek shelter from the wind and rain in some low private tent that happened to have resisted the fury of the elements.

The intended proceedings for the next day are announced by fakirs or gosáyens, who go about the camp proclaiming a halt, or the hour and direction of the movement; and who stop on the march to beg, exactly at the point where the welcome sight of the flags of the proposed encampment disposes all to be liberal.

The armies are fed by large bodies of Banjáras, a tribe whose business it is to be carriers of grain, and who bring it from distant countries and sell it wholesale to the dealers.[18]

Smaller dealers go about to villages at a moderate distance from the camp and buy from the inhabitants. The government

[18] [It was these who afforded such assistance to Lord Cornwallis in his war with Tippoo in 1791. See Mill's Hist. vol. v. ch. iv.—ED.]

interferes very little, and native camps are almost always well supplied.

The villages in the neighbourhood of the camp are sure to be plundered, unless protected by safeguards. The inhabitants fly with such property as they can carry, the rest is pillaged, and the doors and rafters are pulled down for firewood; treasure is dug for if the place is large; and, even in small villages, people try if the ground sounds hollow, in hopes of finding the pits in which grain is buried; or bore with iron rods, such as are used by our surveyors, and ascertain by the smell, whether the rod has passed through grain. A system like this soon reduces a country to a desert. In a tract often traversed by armies the villages are in ruins and deserted; and bushes of different ages, scattered over the open country, show that cultivated fields are rapidly changing into jungle. The large towns are filled with fugitives from the country; and their neighbourhood is generally well cultivated, being secured by means of compositions with the passing armies.

The most important part of the Hindú battles is, now, a cannonade. In this they greatly excel, and have occasioned heavy loss to us in all our battles with them; but the most characteristic mode of fighting (besides skirmishing, which is a favourite sort of warfare) is a general charge of cavalry, which soon brings the battle to a crisis.

Nothing can be more magnificent than this sort of charge. Even the slow advance of such a sea of horsemen has something in it more than usually impressive; and, when they move on at speed, the thunder of the ground, the flashing of their arms, the brandishing of their spears, the agitation of their banners rushing through the wind, and the rapid approach of such a countless multitude, produce sensations of grandeur which the imagination cannot surpass.

Their mode is to charge the front and the flanks at once; and the manner in which they perform this manœuvre has sometimes called forth the admiration of European antagonists, and is certainly surprising in an undisciplined body. The whole appear to be coming on at full speed towards their adversary's front, when, suddenly, those selected for the duty, at once wheel inwards, bring their spears by one motion to the side nearest the enemy, and are in upon his flank before their intention is suspected.

These charges, though grand, are ineffectual against regular troops, unless they catch them in a moment of confusion, or when they have been thinned by the fire of cannon.

Horse are often maintained (as before mentioned) by assignments of the rent or revenue belonging to government, in particular tracts of country, but oftener by payments from the treasury, either to military leaders, at so much a horseman (besides personal pay, and pay of subordinate officers), or to single horsemen, who, in such cases, are generally fine men, well mounted, and who expect more than ordinary pay. Some bodies are mounted on horses belonging to the government; and these, although the men are of lower rank than the others, are the most obedient and efficient part of the army.

The best foot now-a-days are mercenaries, men from the Jumna and Ganges, and likewise Arabs and Sindians; especially Arabs, who are incomparably superior to most other Asiatics in courage, discipline, and fidelity. Their own way of carrying on sieges is, probably, little improved since Menu: individuals creep near the wall, and cover themselves by digging, till they can crouch in safety, and watch for an opportunity to pick off some of the garrison; batteries are gradually raised, and a shot fired from time to time, which makes little impression on the works: a blockade, a surprise, or an unsuccessful sally, more frequently ends the siege than a regular assault.

Policy.

The modern system of government and policy will appear in so many shapes hereafter, that it is quite unnecessary to enter on the subject in this place.

CHAPTER III.

CHANGES IN THE LAW.

Changes in the written law.

THE code of Menu is still the basis of the Hindú jurisprudence; and the principal features remain unaltered to the present day.

Civil law.

The various works of other inspired writers,[1] however, and the numerous commentaries by persons of less authority,[2]

[1] [These are the other so-called Smritis, which bear the names of Yájnavalkya, Angiras, Atri, Apastamba, Usanas, Kátyáyana, Daksha, Parásara, Yama, Likhita, Vishṇu, Vṛihaspati, Vyása, Sankha, Samvarta, Hárita, Gautama, Sátátapa, and Vasishṭha. ED.]

[2] [Of these the most important are those on Manu by Kullúka and Medhátithi; that on Yájnavalkya, called the Mitákshará, by Vijnáneśwara, which is the main authority for all the schools of law, except in Bengal; and that on Paráśara, called the Madhavíya, by Mádhaváchárya, current in Drávida. To these must be added the digest of Jimútaváhana, whose chapter on inheritance is called the Dáyabhága; that of Raghunandana, called the Smṛiti tattwa; the Vivada ratnákara and chintámaṇi which are current in Mit-

together with the additions rendered necessary by the course of time, have introduced many changes into the written law, and have led to the formation of several schools, the various opinions of which are followed respectively in different parts of India.

In all of these Menu is the text-book, but is received according to the interpretations and modifications of approved commentators; and the great body of law thus formed has again been reduced to digests, each of authority within the limits of particular schools. Bengal has a separate school of her own; and, although the other parts of India agree in their general opinions, they are still distinguished into at least four schools: those of Mithilá (North Behár); Benares; Mahárâshtra (the Maratta country); and Drávida, (the south of the Peninsula).[3]

All of these schools concur in abolishing marriages between unequal casts; as well as the practice of raising up issue to deceased brothers, and all the species of sons mentioned in Menu, except a son of the body and one by adoption. Most of them, however, admit a species of adoption unknown to Menu, which is made by a widow in behalf of her deceased husband, in consequence of real or supposed instructions imparted by him during his life. Some schools give the power to the widow independent of all authorization by the deceased.

All the schools go still further than Menu in securing to sons the equal division of their family property. Most of them prevent the father's alienating ancestral property without the consent of his sons, and without leaving a suitable maintenance for each of them; all prohibit arbitrary division of ancestral property, and greatly discourage it even when the property has been acquired by the distributor himself. The Drávida school gives to the sons exactly the same rights as to the father, in regard to the disposal of all his property, and puts them on a complete equality with him, except in the present enjoyment.[4]

All, except Bengal, in certain cases, still withhold the power of making a will.

The law now goes much more into particulars on all subjects than in Menu's time. Land is often mentioned under a variety of

hilá; and the Vyavahára mayúkha of Nilakantha, current in Mahárâshtra. Ed.]

[3] ["The main distinction between the Benares, Mahárâshtra and Drávida schools is rather a preference shown by each respectively for some particular work as their authority of law, than any real or important difference of doctrine. In all the western and southern schools the prevailing authority is the nearly universal Mitákshará. The Bengal system stands nearly alone, particularly with regard to the law of inheritance (where it follows the Dáyabhága); in some points it assimilates with that of Mithilá."—Morley's *Digest*, Introd. p. cxc.—Ed.]

[4] Mr. Ellis, *Transactions of Madras Literary Society*, p. 14.

forms, and some of the relations between landlord and tenant are fixed. Attorneys or pleaders are allowed; rules of pleading are prescribed, which are spoken of with high praise by Sir William Jones.[5]

Different modes of arbitration are provided; and, although many of the rudest parts of the old fabric remain, yet the law bears clear marks of its more recent date, in the greater experience it evinces in the modes of proceeding, and in the signs of a more complicated society than existed in the time of the first code.

The improvements, however, in the written law bear no proportion to the excellence of the original sketch, and in the existing code of the Hindús has no longer that superiority to those of other Asiatic nations which, in its early stage, it was entitled to claim over all its contemporaries.

Many great changes have been silently wrought without any alteration in the letter of the law. The eight modes of marriage, for instance, are still permitted; but only one (that most conformable to reason and to the practice of other nations) is ever adopted in fact. Changes in practice.

The criminal law, also, which still subsists in all its original deformity, has (probably for that very reason) fallen into desuetude, and has been replaced by a sort of customary law, or by arbitrary will. Criminal law.

The regular administration of justice by permanent courts, which is provided for in Menu, and of which the tribunals, with their several powers, are recorded by later writers,[6] is hardly observed by any Hindú government. The place of those tribunals is in part taken by commissions appointed in a summary way by the prince, generally granted from motives of court favour, and often composed of persons suited to the object of the protecting courtier. In part, the courts are replaced by bodies of arbitrators, called Panchâyets, who sometimes act under the authority of the government, and sometimes settle disputes by the mere consent of the parties. The efficiency of these tribunals is in some measure kept up, notwithstanding the neglect of the government, by the power given by Menu to a creditor over his debtor, which still subsists, and affords a motive to the person withholding payment to consent to an inquiry into the claim.

On the whole, there cannot be the least doubt that civil jus-

[5] Colebrooke's *Digest*, Preface, p. xii.

[6] See Mr. Colebrooke on Hindu Courts of Justice, *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 166.

tice is much worse administered in Hindú states at the present time than it was in the earliest of which we have any certain knowledge.

Besides rules of Menu which have been altered in later times, many local customs are now observable, of which no notice is taken in the Institutes. Most of these are unimportant; but some relate to matters of the first consequence, and are probably remains of the laws which prevailed in the nations where they are now in force before the introduction of Menu's code, or of the authority of the Bramins. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this sort is to be found among the Náirs of Malabár, where a married woman is legally permitted to have unrestrained intercourse with all men of equal or superior cast; and where, from the uncertainty of the issue thus produced, a man's heirs are always his sister's sons, and not his own.[7]

Local laws.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESENT STATE OF RELIGION.

The principal changes in religion since Menu are—

Changes since Menu.

The neglect of the principle of monotheism:

The neglect of some gods, and the introduction of others:

The worship of deified mortals:

The introduction (or at least the great increase) of sects, and the attempt to exalt individual gods at the expense of the others:

The doctrine that *faith* in a particular god is more efficacious than contemplation, ceremonial observance, or good works:

The use of a new ritual instead of the Védas; and the religious ascendancy acquired by the monastic orders.

The nature of these changes will appear in an account of the Hindú religion as it now stands, which is essential to an understanding of the ordinary transactions of the people.

There is, indeed, no country where religion is so constantly brought before the eye as in India. Every town has temples of all descriptions, from a shrine, which barely holds the idol, to a pagoda with lofty towers, and spacious courts, and colonnades. To all these votaries are constantly repairing, to hang the image

[7] Dr. F. Buchanan's *Journey through the Mysore, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 411, 412.

with garlands, and to present it with fruit and flowers. The banks of the river, or artificial sheet of water (for there is no town that is not built on one or other), have often noble flights of steps leading down to the water, which are covered, in the early part of the day, with persons performing their ablutions, and going through their devotions, as they stand in the stream. In the day, the attention is drawn by the song, or by the graceful figures and flowing drapery of groups of women, as they bear their offerings to a temple.

Parties of Bramins and others pass on similar occasions; and frequently numerous processions move on, with drums and music, to perform the ceremony of some particular holiday. They carry with them images borne aloft on stages, representations of temples, chariots, and other objects, which, though of cheap and flimsy materials, are made with skill and taste, and present a gay and glittering appearance.

At a distance from towns, temples are always found in inhabited places; and frequently rise among the trees on the banks of rivers, in the heart of deep groves, or on the summits of hills. Even in the wildest forests, a stone covered with vermilion, with a garland hung on a tree above it, or a small flag fastened among the branches, apprizes the traveller of the sanctity of the spot.

Troops of pilgrims and religious mendicants are often met on the road; the mendicants are distinguished by the dress of their order, and the pilgrims by bearing some symbol of the god to whose shrine they are going, and shouting out his name or watchword whenever they meet with other passengers. The numerous festivals throughout the year are celebrated by the native princes with great pomp and expense; they afford occasions of display to the rich, and lead to some little show and festivity even among the lower orders.

But the frequent meetings, on days sacred to particular gods, are chiefly intended for the humbler class, who crowd to them with delight, even from distant quarters.

Though the religion presented in so many striking forms does not enter, in reality, into all the scenes to which it gives rise, yet is still exercises a prodigious influence over the people; and has little, if at all, declined in that respect, since the first period of its institution.

The objects of adoration, however, are no longer the same.

The theism inculcated by the Védas as the true faith, in which all other forms were included, has been supplanted by a system of gross polytheism and idolatry; and, though nowhere

entirely forgotten, is never steadily thought of, except by philosophers and divines. The followers of the Védas, though they ascended beyond the early worship of the elements and the powers of nature to a knowledge of the real character of the Divinity, and though anxious to diffuse their own doctrines, did not disturb the popular belief; but, actuated either by their characteristic respect for immemorial usage, or, perhaps, by a regard for the interests of the priesthood (from which the most enlightened Bramin seems never to have been free), they permitted the worship of the established gods to continue, representing them as so many forms or symbols of the real Divinity. At the same time, they erected no temple and addressed no worship to the true God. The consequence was such as was to be expected from the weakness of human nature: the obvious and palpable parts of their religion prevailed over the more abstruse and more sublime: the ancient polytheism kept its ground, and was further corrupted by the introduction of deified heroes, who have, in their turn, superseded the deities from whom they were supposed to derive their divinity.

The scriptures of this new religion are the Puránas, of which there are eighteen, all alleged by their followers to be the works of Vyása, the compiler of the Védas; but, in reality, composed by different authors between the eighth and sixteenth centuries, although, in many places, from materials of much more ancient date. They contain theogonies; accounts of the creation; philosophical speculations; instructions for religious ceremonies; genealogies; fragments of history; and innumerable legends relating to the actions of gods, heroes, and sages. Most are written to support the doctrines of particular sects, and all are corrupted by sectarian fables; so that they do not form a consistent whole, and were never intended to be combined into one general system of belief. Yet they are all received as incontrovertible authority; and, as they are the sources from which the present Hindú religion is drawn, we cannot be surprised to find it full of contradictions and anomalies.

The Puránas.

The Hindús, as has been said, are still aware of the existence of a Supreme Being, from whom all others derive their existence, or, rather, of whose substance they are composed; for, according to the modern belief, the universe and the Deity are one and the same. But their devotion is directed to a variety of gods and goddesses, of whom it is impossible to fix the number. Some accounts, with the usual Hindú extrava-

Present objects of worship.

gance, make the deities amount to 330,000,000; but most of these are ministering angels in the different heavens, or other spirits who have no individual name or character, and who are counted by the million.

The following seventeen, however, are the principal ones, and, perhaps, the only ones universally recognised as exercising distinct and divine functions, and therefore entitled to worship:[1]—

1. Brahmá, the creating principle;
2. Vishnu, the preserving principle;
3. Siva, the destroying principle;

with their corresponding female divinities, who are mythologically regarded as their wives, but, metaphysically, as the active powers which develope the principle represented by each member of the triad; namely,—

4. Saraswatí,
5. Lakshmí,
6. Párvatí, called also Dévi, Bhaváni, or Durgá.
7. Indra, god of the air and of the heavens.
8. Varuna, god of the waters.
9. Pavana, god of the wind.
10. Agni, god of fire.
11. Yama, god of the infernal regions and judge of the dead.
12. Cuvéra, god of wealth.
13. Cártikeya, god of war.
14. Cáma, god of love.
15. Súrya, the sun.
16. Soma, the moon.
17. Ganésa, who is the remover of difficulties, and, as such presides over the entrances to all edifices, and is invoked at the commencement of all undertakings.

To these may be added the planets, and many sacred rivers, especially the Ganges, which is personified as a female divinity, and honoured with every sort of worship and reverence.

The three first of these gods, Brahmá, Vishnu, and Siva, form the celebrated Hindú triad, whose separate characters are sufficiently apparent, but whose supposed unity may perhaps be resolved into the general maxim of orthodox Hindús, that *all* the deities are only various forms of one Supreme Being.[2]

Brahmá, though he seems once to have had some degree of pre-eminence, and is the only one of the three mentioned by Menu,[3]

[1] Kennedy's *Researches into the Hindoo Mythology*, p. 357.

[2] Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 211. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 279.

[3] Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 270.

was never much worshipped, and has now but one temple in India:[4] though invoked in the daily service, his separate worship is almost entirely neglected.[5]

His consort, Saraswatí, being goddess of learning and eloquence, has not fallen so completely out of notice. It is far different with Vishnu and Siva. They and their incarnations now attract almost all the religious veneration of the Hindús; the relative importance of each is eagerly supported by numerous votaries; and there are heterodox sects of great extent which maintain the supreme divinity of each, to the entire exclusion of his rival.

Siva is thus described in the Puránas.[6] "He wanders about, surrounded by ghosts and goblins, inebriated, naked, and with dishevelled hair, covered with the ashes of a funeral pile, ornamented with human skulls and bones, sometimes laughing and sometimes crying." The usual pictures of him correspond with these gloomy descriptions, with the addition that he has three eyes, and bears a trident in one of his hands; his hair is coiled up like that of a religious mendicant; and he is represented seated in an attitude of profound thought. This last particular corresponds with the legends relating to him, which describe him as always absorbed in meditation, and as consuming with the fire of his eye those who dare to disturb him in his state of abstraction. But although these accounts accord so well with his character of destroyer, the only emblem under which he is ever worshipped is intended to mark that destruction as only another name for regeneration.

Siva.

It is meant for the same symbol of the creative principle that was employed by the ancients; but is, in fact, a low cylinder or stone, which occupies the place of an image in all the temples sacred to Siva, and which suggests no suspicion of its original import. Bloody sacrifices are performed to Siva, though discouraged by the Brahmins of his sect; and it is in honour of him, or of his consort, that so many self-inflicted tortures are incurred on certain days in every year. On those occasions some stab their limbs and pierce their tongues with knives, and walk in procession with swords, arrows, and even living serpents thrust through the wounds; while others are raised into the air by a hook fixed in the flesh of their backs, and are whirled round by a moveable lever, at a height which would make their destruction inevitable, if the skin were to give way.[7]

The nature of Siva's occupations does not indicate much

[4] Tod's *Rajasthán*, vol. i. p. 774.
[5] Ward on the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 26.
[6] Quoted in Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 291.
[7] Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 15; and Bishop Heber's *Journal*, vol. i. p. 77.

attention to the affairs of mankind; and, according to the present Hindú system, there is no god particularly charged with the government of the world; the Supreme Being, out of whose substance it is formed, taking no concern in its affairs: but the opinion of the vulgar is more rational than that of their teachers; they mix up the idea of the Supreme Being with that of the deity who is the particular object of their adoration, and suppose him to watch over the actions of men, and to reward the good and to punish the wicked both in this world and in the next.

The heaven of Siva is in the midst of the eternal snows and glaciers of Keilása, one of the highest and deepest groups of the stupendous summits of Himálaya.

His consort, Dévi or Bhaváni, is at least as much an object of adoration as Siva; and is represented in still more terrible colours. Even in the milder forms in which she is generally seen in the south of India, she is a beautiful woman, riding on a tiger, but in a fierce and menacing attitude, as if advancing to the destruction of one of the giants, against whom her incarnations were assumed. But in another form occasionally used everywhere, and seemingly the favourite one in Bengal, she is represented with a black skin, and a hideous and terrible countenance, streaming with blood, encircled with snakes, hung round with skulls and human heads, and in all respects resembling a fury rather than a goddess. Her rites in those countries correspond with this character. Human sacrifices were formerly offered to her;[8] and she is still supposed to delight in the carnage that is carried on before her altars. At her temple near Calcutta, 1,000 goats, besides other animals, are said to be sacrificed every month.[9] At Bindabáshni, where the extremity of the Vindhya hills approaches the Ganges, it used to be the boast of the priests that the blood before her image was never allowed to dry.

Dévi or Bhaváni

In other respects the worship of Dévi does not differ much from that of the other gods; but it sometimes assumes a form that has brought suspicion or disgrace on the whole of the Hindú religion. I allude to the secret orgies, which have often been dwelt on by the missionaries, and the existence of which no one has ever attempted to deny. On those occasions, one sect of the worshippers of Dévi, chiefly Bramins (but not always, for with this sect all cast is abolished), meet in parties of both

[8] Mr. Blaquière, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 371.
[9] Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 126.

sexes, to feast on flesh and spirituous liquors, and to indulge in the grossest debauchery. All this is rendered doubly odious by being performed with some semblance of the ceremonies of religion; but it is probably of rare occurrence, and is all done with the utmost secrecy; the sect by which it is tolerated is scarcely ever avowed, and is looked on with horror and contempt by all the orthodox Hindús. Besides these votaries of Dévi, and entirely unconnected with her worship, there are some few among the varieties of religious mendicants who consider themselves above all law, and at liberty to indulge their passions without incurring sin. These add to the ill repute of the religion of the Hindús; and it is undeniable, that a strain of licentiousness and sensuality mixes occasionally with every part of their mythology; but it is confined to books and songs, and to temples and festivals, which do not fall under every one's observation. A stranger might live among them for years, and frequent their religious ceremonies and private companies, without seeing anything indecent; and their notions of decorum, in the intercourse of persons of different sexes, is carried to a pitch of strictness which goes beyond what is consistent with reason or with European notions.

Vishnu and his incarnations.

To return to the gods of the Hindús: Vishnu is represented as a comely and placid young man, of a dark azure colour, and dressed like a king of ancient days. He is painted also in the forms of his ten principal incarnations, which I may mention to illustrate the genius of Hindú fiction.

The first was that of a fish, to recover the Védas, which had been carried away by a demon in a deluge; another was that of a boar, who raised on his tusks the world, which had sunk to the bottom of the ocean; and another was a tortoise, that supported a mountain in one of the most famous legends. The fourth had rather more of human interest. An infidel tyrant was about to put his son to death for his faith in Vishnu. In his last interview, he asked him, in derision of the omnipresence of his favourite divinity, whether he was in that pillar, pointing to one of those that supported the hall. The son answered that he was; and the incensed father was about to order his execution, when Vishnu, in the shape of a man, with the head and paws of a lion, burst from the pillar and tore him to pieces. The fifth was, when a king, by force of sacrifices and austerities, had acquired such a power over the gods that they were compelled to surrender to him the earth and sea, and were waiting in dread till the conclusion of his last sacrifice should put him in

possession of the heavens. On this occasion Vishnu presented himself as a Bramin dwarf, and begged for as much ground as he could step over in three paces: the Rája granted his request, with a smile at his diminutive stature; when Vishnu at the first step strode over the earth; at the second over the ocean; and no space being left for the third, he released the Rája from his promise, on condition of his descending to the infernal regions. The sixth incarnation is Parasu Ráma, a Bramin hero, who made war on the Cshatriya, or military class, and extirpated the whole race. The seventh was Ráma. The eighth was Bala Ráma, a hero who delivered the earth from giants.[10] The ninth was Buddha, a teacher of a false religion, whose form Vishnu assumed for the purpose of deluding the enemies of the gods; a character which plainly points to the religion of Buddha, so well known as the rival of that of the Bramins. The tenth is still to come. But all his other forms are thrown into the shade by the incarnations of Ráma and Crishna, who have not only eclipsed their parent Vishnu, in Hindostan at least, but have superseded the worship of the old elementary gods, and indeed of all other gods, except Siva, Súrya, and Ganésа.[11] Rá- Ráma.
ma, thus identified with Vishnu by the superstition of his admirers, was a king of Oudh, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindú traditions whose actions have something of an historical character. He is said to have been at first excluded from his paternal kingdom, and to have passed many years in religious retirement in a forest. His queen, Sítá, was carried off by the giant Rávana; for her sake he led an army into the Deckan, penetrated to the island of Ceylon, of which Rávana was king, and recovered Sítá, after a complete victory over her ravisher. In that expedition his allies were an army of monkeys, under the command of Hanumat, whose figure is frequently seen in temples, and who, indeed, is at least as much worshipped in the Deckan as Ráma or any of the other gods. Ráma's end, however, was unfortunate; for having, by his imprudence, caused the death of his brother Lakshmana, who had shared with him in all his dangers and successes, he threw himself, in despair, into a river, and, as the Hindús say, was re-united to the Divinity. He still, however, retains his individual existence, as

[10] [Balaráma was Krishna's half] brother; he is more usually considered an incarnation of Vishnu's serpent Ananta. Krishna is generally called the eighth incarnation, but sometimes Balarama and he are the eighth and ninth, Buddha being excluded. When Krishna is not mentioned among them, it is only because he is the deity himself. ED.]

[11] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 280; Wilson, ibid. vol. xvi. pp. 4, 20.

is shown by the separate worship so generally paid to him. Ráma is represented in his natural form, and is an object of general adoration. But in this respect he falls far short of the popularity of another deified mortal, who is not included in the ten great incarnations, and whose pretensions are by no means so obvious either as a king or a conqueror. He was born of the royal family of Mattra, on the Jumna; but brought up by a herdsman in the neighbourhood, who concealed him from a tyrant, who sought his life.[12] This is the period which has made most impression on the Hindús, who are never tired of celebrating Crishna's frolics and exploits as a child—his stealing milk, and his destroying serpents; and among whom there is an extensive sect which worships him under his infant form, as the supreme creator and ruler of the universe. Crishna excites equal enthusiasm, especially among his female worshippers, in his youth, which he spent among the gópís, or milkmaids, dancing, sporting, and playing on the pipe; and captivated the hearts, not only of his rural companions, but of the princesses of Hindostan, who had witnessed his beauty.[13] Crishna.

As he advanced in years he achieved innumerable adventures, and, among the rest, subdued the tyrant, and recovered his inheritance; but, being pressed by foreign enemies, he removed his residence to Dwáraká, in Guzerát.[14] He afterwards appeared as an ally of the family of Pándu, in their war with their relations the Curus,[15] for the sovereignty of Hastináp ur; a place supposed to be north-east of Delhi, and about forty miles from the point where the Ganges enters Hindostan.

This war forms the subject of the great Hindú heroic poem, the "Mahá Bhárata," of which Crishna is, in fact, the hero. It ended in the success of the Pándus, and in the return of Crishna to his capital in Guzerát. His end also was unfortunate; for he was soon involved in civil discord, and at last was slain by the arrow of a hunter, who shot at him by mistake, in a thicket.[16]

Crishna is the greatest favourite with the Hindús of all their divinities. Of the sectaries who revere Vishnu, to the exclusion of the other gods, one sect almost confine their worship to

[12] Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. i. p. 533.

[13] See Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 259; and the translation by the same elegant scholar of the song of Jayadeva, which, in his hands, affords a pleasing specimen of Hindú pastoral poetry. Ibid. vol iii p. 185.

[14] Abstract of the "Mahá Bhárata," in Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 148; Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 101; Colonel Wilford, ibid. vol vi. p. 508.

[15] Ward, vol. iii. p. 148.

[16] Tod, on the authority of a Hindú history, *Rájasthán* vol. i. p. 50. [So Mahábhárata, Mausala Parvan, and Vishnu Purána. It may however be allegorical, as Jará, the hunter's name, signifies "old age, decay."—Ed.]

Ráma; but, though composed of an important class, as including many of the ascetics, and some of the boldest speculators in religious inquiry, its numbers and popularity bear no proportion to another division of the Vaishnava sect, which is attached to the worship of Crishna. This comprises all the opulent and luxurious, almost all the women, and a very large proportion of all ranks of the Indian society.[17]

The greater part of these votaries of Crishna maintain that he is not an incarnation of Vishnu, but Vishnu himself, and likewise the eternal and self-existing creator of the universe.[18]

These are the principal manifestations of Vishnu; but his incarnations or emanations, even as acknowledged in books, are innumerable; and they are still more swelled by others in which he is made to appear under the form of some local saint or hero, whom his followers have been disposed to deify.

The same liberty is taken with other gods: Khandobá, the great local divinity of the Marattas (represented as an armed horseman), is an incarnation of Siva;[19] and the family of Bramins at Chinchór, near Púna, in one of whose members godhead is hereditary, derive their title from an incarnation or emanation of Ganésa.[20]

Even villages have their local deities, which are often emanations of Siva or Vishnu, or of the corresponding goddesses. But all these incarnations are insignificant, when compared to the great ones of Vishnu, and above all to Ráma and Crishna. The wife of Vishnu is Lakshmí. She has no temples; but, being goddess of abundance and of fortune, she continues to be assiduously courted, and is not likely to fall into neglect.

Other gods.

Of the remaining gods, Ganésa and Súrya (the sun) are the most generally honoured. They both have votaries who prefer them to all other gods, and both have temples and regular worship. Ganésa, indeed, has probably more temples in the Deckan than any other god except Siva. Súrya is represented in a chariot, with his head surrounded by rays. Ganésa, or Ganapati, is a figure of a fat man, with an elephant's head.

None of the remaining nine of the gods enumerated have temples, though most of them seem to have had them in former times.[21] Some have an annual festival, on which their image is made and worshipped, and next day is thrown into a stream;

[17] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. pp. 85, 86.

[18] Ibid. p. 86, etc.

[19] Mr. Coat's *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 198.

[20] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 282; Captain Moore, ibid. p. 381.

[21] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 20.

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others are only noticed in prayers.[22] Indra, in particular, seems to have formerly occupied a much more distinguished place in popular respect than he now enjoys. He is called the Ruler of Heaven and the King of Gods, and was fixed on by an eminent orientalist as the Jupiter of the Hindús;[23] yet is now but seldom noticed.

Cáma, also, the god of love, has undergone a similar fate. He is the most pleasing of the Hindú divinities, and most conformable to European ideas of his nature. Endowed with perpetual youth and surpassing beauty, he exerts his sway over both gods and men. Brahmá, Vishnu, and even the gloomy Siva, have been wounded by his flowery bow and his arrows tipped with blossoms. His temples and groves make a distinguished figure in the tales, poems, and dramas of antiquity;[24] but he now shares in neglect and disregard with the other nine, except Yama, whose character of judge of the dead makes him still an object of respect and terror.

Each of these gods has his separate heaven, and his peculiar attendants. All are mansions of bliss of immense extent, and all glittering with gold and jewels.

That of Indra is the most fully described; and, besides the usual profusion of golden palaces adorned with precious stones, is filled with streams, groves, and gardens, blooms with an infinity of flowers, and is perfumed by a celestial tree, which grows in the centre, and fills the whole space with its fragrance. It is illumined by a light far more brilliant than that of the sun; and is thronged with Apsarases and Gandharvas (heavenly nymphs and choristers). Angels of many kinds minister to the inhabitants, who are unceasingly entertained with songs and dances, music, and every species of enjoyment.

Good and bad spirits.

Besides the angels and good genii that inhabit the different heavens, there are various descriptions of spirits spread through the rest of the creation.

The Asuras are the kindred of the gods, disinherited and cast into darkness, but long struggling against their rivals; and bearing a strong resemblance to the Titans of the Grecian mythology.

The Deityas are another species of demon, strong enough to have mustered armies and carried on war with the gods.[25]

The Rákshasas are also gigantic and malignant beings; and

[22] Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 28, etc.

[23] Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 241.

[24] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 20.

[25] See in particular the legend of Jalandhara, *Kennedy's Researches*, p. 456.

the Pisáchas are of the same nature, though perhaps inferior in power. Bhútas are evil spirits of the lowest order, corresponding to our ghosts and other goblins of the nursery; but in India believed in by all ranks and ages.

A most extensive body of divinities is still to be noticed; although they are not individually acknowledged except in confined districts, and although the legality of their worship is sometimes denied by the Bramins. These are the village gods, of which each village adores two or three, as its especial guardians; but sometimes as its dreaded persecutors and tormentors. They bear some resemblance to the penates or lares of the Romans; and, like them, they are sometimes the recognised gods of the whole nation (either in their generally received characters, or in local incarnations); but much oftener they are the spirits of deceased persons, who have attracted the notice of the neighbourhood. They have seldom temples or images, but are worshipped under the form of a heap of earth.[*] Local gods.

It is possible that some of them may be ancient gods of the Súdras, who have survived the establishment of the Bramin religion.[26]

Such is the outline of the religion of the Hindús. To give a conception of its details, it would be necessary to relate some of the innumerable legends of which their mythology is composed,—the churning of the ocean by the gods and asuras, for the purpose of procuring the nectar of immortality, and the subsequent stratagem by which the gods defrauded their coadjutors of the prize obtained; the descent of the Ganges from heaven on the invocation of a saint; its falling with violence on the head of Siva, wandering for years amidst his matted locks, and tumbling at last in a mighty stream upon the earth with all its train of fishes, snakes, turtles, and crocodiles; the production of Ganésa, without a father, by the intense wishes of Dévi; his temporary slaughter by Siva, who cut off his head and afterwards replaced it with that of an elephant, the first that came to hand in the emergency;—such narratives, with the quarrels of the gods, their occasional loves and jealousies; their wars with men and demons; their defeats, flights, and captivity; their penances and austerities for the accomplishment of their wishes; their speaking weapons; the nume- General character of the Hindú religion.

[*] Dr. Hamilton Buchanan paid much attention to this subject in his survey of certain districts in Bengal and Behár. He found the village gods were generally spirits of men of the place who had died violent deaths; often of Bramins who had killed themselves to resist or revenge an injury.—MSS. at the India House, published in part by Mr. Montgomery Martin.

rous forms they have assumed, and the delusions with which they have deceived the senses of those whom they wished to injure;—all this would be necessary to show fully the religious opinions of India; but would occupy a space for which the value of the matter would be a very inadequate compensation.

It may be sufficient to observe, that the general character of these legends is extravagance and incongruity. The Greek gods were formed like men, with greatly increased powers and faculties, and acted as men would do if so circumstanced; but with a dignity and energy suited to their nearer approach to perfection. The Hindú gods, on the other hand, though endued with human passions, have always something monstrous in their appearance, and wild and capricious in their conduct. They are of various colours—red, yellow, and blue; some have twelve heads, and most have four hands. They are often enraged without a cause, and reconciled without a motive. The same deity is sometimes powerful enough to destroy his enemies with a glance, or to subdue them with a wish; and at other times is obliged to assemble numerous armies to accomplish his purpose, and is very near failing after all.[27]

The powers of the three great gods are coequal and unlimited; yet are exercised with so little harmony, that in one of their disputes Siva cuts off one of Brahmá's heads.[28] Neither is there any regular subordination of the other gods to the three, or to each other. Indra, who is called the King of Heaven, and has been compared to Jupiter, has no authority over any of the rest. These and more incongruities arise, in part, from the desire of different sects to extol their favourite deity; but as the Puránas are all of authority, it is impossible to separate legends founded on those writings from the general belief of all classes. With all this there is something in the gigantic scale of the Hindú gods, the original character of their sentiments and actions, and the peculiar forms in which they are clothed, and splendour with which they are surrounded, that does not fail to make an impression on the imagination.

The most singular anomaly in the Hindú religion is the power of sacrifices and religious austerities. Through them a religious ascetic can inflict the severest calamities, even on a deity, by his curse; and the most wicked and most impious of mankind may acquire such an ascendancy over the gods as to render them

[27] Story of Siva and Jalandhara, *Kennedy's Researches*, p. 456.

[28] Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 295; and Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 4, note.

the passive instruments of his ambition, and even to force them to submit their heavens and themselves to his sovereignty. Indra, on being cursed by a Bramin, was hurled from his own heaven, and compelled to animate the body of a cat.[29] Even Yama, the terrible judge of the dead, is said, in a legend, to have been cursed for an act done in that capacity, and obliged to undergo a transmigration into the person of a slave.[30]

The danger of all the gods from the sacrifices of one king has appeared in the fifth incarnation of Vishṇu; another king actually conquered the three worlds, and forced the gods, except the three chief ones, to fly, and to conceal themselves under the shapes of different animals;[31] while a third went still further, and compelled the gods to worship him.[32]

These are a few out of numerous instances of a similar nature; all, doubtless, invented to show the virtue of ritual observances, and thus increase the consequence and profits of the Bramins. But these are rather the traditions of former days, than the opinions by which men are now actuated in relation to the Divinity. The same objects which were formerly to be extorted by sacrifices and austerities are now to be won by faith. The followers of this new principle look with scarcely disguised contempt on the Védas, and all the devotional exercises there enjoined. As no religion ever entirely discards morality, they still inculcate purity of life, and innocence, if not virtue; but the sole *essential* is dependence on the particular god of the sect of the individual teacher. Implicit faith and reliance on him makes up for all deficiencies in other respects; while no attention to the forms of religion, or to the rules of morality, are of the slightest avail without this all-important sentiment. This system is explained and inculcated in the Bhagavad Gítá, which Mr. Colebrooke regards as the text-book of the school.

It is an uncommon, though not exclusive feature in the Hindú religion, that the gods enjoy only a limited existence: at the end of a cycle of prodigious duration, the universe ceases to exist; the triad, and all the other gods lose their being; and the Great First Cause of all remains alone in infinite space. After the lapse of ages, his power is again exerted; and the whole creation, with all its human and divine inhabitants, rises once more into existence.

One can hardly believe that so many rude and puerile fables, as most of those above related, are not the relics of the earliest

[29] Ward, vol. iii. p. 31. [30] Ibid. p. 58. [31] Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 368.
[32] Ward, vol. iii. p. 75.

and most barbarous times; but even the sacred origin of the Christian religion did not prevent its being clouded, after the decay of learning, with superstitions proportionately as degrading; and we may therefore believe, with the best informed orientalists, that the Hindú system once existed in far greater purity, and has sunk into its present state along with the decline of all other branches of knowledge.

In the above observations I have abstained from all reference to the religion of other countries. It is possible that antiquarians may yet succeed in finding a connexion, in principles or in origin, between the mythology of India and that of Greece or of Egypt; but the external appearances are so different, that it would quite mislead the imagination to attempt to illustrate them by allusions to either of those superstitions.[33]

Future state. It only remains to say a few words on the belief of the Hindús relating to a future state. Their peculiar doctrine, as is well known, is transmigration; but they believe that, between their different stages of existence, they will, according to their merits, enjoy thousands of years of happiness in some of the heavens already described, or suffer torments of similar duration in some of their still more numerous hells. Hope, however, seems to be denied to none: the most wicked man, after being purged of his crimes by ages of suffering and by repeated transmigrations, may ascend in the scale of being, until he may enter into heaven and even attain the highest reward of all the good, which is incorporation in the essence of God.

Their descriptions of the future states of bliss and penance are spirited and poetical. The good, as soon as they leave the body, proceed to the abode of Yama, through delightful paths, under the shade of fragrant trees, among streams covered with the lotos. Showers of flowers fall on them as they pass; and the air resounds with the hymns of the blessed, and the still more melodious strains of angels. The passage of the wicked is through dark and dismal paths; sometimes over burning sand, sometimes over stones that cut their feet at every step: they travel naked, parched with thirst, covered with dirt and blood, amidst showers of hot ashes and burning coals; they are terrified with frequent and horrible apparitions, and fill the air with their shrieks and wailing.[34] The hells to which they are ultimately doomed are conceived in the same spirit, and described with a mixture of sublimity and minuteness that almost recalls the "Inferno."

[33] [Cf. Professor Müller's *Lectures*, second series, ix. x. xi.—Ed.]

[34] Ward on the Hindoos, vol. iii. p. 374.

These rewards and punishments are often well apportioned to the moral merits and demerits of the deceased: and they Moral effects. no doubt exercise considerable influence over the conduct of the living. But, on the other hand, the efficacy ascribed to faith, and to the observance of the forms of devotion, and the facility of expiating crimes by penances, are, unfortunately, prevailing characteristics of this religion, and have a strong tendency to weaken its effect in supporting the principles of morality.

Its indirect influence on its votaries is even more injurious than these defects. Its gross superstition debases and debilitates the mind; and its exclusive view to repose in this world, and absorption hereafter, destroys the great stimulants to virtue afforded by love of enterprise and of posthumous fame. Its usurpations over the provinces of law and science tend to keep knowledge fixed at the point to which it had attained at the time of the pretended revelation by the Divinity; and its interference in the minutiæ of private manners extirpates every habit and feeling of free agency, and reduces life to a mechanical routine. When individuals are left free, improvements take place as they are required; and a nation is entirely changed in the course of a few generations without an effort on the part of any of its members; but when religion has interposed, it requires as much boldness to take the smallest step, as to pass over the innovations of a century at a stride; and a man must be equally prepared to renounce his faith and the communion of his friends, whether he merely makes a change in his diet, or embraces a whole body of doctrines, religious and political, at variance with those established among his countrymen.

It is within its own limits that it has been least successful in opposing innovation. The original revelation, indeed, has not been questioned; but different degrees of importance have been attached to particular parts of it, and different constructions put on the same passages; and as there is neither a ruling council nor a single head to settle disputed points, and to enforce uniformity in practice, various sects have sprung up, which differ from each other both in their tenets and their practice.

There are three principal sects:[35] Saivas (followers of Siva), the Vaishnavas (followers of Vishnu), and the Sáktas Sects (followers of some one of the Saktis; that is, the female associates or active powers of the members of the triad).

[35] Almost the whole of the following statements regarding the sects are taken from Professor Wilson's essays on that subject, in *Asiatic Researches*, vols. xvi. xvii.

Each of these sects branches into various subordinate ones, depending on the different characters under which its deity is worshipped, or on the peculiar religious and metaphysical opinions which each has grafted on the parent stock. The Sáktas have three additional divisions of a more general character, depending on the particular goddesses whom they worship. The followers of Dévi (the spouse of Siva), however, are out of all comparison more numerous than both the others put together.

Besides the three great sects, there are small ones, which worship Súrya and Ganésa respectively; and others which, though preserving the form of Hindúism, approach very near to pure deism. The Sikhs (who will be mentioned hereafter) have founded a sect involving such great innovations, that it may almost be regarded as a new religion.

It must not be supposed that every Hindú belongs to one or other of the above sects. They, on the contrary, are alone reckoned orthodox, who profess a comprehensive system opposed to the exclusive worship of particular divinities, and who draw their ritual from the Védas, Puránas, and other sacred books, rejecting the ceremonies derived from other sources. To this class the apparent mass of the Braminical order, at least, still belongs.[36] But probably, even among them, all but the more philosophic religionists have a bias to one or the other of the contending divinities; and the same may be said more decidedly of all such of the lower casts as are not careless of everything beyond the requisite ritual observances. It has been remarked that incarnations of Vishnu are the principal objects of popular predilection. In all Bengal and Hindostan it is to those incarnations that the religious feelings of the people are directed; and, though the temples and emblems of Siva are very common, the worshippers are few, and seem inspired with little veneration.

Siva, it appears, has always been the patron God of the Bramin class, but has never much excited the imaginations of the people.[37] Even where his sect ostensibly prevails, the great body of the inhabitants are much more attracted by the human feelings and interesting adventures of Ráma and Crishna. The first of the two is the great object of devotion (with the regular orders at least) on the banks of the Jumna and the north-western part of the Ganges; but Crishña prevails, in his turn, along the

[36] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 2.
[37] Ibid. vol. xvii. p. 169.

lower course of the Ganges,[38] and all the centre and west of Hindostan.[39] Ráma, however, is everywhere revered; and his name, twice repeated, is the ordinary salutation among all classes of Hindús.

The Saivas, in all places, form a considerable portion of the regular orders: among the people they are most numerous in the Mysore and Maratta countries. Further south, the Vaishnavas prevail; but *there* the object of worship is Vishnu, not in his human form of Ráma or Crishna, but in his abstract character, as preserver and ruler of the universe.[40] Sáktas, or votaries of the female divinity, are mixed with the rest; but are most numerous in particular places. Three fourths of the population of Bengal worship goddesses, and most of them Dévi.[41]

In most of these instances the difference of sects, though often bitter, is not conspicuous. Europeans are seldom distinctly aware of their existence, unless they have learned it from the writings of Mr. Colebrooke, Mr. Wilson, or Dr. Hamilton Buchanan. Even the painted marks on the forehead, by which each man's sect is shown, although the most singular peculiarity of the Hindú dress, have failed to convey the information they are designed for, and have been taken for marks of the *cast*, not the sect, of the wearer. Persons desirous of joining a sect are admitted by a sort of initiation, the chief part of which consists in whispering by the guru (or religious instructor) of a short and secret form of words, which so far corresponds to the communication of the gáyatrí at the initiation of a Bramin.

The sects are of very different degrees of antiquity.

The separate worship of the three great gods and their corresponding goddesses is probably very ancient;[42] but when the assertion of the supremacy of one or other began (in which the peculiarity of the present sects consists) is not so clear. It is probably much more modern than the mere separate worship of the great gods.

It seems nearly certain that the sects founded on the worship of particular incarnations, as Ráma, Crishna, etc., are later than the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era.[43]

[38] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 52.

[39] Tod's *Rajasthán*.

[40] Buchanan MSS at the India House. These may be either the strictly orthodox Hindus, or followers of Ramánuj.

[41] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol xvii p. 210, 221.

[42] Ibid. p. 218. The same gentleman points out a convincing proof of the early worship of the spouse of Siva. A temple to her, under her title of Comari from which the neighbouring promontory, Cape Comorin, derives its name), is mentioned in the "Periplus," attributed to Arrian, and probably written in the 2nd century of our era.

[43] They are not mentioned in a work written in the eleventh century, but pro-

The number of sects has, doubtless been increased by the disuse of the Védas, the only source from which the Hindú religion could be obtained in purity. The use of those scriptures was confined to the three twice-born classes, of which two are now regarded as extinct, and the remaining one is greatly fallen off from its original duties. It may have been owing to these circumstances that the old ritual was disused, and a new one has since sprung up, suited to the changes which have arisen in religious opinion.

It is embodied in a comparatively modern collection of hymns, prayers, and incantations, which, mixed with portions of the Védas, furnishes now what may be called the Hindú service.[44] It is exhibited by Mr. Colebrooke, in three separate essays, in the fifth and seventh volumes of the *Asiatic Researches.*

The difference between the spirit of this ritual and that of which we catch occasional views in Menu is less than might have been expected. The long instructions for the forms of ablution, meditation on the gáyatrí, etc., are consistent with the religion of the Védas, and might have existed in Menu's time, though he had no occasion to mention them. The objects of adoration are in a great measure the same, being deities of the elements and powers of nature. The mention of Crishna is, of course, an innovation; but it occurs seldom.

Among other new practices are meditations on Brahmá, Vishnu, and Sivi, in their corporeal form; and, above all, the frequent mention of Vishnu with the introduction of the text, "Thrice did Vishnu step," etc., a passage in the Védas, which seems to imply an allusion to the fifth incarnation,[45] and, perhaps, owes the frequent introduction of it to the paucity of such acknowledgments. Mr. Colebrooke avowedly confines himself to the five sacraments which existed in Menu's time; but there is a new sort of worship never alluded to in the Institutes, which now forms one of the principal duties of every Hindú. This is the worship of images, before whom many prostrations and other acts of adoration must daily be performed, accompanied with burning incense, offerings of flowers and fruits, and sometimes of dressed victuals. Many idols are also attired by their votaries, and decorated with jewels and other ornaments, and are treated in all respects as if they were human beings.

fessing to exhibit the tenets of the different sects at the time of Sancara Acharya, who lived in the eighth century.—Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 14.

[44] Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 362.

[45] See page 99. [The Scholiast explains these "three steps" of Vishnu as referring to the sun at his rising, culmination, and setting, or to terrestrial fire, lightning, and the sun.—Ed.]

The Hindú ceremonies are numerous, but far from impressive; and their liturgy, judging from the specimen afforded by Mr. Colebrooke, though not without a few fine passages, is in general tedious and insipid. Each man goes through his daily devotions alone, in his own house, or at any temple, stream, or pool, that suits him; so that the want of interest in his addresses to the divinity is not compensated by the effect of sympathy in others. Although the service (as it may be termed) is changed, the occasions for using it remain the same as those formerly enumerated from Menu. The same ceremonies must be performed from conception to the grave; and the same regular course of prayers, sacrifices, and oblations must be gone through every day. More liberty, however, is taken in shortening them than was recognised in Menu's code, however it might have been in the *practice* of his age.

A strict Bramin, performing his full ceremonies, would still be occupied for not less than four hours in the day. But even a Bramin, if engaged in worldly affairs, may perform all his religious duties within half an hour; and a man of the lower classes contents himself by repeating the name of his patron deity while he bathes.[46]

Ascendancy of the monastic orders.

The increase of sects is both the cause and consequence of the ascendancy of the monastic orders. Each of these is in general devoted to some particular divinity, and its importance is founded on the veneration in which its patron is held. They therefore inculcate faith in that divinity as the means of attaining all wishes and covering all sins; and, in addition to this, they claim for themselves *through life* an implicit submission from their followers, such as the Bramin religious instructor in Menu required from his pupil during his period of probation alone. To this is to be ascribed the encroachments which those orders have made on the spiritual authority of the Bramins, and the feelings of rivalry and hostility with which the two classes regard each other.

The Bramins, on their part, have not failed to profit by the example of the Gosáyens, having taken on themselves the conduct of sects in the same manner as their rivals. Of the eighty-four Gurus (or spiritual chiefs) of the sect of Rámánuja, for instance, seventy-nine are secular Bramins.[47]

The power of these heads of sects is one of the most remarkable innovations in the Hindú system. Many of them in the

[46] Ward on the Hindoos.

[47] Buchanan's *Journey*, vol. i. p. 144; vol. ii. p. 74, 75.

south (especially those of regular orders) have large establishments, supported by grants of land and contributions from their flock. Their income is chiefly spent in charity, but they maintain a good deal of state, especially on their circuits, where they are accompanied by elephants, flags, etc., like temporal dignitaries, are followed by crowds of disciples, and are received with honour by all princes whose countries they enter. Their function is, indeed, an important one, being no less than an inspection of the state of morals and cast, involving the duties and powers of a censor.[48]

Religion of the Bauddhas and Jainas.

There are two other religions, which, although distinct from that of the Hindús, appear to belong to the same stock, and which seem to have shared with it in the veneration of the people of India, before the introduction of an entirely foreign faith by the Mahometans. These are the religions of the Bauddhas (or worshippers of Buddha) and the Jains.

They both resemble the Bramin doctrines in their character of quietism, in their tenderness of animal life, and in the belief of repeated transmigrations, of various hells for the purification of the wicked, and heavens for the solace of the good. The great object of all three is, the ultimate attainment of a state of perfect apathy, which, in our eyes, seems little different from annihilation; and the means employed in all are, the practice of mortification and of abstraction from the cares and feelings of humanity.

The differences from the Hindú belief are no less striking than the points of resemblance, and are most so in the religion of the Bauddhas.

The Bauddhas, or Buddhists.

The most ancient of the Bauddha sects entirely denies the being of God; and some of those which admit the existence of God refuse to acknowledge Him as the creator or ruler of the universe.

According to the ancient atheistical sect, nothing exists but matter, which is eternal. The power of organization is inherent in matter; and although the universe perishes from time to time, this quality restores it after a period, and carries it on towards new decay and regeneration, without the guidance of any external agent.

The highest rank in the scale of existence is held by certain

[48] Buchanan's *Journey*, vol. i. p. 21, and other places.

beings called Buddhas, who have raised themselves by their own actions and austerities, during a long series of transmigrations in this and former worlds, to the state of perfect inactivity and apathy, which is regarded as the great object of desire.

Even this atheistical school includes intelligence and design among the properties inherent in every particle of matter; and another sect[48] endeavours to explain those qualities more intelligibly by uniting them in one, and, perhaps, combining them with consciousness, so as to give them a sort of personality; but the being formed by this combination remains in a state of perpetual repose, his qualities operating on the other portions of matter without exertion or volition on his part.

The next approach to theism, and generally included in that creed, is the opinion that there is a Supreme Being,[49] eternal, immaterial, intelligent, and also endued with free-will and moral qualities; but remaining, as in the last-mentioned system, in a state of perpetual repose. With one division of those who believe in such a Divinity, he is the sole eternal and self-existing principle; but another division associates matter with him as a separate deity, and supposes a being formed by the union of the other two to be the real originator of the universe.

But the action of the Divinity is not, in any theory, carried beyond producing by his will the emanation of five (or some say seven) Buddhas from his own essence;[50] and from these Buddhas proceed, in like manner, five (or seven) other beings called Bodhisatwas, each of whom, in his turn, is charged with the creation of a world.

But so essential is quiescence to felicity and perfection, according to Buddhist notions, that even the Bodhisatwas are relieved as much as possible from the task of maintaining their own creations. Some speculators, probably, conceive that each constitutes the universe according to laws which enable it to maintain *itself;* others suppose inferior agents created for the purpose; and, according to one doctrine, the Bodhisatwa of the existing world produced the well-known Hindú triad, on whom he devolved his functions of creating, preserving, and destroying.

There are different opinions regarding the Buddhas, who have

[48] The Prájnikas.

[49] Called Ádi Buddha, or supreme intelligence. [Rather "primordial Buddha." This doctrine of an Ádi Buddha seems to be no part of the original system of Buddhism, but to have arisen in Nepal. Burnouf, *Buddhisme Indien*, i. p. 119.—ED.]

[50] [These are called the five *dhyáni Buddhas*, or Buddhas of contemplation. We exist in the period of the fourth Bodhisatwa Avalokiteswara, the emanation of the fourth Buddha Amitábha.—ED.]

risen to that rank by transmigrations.[51] Some think with the atheistical school that they are separate productions of nature, like other men, and retain an independent existence after arriving at the much-desired state of rest; while the other sects allege that they are emanations from the Supreme Being, through some of the other Buddhas or Bodhisatwas, and are ultimately rewarded by absorption into the divine essence.

There have been many of these human Buddhas in this and former worlds;[52] but the seven last are particularly noticed, and above all the last, whose name was Gótama or Sákya, who revealed the present religion, and established the rules of worship and morality; and who, although long since passed into a higher state of existence, is considered as the religious head of the world, and will continue so until he has completed his allotted period of five thousand years.

Beneath this class of Buddhas are an infinite number of different degrees, apparently consisting of mere men who have made approaches towards the higher stages of perfection by the sanctity of their lives.

Besides the chain of Buddhas, there are innumerable other celestial and terrestrial beings, some original, and others transferred, unchanged, from the Hindú Pantheon.[53]

The Buddhists of different countries differ in many particulars from each other. Those of Nepál seem most imbued with the Hindú superstitions, though even in China the general character of the religion is clearly Indian.

The theistical sect seems to prevail in Nepál,[54] and the atheistical to subsist in perfection in Ceylon.[55]

In China, M. Abel Remusat considers the atheistical to be the vulgar doctrine, and the theistical to be the esoteric.[56]

The Bauddhas differ in many other respects from the Bramins;

[51] [These are called *Mánushi Buddhas.* — Ed.]

[52] Mr. Hodgson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 446) gives a list of 180 Buddhas of the first order.

[53] The above account of the Bauddha tenets is chiefly taken from the complete and distinct view of that religion given by Mr. Hodgson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. pp. 435-445; but I have also consulted his "Proofs," &c., and his other papers in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of London*, and in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*; as well as those of M. Abel Remusat, in the *Journal des Savans* for A.D. 1831, and in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* for the same year; those of M. Csoma de Körös, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*; those of M. Joinville and Major Mahoney in vol. vii. of the *Asiatic Researches;* together with Professor Wilson's observations in his history of Cashmir (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi.), and in his account of the Jains (vol. xvii.); and likewise the answers of Bauddha priests in Upham's *Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon*, vol. iii.

[54] Mr. Hodgson.

[55] See answers to questions in Upham, vol. iii. I presume these answers may be depended on, whatever may be the case with the historical writings in the same work.

[56] *Journal des Savans* for Nov. 1831.

they deny the authority of the Védas and Puránas; they have no cast; even the priests are taken from all classes of the community, and bear much greater resemblance to European monks than to any of the Hindú ministers of religion. They live in monasteries, wear a uniform yellow dress, go with their feet bare and their heads and beards shaved, and perform a constant succession of regular service at their chapel in a body, and, in their processions, their chaunting, their incense, and their candles, bear a strong resemblance to the ceremonies of the Catholic Church.[57] They have nothing of the freedom of the Hindú monastic orders; they are strictly bound to celibacy, and renounce most of the pleasures of sense;[58] they eat together in one hall; sleep *sitting* in a prescribed posture, and seem never allowed to leave the monastery, except once a-week, when they march in a body to bathe,[59] and for part of every day, when they go to beg for the community, or rather to receive alms, for they are not permitted to ask for anything.[60] The monks, however, only perform service in the temples attached to their own monasteries, and to them the laity do not seem to be admitted, but pay their own devotions at other temples, out of the limits of the convents.

Nunneries for women seem also, at one time, to have been general.

The Bauddha religionists carry their respect for animal life much further than the Bramins: their priests do not eat after noon, nor drink after dark, for fear of swallowing minute insects; and they carry a brush on all occasions, with which they carefully sweep every place before they sit down, lest they should inadvertently crush any living creature. Some even tie a thin cloth over their mouths to prevent their drawing in small insects with their breath.[61] They differ from the Bramins in their want of respect for fire, and in their veneration for relics of their holy men; a feeling unknown to the Hindús. Over these relics (a few hairs, a bone, or a tooth) they erect those solid cupolas, or bell-shaped monuments, which are often of stupendous size, and which are so great a characteristic of their religion.

The Buddhas are represented standing upright, but more

[57] Mr. Davis, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 491; Turner's *Tibet*.

[58] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 273.

[59] Mr. Davis, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 495; and Knox, Ibid. vol. iii. p. 277.

[60] Captain Mahoney, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 42; and Mr. Knox, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. p. 277.

[61] The laity eat animal food without restraint; even the priests may eat it, if no animal is killed on their account.

generally seated cross-legged, erect, but in an attitude of deep meditation, with a placid countenance, and always with curled hair.

Besides the temples and monuments, in countries where the Bauddhas still subsist, there are many magnificent remains of them in India.

The most striking of these are cave temples, in the Peninsula. Part of the wonderful excavations of Ellóra are of this description; but the finest is at Cárla, between Púna and Bombay, which, from its great length and height, the colonnades which run along the sides like aisles, and the vaulted and ribbed roof, strongly recalls the idea of a Gothic church.[62]

The Bauddhas have a very extensive body of literature, all on the Bramin model, and all originally from India.[63] It is now preserved in the local dialects of various countries, in many of which the long-established art of printing has contributed much to the diffusion of books.

Páli, or the local dialect of Magadha (one of the ancient kingdoms on the Ganges, in which Sákya or Gótama flourished), seems to be the language generally used in the religious writings of the Bauddhas, although its claim to be their sacred language is disputed in favour of Sanscrit and of other local dialects springing from that root.[64]

The Jainas or Jains.

The Jains hold an intermediate place between the followers of Buddha and Brahmá.[65]

They agree with the Bauddhas in denying the existence, or at least the activity and providence, of God; in believing the eternity of matter; in the worship of deified saints; in their scrupulous care of animal life, and all the precautions which it leads to; in their having no hereditary priesthood; in disclaiming the divine authority of the Védas; and in having no sacrifices, and no respect for fire.

They agree with the Bauddhas also in considering a state of

[62] The distinctions between the Bauddhas and Hindús are mostly from an essay by Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 503, &c.

[63] Mr. Hodgson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 433; Dr. Buchanan, Ibid. vol. vi. pp. 194, 225, and other places. [The sacred books are divided into three classes, the Sutras or discourses of Buddha, the vinaya or ethics, and the abhidharma or metaphysics.—Ed.]

[64] [We have two different recensions of the *tri-pitaka* or sacred books of the Buddhists,—that in Sanskrit among the Northern Buddhists, and current in Tibet, Nepal, Mongolia, China, and Japan, and that in Pali among the Southern, in Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam. The latter is believed to be the more ancient, and the older portion is supposed to have been committed to writing about B.C. 90.—Ed.]

[65] The characteristics of the Jains, as compared with the Bauddhas and Bramins, are mostly taken from Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 506.

and impassive abstraction as supreme felicity, and in all the doctrines which they hold in common with the Hindús.

They agree with the Hindús in other points; such as division of cast. This exists in full force in the south and west of India; and can only be said to be dormant in the north-east; for, though the Jains there do not acknowledge the four classes of the Hindús, yet a Jain converted to the Hindú religion takes his place in one of the casts; from which he must all along have retained the proofs of his descent; and the Jains themselves have numerous divisions of their own, the members of which are as strict in avoiding intermarriages and other intercourse as the four classes of the Hindús.[66]

Though they reject the scriptural character of the Védas, they allow them great authority in all points not at variance with their religion. The principal objections to them are drawn from the bloody sacrifices which they enjoin, and the loss of animal life which burnt-offerings are liable (though undesignedly) to occasion.[67] They admit the whole of the Hindú gods and worship some of them; though they consider them as entirely subordinate to their own saints, who are therefore the proper objects of adoration.

Besides these points common to the Bramins or Bauddhas, they hold some opinions peculiar to themselves. The chief objects of their worship are a limited number of saints, who have raised themselves by austerities to a superiority over the gods, and who exactly resemble those of the Bauddhas in appearance and general character, but are entirely distinct from them in their names and individual histories. They are called Tírthankaras: there are twenty-four for the present age, but twenty-four also for the past, and twenty-four for the future.[68]

Those most worshipped are, in some places, Rishabha,[69] the first of the present Tírthankaras; but every where Párswanáth, and the Mahávíra, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of the number.[70]

As all but the two last bear a fabulous character in their dimensions and length of life, it has been conjectured, with great appearance of truth, that these two are the real founders of the religion.

[66] De la Maine, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 413; Colebrooke, Ibid. p. 549; Buchanan, Ibid. pp. 531, 532; Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 239.

[67] Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 248.

[68] [*Tírthankara* means "one who crosses the ocean of existence." They are also called *Arhats*, or "entitled to the homage of gods and men," and *Jinas*, or "victors over human passions and infirmity." From the last title comes "Jains."—ED.]

[69] Major de la Maine, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 424.

[70] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 248.

All remain alike in the usual state of apathetic beatitude, and take no share in the government of the world.[71]

Some changes are made by the Jains in the rank and circumstances of the Hindú gods. They give no preference to the greater gods of the Hindús; and they have increased the number of gods, and added to the absurdities of the system: thus they have sixty-four Indras, and twenty-two Dévís.[72]

They have no veneration for relics, and no monastic establishments. Their priests are called Jatis;[73] they are of all casts, and their dress, though distinguishable from that of the Bramins, bears some resemblance to it. They wear very large, loose, white mantles, with their heads bare, and their hair and beard clipped; and carry a black rod and a brush for sweeping away animals. They subsist by alms. They never bathe, perhaps in opposition to the incessant ablutions of the Bramins.

The Jain temples are generally very large and handsome; often flat-roofed, and like private houses, with courts and colonnades; but sometimes resembling Hindú temples, and sometimes circular and surrounded by colossal statues of the Tírthankaras.[74] The walls are painted with their peculiar legends, mixed, perhaps, with those of the Hindús. Besides images, they have marble altars, with the figures of saints in relief, and with impressions of the footsteps of holy men; a memorial which they have in common with the Bauddhas.

By far the finest specimen of Jain temples of the Hindú form are the noble remains in white marble on the mountain of Ábú, to the north of Guzerát. There are Jain caves also, on a great scale, at Elléra, Nássik, and other places; and there is, near Chinráipatan, in the Mysore, a statue of one of the Tírthankaras, cut out of a rock, which has been guessed at different heights, from 54 to 70 feet.

The Jains have a considerable body of learning, resembling that of the Bramins, but far surpassing even the extravagance of the Braminical chronology and geography; increasing to hundreds

[71] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 270.

[72] Major de la Maine, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 422.

[73] ["The Jains are divided into religious and lay orders, Yatis and Srávakas. The reader in a Jain temple is a Yati; but the ministrant priest, the attendant on the images, the receiver of offerings, and conductor of all usual ceremonies, is a Brahman. The Yatis lead a religious life, subsisting on the alms supplied by the Srávakas. They are sometimes collected in *maths*, called by them *postlas*, and even when abroad in the world they acknowledge a sort of obedience to the head of the *postla* of which they were once members."—Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, xvii. —Ed.]

[74] There is a magnificent one of this description near Ahmeddábád, built under ground, and said to have been designed for concealed worship during the persecution by the Hindus.

of millions what was already sufficiently absurd at millions. Their sacred language is Mágadhí or Pálí.

Comparative antiquity of those religions and that of Brahmá.

A question has arisen, which of the three religions above described was first established in India. It resolves itself into a discussion of the claims of those of Buddha and Brahma.[75] Admitting the common origin of the two systems, which the similarity of the fundamental tenets would appear to prove, the weight of the arguments adduced appears to lean to the side of the Bramins; and an additional reason may perhaps be drawn from the improbability that the Bauddha system could ever have been an original one.

A man as yet unacquainted with religious feelings would imbibe his first notions of a God from the perception of powers superior to his own. Even if the idea of a quiescent Divinity could enter his mind, he would have no motive to adore it, but would rather endeavour to propitiate the sun on which he depended for warmth, or the heavens, which terrified him with their thunders. Still less would he commence by the worship of saints; for sanctity is only conformity to religious notions already established; and a religion must have obtained a strong hold on a people before they would be disposed to deify their fellows for a strict adherence to its injunctions; especially if they neither supposed them to govern the world, nor to mediate with its ruler.

The Hindú religion presents a more natural course. It rose from the worship of the powers of nature to theism, and then declined into scepticism with the learned, and man worship with the vulgar.

The doctrines of the Sánkhya school of philosophers seem reflected in the atheism of the Bauddha;[76] while the hero worship of the common Hindús, and their extravagant veneration for religious ascetics, are much akin to the deification of saints among

[75] The arguments on both sides are summed up with great clearness and impartiality by Mr. Erskine, in the *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. pp. 495—503. Even the summary is too long to be inserted in this place.

[76] ["La doctrine de Çâkya se place en opposition au Brâhmanisme, comme une morale sans Dieu et comme un athéisme sans Nature. Ce qu'il nie, c'est le Dieu éternel des Brâhmanes, et la Nature éternelle des Sânkhyas; ce qu'il admet, c'est la multiplicité et l'individualité des âmes humaines, des Sânkhyas, et la transmigration des Brâhmanes. Ce qu'il veut atteindre, c'est la délivrance ou l'affranchissement de l'esprit, ainsi que le voulait tout le monde dans l'Inde. Mais il n'affranchit pas l'esprit comme faisaient les Sânkhyas en le détachant pour jamais de la Nature, ni comme faisaient les Brâhmanes en le replongeant au sein du Brahma éternel et absolu; il anéantit les conditions de son existence relative en la précipitant dans le vide, c'est-à-dire, selon toute apparence, en l'anéantissement."—Burnouf, *Buddhisme Ind.*, i. 521.—ED.]

the Buddhas. We are led, therefore, to suppose the Bramin faith to have originated in early times, and that of Buddha to have branched off from it at a period when its orthodox tenets had reached their highest perfection, if not shown a tendency to decline.

The historical information regarding these religions tends to the same conclusion. The Védas are supposed to have been arranged in their present form about the fourteenth century before Christ, and the religion they teach must have made considerable previous progress; while scarcely one even of its most zealous advocates has claimed for that of Buddha a higher antiquity than the tenth or eleventh century before Christ, and the best authenticated accounts limit it to the sixth.

All the nations professing the religion of Buddha concur in referring its origin to India.[77] They unite in representing the founder to have been Sákya Muni or Gótama, a native of Capilavastu, north of Górakpúr. By one account he was a Cshatriya, and by others the son of a king. Even the Hindús confirm this account, making him a Cshatriya, and son to a king of the solar race. They are not so well agreed about the date of his appearance. The Indians and the people of Ava, Siam, and Ceylon, fix it near the middle of the sixth century before Christ,[78] an epoch which is borne out by various particulars in the list of kings of Magadha.

The Cashmirians, on the other hand, place Sákya 1332 years before Christ; the Chinese, Mongols, and Japanese about 1000; and of thirteen Tibetian authors referred to in the same *Oriental Magazine*, four give an average of 2,959; and nine of 835;[79] while the great religious work of Tibet, by asserting that the general council[80] held by Asóca was 110 years after Buddha's

[77] For the Chinese, see De Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xl. p. 187, &c.; Abel Remusat, *Journal des Savans for* November, 1831; and the summary in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. vii. pp. 239, 240; and likewise the Essay in the next month, p. 241. For the Mongols, see M. Klaproth, *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. viii., especially p. 182, and the following pages. For Ceylon, see Turnour's *Maháwanso*, with which the Scriptures of Ava and Siam are identical. (Introduction, p. xxx.) For Tibet, see M. Csoma de Koros, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. i. p. 1.

[78] See Turnour's *Maháwanso*; Chronological Table from Crawford's *Embassy to Ava* (given in Princep's *Useful Tables*, p. 132); see also *Useful Tables*, pp. 77, 78.

[79] See their various dates in the *Oriental Magazine*, vol. iv. pp. 106, 107; and Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 92.

[80] [Three general councils play an important part in Buddhist legend. The Buddhists of Tibet and Ceylon agree in fixing the first as held immediately after Buddha's death; but they differ as to the others. The Tibetans fix the second 110 years afterwards in the reign of Asóka, King of Pátaliputra; and the third more than 400 years after Buddha's death, under Kanishka (the Kanerki of the coins). The Ceylonese fix the second under Kálásóka 100 years after Buddha, and the third

death,[81] brings down that event to less than 400 years before Christ, as Asóca will be shown, on incontestable evidence, to have lived less than 300 years before our era.[82]

One Chinese author also differs from the rest, fixing 688 years before Christ;[83] and the Chinese and Japanese tables, which make the period of Sákya's eminence 999 years before Christ, say that it occurred during the reign of Ajáta Satru, whose place in the list of Magadha kings shows him to have lived in the sixth century before Christ.

These discrepancies are too numerous to be removed by the supposition that they refer to an earlier and a later Buddha; and that expedient is also precluded by the identity of the name, Sákya, and of every circumstance in the lives of the persons to whom such different dates are assigned. We must, therefore, either pronounce the Indian Bauddhas to be ignorant of the date of a religion which arose among themselves, and at the same time must derange the best established part of the Hindú chronology; or admit that an error must have occurred in Cashmír or Tibet, through which places it crept into the more eastern countries, when they received the religion of Buddha many years after the death of its founder. As the latter seems by much the most probable explanation, we may safely fix the death of Buddha about 550 B.C.[84]

The Indian origin of the Bauddhas would appear, independently of direct evidence, from the facts that their theology, mythology, philosophy, geography, chronology, etc., are almost entirely of the Hindú family; and all the terms used in those sciences are Sanscrit. Even Buddha (intelligence), and Ádi Buddha (supreme intelligence), are well-known Sanscrit words.[85]

We have no precise information regarding the early progress of this religion. It was triumphant in Hindostan in the reign of Asóca, about the middle of the third century before Christ.[86] It was introduced by his missionaries into Ceylon in the end of the same century.[87]

It probably spread at an early period into Tartary and Tibet, but was not introduced into China until A.D. 65, when it was

under the great Asóka 235 years after Buddha.—ED.]

[81] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. i. p. 6.

[82] See Book iii. Ch. iii.

[83] De Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xl. p. 195.

[84] [Prof. Max Muller prefers 477 B.C. See *Hist. Ancient Sanak. Lit.*, p. 298.—ED.]

[85] [Buddha means "wise," and Ádi Buddha "the primordial wise or Buddha." —ED.]

[86] See Turnour's *Mahawanso*, and translations of contemporary inscriptions in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta* for February, 1838.

[87] In 307 B.C. Turnour's *Mahawanso*, Introduction, p. xxix., and other places.

brought direct from India, and was not fully established till A.D. 310.[88]

The progress of its decline in its original seat is recorded by a Chinese traveller, who visited India on a religious expedition in the first years of the fifth century after Christ.[89] He found Buddhism flourishing in the tract between China and India, but declining in the Panjáb, and languishing in the last stage of decay in the countries on the Ganges and Jumna. Capila, the birthplace of Buddha, was ruined and deserted,—"a wilderness untenanted by man." His religion was in full vigour in Ceylon, but had not yet been introduced into Java, which island was visited by the pilgrim on his return by sea to China.

The religion of Buddha afterwards recovered its importance in some parts of India. Its adherents were refuted, persecuted, and probably chased from the Deckan, by Sancara Achárya, in the eighth or ninth century, if not by Cumárila at an earlier period; but they appear to have possessed sovereignty in Hindostan in the eighth century, and even to have been the prevailing sect at Benáres as late as the eleventh century,[90] and in the north of Guzerát as late as the twelfth century of our era.[91]

They do not now exist in the plains of India, but their religion is the established one in Ceylon, and in some of the mountainous countries to the north-east of the provinces on the Ganges. Buddhism is also the faith of the Burman Empire, of Tibet, of Siam, and all the countries between India and China. It is very general in the latter country, and extends over a great part of Chinese and Russian Tartary; so that it has been said, with apparent truth, to be professed by a greater portion of the human race than any other religion.

The Jains appear to have originated in the sixth or seventh century of our era; to have become conspicuous in the eighth or ninth century; got to the highest prosperity in the eleventh, and declined after the twelfth.[92] Their principal seats seem to have been in the southern parts of the peninsula, and in Guzerát and at the west of Hindostan. They seem never to have had much success in the provinces on the Ganges.

They appear to have undergone several persecutions by the Bramins, in the south of India, at least.[93]

[88] De Guignes, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xl. pp. 251, 252; and *Histoires des Huns*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 235, 236.

[89] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. IX. p. 108, &c., particularly p. 139. [On these Chinese Buddhist travellers, see Additional Appendix.—Ed.]

[90] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 282.

[91] Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 533, with Major Kennedy's note.

[92] Prof. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 283. [93] Buchanan, vol. i. p. 81.

The Jains are still very numerous, especially in Guzerát, the Rájpút country, and Canara; they are generally an opulent and mercantile class; many of them are bankers, and possess a large proportion of the commercial wealth of India.[84]

CHAPTER V.

PRESENT STATE OF PHILOSOPHY.[1]

THE subject of philosophy is not one upon which Menu professes to treat. It is, however, incidentally mentioned in his first chapter, and it has occupied too great a portion of the attention of the Hindús of later days to be omitted in any account of their genius and character.

The first chapter of the Institutes is evidently an exposition of the belief of the compiler, and (unlike the laws, which have been framed in various ages) probably represents the state of opinion as it stood in his time.

The topics on which it treats—the nature of God and the soul, the creation, and other subjects, physical and metaphysical—are too slightly touched on to show whether any of the present schools of philosophy were then in their present form; but the minute points alluded to as already known, and the use of the terms still employed, as if quite intelligible to its readers, prove that the discussions which have given rise to their different systems were already perfectly familiar to the Hindús.

Six principal schools.

The present state of the science will be best shown, by inquiring into the tenets of those schools.

There are six ancient schools of philosophy recognised among the Hindús. Some of these are avowedly inconsistent with the religious doctrines of the Bramins; and others, though perfectly orthodox, advance opinions not stated in the Védas.

These schools are enumerated in the following order by Mr. Colebrooke.[2]

[84] Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. i. p. 518; Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 294. See also Buchanan's *Journey*, vol. iii. pp. 19, 76-84, 131, 410.

[1] [The subject of Hindú philosophy is far too wide to be treated in a single chapter. The reader who desires to study it further is referred to two works published in India by two Christian Brahmans —*Dialogues on Hindú Philosophy*, by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea (Calcutta, 1860), and *Refutation of Hindú Philosophy*, by Pundit Nehemiah Nilkanth Shástri Gore, originally written in Hindú, and translated by Dr. Hall (Calcutta, 1862). These works (as well as Dr. Ballantyne's translations) contain an immense amount of information on this most interesting subject. I have only added a few notes to explain the text.—ED.]

[2] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 19.

1. The prior Mímánsá, founded by Jaimani.
2. The latter Mímánsá, or Védánta, attributed to Vyása.
3. The Nyáya, or logical school of Gótama.
4. The Vaiséshika, or atomic school of Canáda.
5. The Sánkhya, or atheistical school of Capila.
6. The Yoga, or theistical school of Patanjali.

These two last schools agree in many points, and are included in the common name of Sánkhya.

This division does not give a complete idea of the present state of philosophy. The prior Mímánsá, which teaches the art of reasoning with the express view of aiding the interpretation of the Védas, is, so far, only a school of criticism; and its object, being to ascertain the duties enjoined in those scriptures, is purely religious, and gives it no claim to a place among the schools of philosophy.[3] On the other hand, the remaining schools have branched into various subdivisions, each of which is entitled to be considered as a separate school, and to form an addition to the original number. It would be foreign to my object to enter on all the distinctions between those philosophical systems. An outline of the two most contrasted of the six principal schools, with a slight notice of the rest, will be sufficient to give an idea of the progress made by the nation in this department of science. The two schools selected for this summary examination are the Sánkhya and Védánta.[4] The first maintains the eternity of matter, and its principal branch denies the being of God. The other school derives all things from God, and one sect denies the reality of matter.

All the Indian systems, atheistical as well as theistical, agree in their object, which is, to teach the means of obtaining beatitude, or, in other words, exemption from metempsychosis, and deliverance from all corporeal encumbrances.[5]

[3] [The prior Mímánsá, however, in the course of its critical investigations, discusses various philosophical doctrines. It appears to have been originally atheistical, the sacrifices and other ceremonies which it so zealously upholds being said to produce their fruit by an inherent law or fate. One of its most curious speculations is the doctrine of an eternal sound underlying all temporary sounds; this is by some identified with Brahma. The grammarians have naturally adopted this doctrine, to give dignity to their favourite study. The title *purva* or "prior" seems to have no reference to priority of time, but to have been given, because Jaimini's school confined their attention to the *Karma Kánda*, the ceremonial or exoteric part of the Véda, while the "latter" or *uttara* Mímánsá treated of the higher or esoteric portion contained in the Upanishads. But there are many reasons for believing that the so-called "Prior" school was much earlier than the Védánta.—Ed.]

[4] [For an elaborate account of each see *Refutation of Hindú Philosophy*, sections i. iii.—Ed.]

[5] [Thus the Nyáya Áphorisms open with the following: "misery, successive births, activity, defect, ignorance; when any one of these is removed, all that precede it go with it; and then ensues final emancipation." From ignorance comes "defect," viz. that we desire or hate or are stupidly

Sánkhya School, Atheistical and Theistical.

This school is divided, as has been mentioned, into two branches, that of Capila, which is atheistical, and that of Patanjali, acknowledging God; but both agree in the following opinions:[6]— Purpose of knowledge.

Deliverance can only be gained by true and perfect knowledge.[7]

This knowledge consists in discriminating the principles, perceptible and imperceptible, of the material world from the sensitive and cognitive principle, which is the immaterial soul.[8]

True knowledge is attained by three kinds of evidence, perception, inference, and affirmation[9] (or testimony).[9] Means of attaining knowledge.

The principles of which a knowledge is thus derived are twenty-five in number,[10] viz.: Principles.

1. Nature, the root or plastic origin of all; the universal material cause. It is eternal matter; undiscrete, destitute of parts; productive, but not produced; the equilibrium of the three qualities.

2. Intelligence; the first production of nature, increate,[11] prolific; being itself productive of other principles.

3. Consciousness, which proceeds from intelligence, and the peculiar function of which is the sense of self-existence, the belief that "I am."

4 to 8. From consciousness spring five particles, rudiments, or atoms, productive of the five elements.[12]

9 to 19. From consciousness also spring eleven organs of

indifferent; from "defect" arises "activity," viz. that we seek or avoid or are stupidly apathetic; and from this mistaken "activity" arises merit or demerit, which necessitates our passing into some new birth after death, to receive the reward or punishment of our deeds. Thus all the weary round of conscious existence springs from "ignorance," as its root; and it is the aim of the Hindú *jíyndsd* to eradicate this fatal seed.—ED.]

[6] Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 31.

[7] Ibid. p. 26.

[8] Ibid. p. 27. [Nature is imperceptible (*avyakta*), those numbered 2 24 are perceptible (*vyakta*) to higher beings, if not to man.—ED.]

[9] Ibid. p. 28. [The various kinds of proofs or sources of knowledge (*pramána*), as admitted in the different schools, form an interesting part of Hindú philosophy. Thus the Chárvákas or materialists admit only sense-perception (*pratyaksha*); the Vaiséshikas add inference (*anumána*); the Sánkhyas testimony (*śabda*); the Naiyáyikas (*upamána* or analogy; the Vedántins further add presumption (*arthápatti*), which corresponds to our disjunctive hypothetical syllogism, and non-perception or negative proof (*anupalabdhi*). Besides these proofs of the six orthodox schools, other sections increase the number to nine by adding equivalence (*sambhava*), fallible testimony (*aitihya*), and gesture (*chesht*á). —ED.]

[10] Ibid. pp. 29-31.

[11] The contradiction between the two first terms might be explained by supposing that intelligence, though depending on nature for its existence, is co-eternal with the principle from which it is derived.

[12] Rather, rudiments of the perceptions by which the elements are made known to the mind; as sound, the rudiment of ether; touch, of air; smell, of earth, &c. [i.e. form and taste of water].—Wilson's *Sánkhya Cáriká*, pp. 17, 119.

sense and action. Ten are external; five instruments of the senses (the eye, ear, etc.), and five instruments of action (the voice, the hands, the feet, etc.). The eleventh organ is internal, and is mind, which is equally an organ of sense and of action.

20 to 24. The five elements are derived from the five particles above mentioned (4 to 8). They are ether, air, fire, water, and earth.

25. The last principle is soul, which is neither produced nor productive. It is multitudinous, individual, sensitive, unalterable, immaterial.

Constitution of animated corporeal beings.

It is for the contemplation of nature, and for abstraction from it, that the union between the soul and nature takes place. By that union creation, consisting in the development of intellect, and the rest of the principles, is effected.[13] The soul's wish is fruition, or liberation. For either purpose it is invested with a subtile person, composed of intellect, consciousness, mind, the organs of sense and action, and the five principles of the elements. This person is unconfined, free from all hinderance, affected by sentiments; but incapable of enjoyment, until invested with a grosser frame, composed of the elements; which is the body, and is perishable.

The subtile person is more durable, and accompanies the soul in its transmigrations.[14] The corporeal creation, consisting of souls invested with gross bodies, comprises fourteen orders of beings; eight above, and five inferior to man. The superior orders are composed of the gods and other spirits recognised by the Hindús; the inferior, of animals, plants, and inorganic substances.[15]

Intellectual creation.

Besides the grosser corporeal creation, and the subtile or personal (all belonging to the material world), the Sánkhya distinguishes an intellectual creation, consisting of the affections of the intellect, its sentiments and faculties.

These are enumerated in four classes, as obstructing, disabling, contenting, or perfecting the understanding.[16]

[13] [It is this peculiar idea of individual creation which gives to the Sánkhya an apparent resemblance to Berkeley's theory. Each soul creates its own world,—the material universe, however, has an existence other than that which it possesses from its connection with any particular soul, inasmuch as Hiranyagarbha, the personified sum of existence, may be said to unify in his ideal creation the separate subcreations of all inferior beings.—Ed.]

[14] Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 32.

[15] Ibid. p. 33.

[16] The catalogue is very extensive; for, though the principal heads are stated at fifty, there appear to be numerous subdivisions.

The following may serve as a specimen, selected from that given by Mr. Colebrooke, which is itself very much condensed:

1. Obstructions of the intellect are—

The Sánkhya, like all the Indian schools, pays much attention to three essential qualities or modifications of nature. These are, 1. goodness; 2. passion; 3. darkness. They appear to affect all beings, animate and inanimate. Through *goodness*, for instance, fire ascends, and virtue and happiness are produced in man; it is *passion* which causes tempests in the air, and vice among mankind; *darkness* gives their downward tendency to earth and water, and in man produces stolidity as well as sorrow.

Eight modes appertaining to intellect are derived from these qualities; on the one hand, virtue, knowledge, dispassion, and power; and on the other, sin, error, incontinency, and powerlessness. Each of these is subdivided: power, for instance, is eightfold.

The opinions which have above been enumerated, as mere dogmas of the Sánkhya philosophers, are demonstrated and explained at great length in their works. Mr. Colebrooke gives some specimens of their arguments and discussions; the fault of which, as is usual in such cases, seems to be a disposition to run into over-refinement.[17]

General view of the Sánkhya doctrine.

In endeavouring to find out the scope of the Sánkhya system, which is somewhat obscured by the artificial form in which it is presented by its inventors, we are led at first to think that this school, though, atheistical, and, in the main, material, does not differ very widely from that which derives all things from spirit. From nature comes intelligence; from intelligence, consciousness; from consciousness, the senses and the subtile principles of the elements; from these principles, the grosser elements themselves. From the order of this procession it would appear that, although matter be eternal, its forms are derived from spirit, and have no existence independent of perception.

But this is not the real doctrine of the school. It is a property inherent in nature to put forth those principles in their order; and a property in soul to use them as the means of obtaining a knowledge of nature; but these operations, though coinciding in their object, are independent in their origin. Nature and the whole multitude of individual souls are eternal; and

error, conceit, passion, hatred, fear. These are severally explained, and comprise sixty-two subdivisions.

2. Disabilities are of twenty-eight sorts, arising from defect or injury of organs, &c.

3. Content, or acquiescence, involves nine divisions; all appear to relate to total or partial omission of exertion, to procure deliverance or beatitude.

4. Perfecting the intellect is of eight sorts; three consist in ways of preventing evil, and the remaining five are reasoning, oral instruction, study, amicable intercourse, and purity, internal and external.

[17] Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 83-87.

though each soul is united with intellect and the other productions of nature, it exercises no control over their development. Its union, indeed, is not with the general intellect, which is the first production of nature, but with an individual intellect derived from that primary production.[18]

At birth, each soul is invested with a subtile body,[19] which again is clad in a grosser body. The connection between soul and matter being thus established, the organs communicate the sensations occasioned by external nature: mind combines them: consciousness gives them a reference to the individual: intellect draws inferences, and attains to knowledge not within the reach of the senses:[20] soul stands by as a spectator, and not an actor; perceiving all, but affected by nothing; as a mirror which receives all images, without itself undergoing any change.[21] When the soul has completely seen and understood nature, its task is performed: it is released, and the connection between nature and that individual soul is dissolved. Nature (to use an illustration from the text-book) exhibits herself like an actress: she desists when she has been perfectly seen; and the soul attains to the great object of liberation.

Thus it appears that the soul takes no part in the operations of nature, and is necessary to none of them: sensation, consciousness, reasoning, judgment, would all go on equally if it were away.[22] Again: it is for the purpose of the liberation of the soul that all these operations are performed: yet the soul was free at first, and remains unchanged at the end. The whole phenomena of mind and matter have therefore been without a purpose. In each view, the soul is entirely super-

[18] [Every individual soul has from eternity been continually in connection with Nature, and repeated creations have resulted from this connection. Nature is said to be enlightened by its proximity to Soul, and Soul by its proximity becomes a witness of Nature, as a colourless crystal becomes red by proximity to a red rose.—Ed.]

[19] Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 40.

[20] Ibid. pp. 31, 38. [The general outline of the series of functions involved in an act of perception is illustrated in two ways by the native writers: "Thus the ear hears the twang of a bowstring; mind reflects that this must be for the flight of an arrow; individuality says, it is aimed at me; and intellect determines that I must run away." And again: "As the headmen of a village collect the taxes from the villagers and pay them to the governor of the district; as the local governor pays the amount to the minister, and the minister receives it for the use of the king; so mind, having received ideas from the external organs, transfers them to individuality, and this delivers them to intellect, which is the general superintendent, and takes charge of them for the use of the sovereign, Soul."—Wilson's *Sánkhya Kár.*, pp. 107, 117.

[21] Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 42.

[22] [In the Sánkhya system, "cognition" means two quite distinct things, viz., the apprehension of objects, which is transitory and belongs to intellect, &c., and the eternal cognition, which belongs to the soul and has no relation to any objects. See *Rational Refutation*, p. 54.—Ed.]

fluous; and we are tempted to surmise that its existence and liberation have been admitted, in terms, by Capila, as the gods were by Epicurus, to avoid shocking the prejudices of his countrymen by a direct denial of their religion.

Separate doctrines of the atheistical and theistical branches.

The tenets hitherto explained are common to both schools; but Capila, admitting, as has been seen, the separate existence of souls, and allowing that intellect is employed in the evolution of matter, which answers to creation, denies that there is any Supreme Being, either material or spiritual, by whose *volition* the universe was produced.[23]

Patanjali, on the other hand, asserts that, distinct from other souls, there is a soul or spirit unaffected by the ills with which the others are beset; unconcerned with good or bad deeds or their consequences, and with fancies or passing thoughts; omniscient, infinite, unlimited by time. This being is God, the Supreme Ruler.[24]

The practice of the two sects takes its colour from these peculiar opinions. The object of all knowledge with both is liberation from matter; and it is by *contemplation* that the great work is to be accomplished.

To this the theistical sects add *devotion*; and the subjects of their meditation are suggested by this sentiment. While the followers of the other sect are occupied in abstruse reasonings on the nature of mind and matter, the deistical Sánkhya spends his time in devotional exercises, or gives himself up to mental abstraction. The mystical and fanatical spirit thus engendered appears in other shapes, and has influenced this branch of the Sánkhya in a manner which has ultimately tended to degrade its character.

The work of Patanjali, which is the text-book of the theistical sect, contains full directions for bodily and mental exercises, consisting of intensely profound meditation on certain topics, accompanied by suppression of the breath, and restraint of the senses, while steadily maintaining prescribed positions. By such exercises, the adept acquires the knowledge of everything past and future, hidden or remote: he divines the thoughts of others, gains the strength of an elephant, the courage of a lion, and the swiftness of the wind; flies in air, floats in water; dives into the earth; contemplates all worlds at a glance, and indulges in the enjoyment of a power that scarcely knows any bounds.

[23] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 37.
[24] Ibid.

To the attainment of these miraculous faculties, some ascetics divert the efforts which ought to be confined to the acquisition of beatitude; and others have had recourse to imposture for the power to surprise their admirers with wonders which they possessed no other means of exhibiting.

Yógis. The first description of these aspirants to supernatural powers are still found among the monastic orders, and the second among the lowest classes of the same body; both are called Yógi,—a name assigned to the original sect, from a word meaning "abstracted meditation."[25]

Vedánta, or Uttara Mímánsá School.

The foundation of this school is ascribed to Vyása, the supposed compiler of the Védas, who lived about 1400 B.C.; and it does not seem improbable that the author of that compilation, whoever he was, should have written a treatise on the scope and essential doctrines of the compositions which he had brought together: but Mr. Colebrooke is of opinion that, in its present form, the school is more modern than any of the other five, and even than the Jains and Bauddhas; and that the work in which its system is first explained could not, therefore, have been written earlier[26] than the sixth century before Christ.

Though the system of this school is supported by arguments drawn from reason, it professes to be founded on the authority of the Védas, and appeals for proofs to texts from those scriptures. It has given rise to an enormous mass of treatises, with commentaries, and commentaries on commentaries, almost all written during the last nine centuries. From a selection of these expositions, Mr. Colebrooke has formed his account of the school; but owing to the controversial matter introduced, as well as to the appeals to texts instead of to human reason, it is more confused and obscure than the system of the other schools.

God the sole existence. Its principal doctrines are, that "God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of his *will*; he is both the efficient and the material cause of the world."

[25] The above account of the Sánkhya school is chiefly taken from Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. pp. 19-43. A translation of the text-book of the followers of Capila (the atheistic sect), originally prepared by Mr. Colebrooke, has appeared since it was first written, accompanied by a translation of a gloss from the Sanscrit, and a very valuable commentary by Professor Wilson. A more general view of the Sánkhya doctrines has also appeared in the *Oxford Lectures* of the last author, pp. 49, 54. I have endeavoured to profit by those publications in correcting my first account.

[26] Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4.

At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into him. He is the "sole existent" and the "universal soul."[27]

Individual souls are portions of his substance: from him they issue like sparks from a flame, and to him they return.

The soul (as a portion of the Divinity) is "infinite, immortal intelligent, sentient, true."

It is capable of activity, though its natural state is repose.

It is made to act by the Supreme Being, but in conformity to its previous resolutions; and those again have been produced by a chain of causes extending backward apparently to infinity.[28]

The soul is encased in body as in a sheath, or rather a succession of sheaths. In the first, the intellect is associated with the five senses; in the second, the mind is added; in the third, the organs of sense and the vital faculties. These three constitute the subtile body, which accompanies the soul through all its transmigrations.

The fourth sheath is the gross body.[29]

The states of the soul in reference to the body are these:—When awake, it is active, and has to do with a real and practical creation: in dreams, there is an illusive and unreal creation: in profound sleep, it is enfolded, *but not blended*, in the Divine essence: on death, it has quitted the corporeal frame.[30] It then goes to the moon, is clothed in an aqueous body, falls in rain, is absorbed by some vegetable, and thence through nourishment into an animal embryo.[31]

After finishing its transmigrations, the number of which depends on its deeds, it receives liberation.

Liberation is of three sorts: one incorporeal and complete, when the soul is absorbed in Brahmá; another imperfect, when it only reaches the abode of Brahmá; and a third far short of the others, by which, while yet in life, it acquires many of the powers of the Divinity, and its faculties are transcendent for enjoyment, but not for action. These two last are attainable by sacrifice and devout meditation in prescribed modes.

The discussions of this school extend to the questions of free will, divine grace, efficacy of works, of faith, and many others of the most abstracted nature.

Faith is not mentioned in their early works, and is a tenet of the branch of the Védánta school which follows the Bhagavad

[27] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 34.
[28] Ibid. p. 22.
[29] Ibid. p. 35.
[30] Ibid. p. 37.
[31] Ibid. p. 25.

Gítá. The most regular of the school, however, maintain the doctrine of divine grace, and restrict free will, as has been shown, by an infinite succession of influencing motives, extending back through the various worlds in the past eternity of the universe.

It is obvious that this school differs entirely from that first mentioned, in denying the eternity of matter, and ascribing the existence of the universe to the energy and volition of God. But its original teachers, or their European interpreters, appear to disagree as to the manner in which that existence is produced. One party maintains that God created matter out of his own essence, and will resume it into his essence at the consummation of all things; and that from matter thus produced, he formed the world, and left it to make its own impressions on the soul of man. The other party says that God did not create matter, nor does matter exist; but that he did, and continually does, produce directly on the soul a series of impressions such as the other party supposes to be produced by the material world. One party says that all that exists arises from God; the other, that nothing does exist except God. This last appears to be the prevailing doctrine among the modern Védántis, though probably not of the founders and early followers of the school.[32]

Both parties agree in supposing the impression produced on the mind to be regular and systematic, so that the ideal sect reasons about cause and effect exactly in the same manner as those who believe in the reality of the apparent world.

Both allow volition to God, and do not conceive that there is anything in the nature of matter, or in his own relations, to fetter his will.

Both agree in asserting that the soul was originally part of God, and is again to return to him; but neither explains how the separation is effected; the idealists, in particular, fail entirely in explaining how God can delude a part of himself into a belief of its own separate existence, and of its being acted on by an external world, when, in fact, it is an integral part of the only existing being.[33]

[32] [The modern school of the Vedánta is that founded by Śankara Áchárya. It rigidly maintains *adwaita*, i.e., that nothing really exists except Brahma; all else—matter, souls, even Íswara or the personal Divine Being—is the product of ignorance, and as unreal as the snake which the mistaken traveller fancies in a rope. For a thorough examination of this system, see *Rational Refutation*, section iii.—Ed.]

[33] On the question regarding the ideal or material existence of the world (besides Mr. Colebrooke's paper in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39), see that of Colonel Kennedy, in vol. iii. p. 414, with the remarks of Sir Graves Haughton.

Logical Schools.

Logic is a favourite study of the Bramins, and an infinity of volumes have been produced by them on this subject. Some of them have been by eminent authors, and various schools have sprung up in consequence; all, however, are supposed to originate in those of Gótama and Canáda. The first of these has attended to the metaphysics of logic; the second, to physics, or to sensible objects. Though these schools differ in some particulars, they generally agree on the points treated on by both, and may be considered as parts of one system, each supplying the other's deficiencies.

The school thus formed has been compared to that of Aristotle.[34]

Points of resemblance to Aristotle.

It resembles it in its attention to classification, method, and arrangement, and it furnishes a rude form of the syllogism, consisting of five propositions, two of which are obviously superfluous.[35]

In the logic of Canáda's school there is also an enumeration of what is translated "predicaments" (*padártha*), which are six:—substance, quality, action, community, particularity, and aggregation or intimate relation:[36] some add a seventh, privation. The three first are among the predicaments of Aristotle, the others are not, and seven of Aristotle's are omitted.[37]

The subjects treated of in the two Hindú systems are naturally

[34] Mr. Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 19; *Edinburgh Review* for July, 1834, p. 363.

[35] As, 1. The hill is fiery (the proposition);
2. For it smokes (the reason);
3. What smokes is fiery, as a culinary hearth (the example);
4. Accordingly, the hill is smoking (the application);
5. Therefore, it is fiery (the conclusion).

The Hindús had also the regular syllogism, which seems a very natural step from the above; but as it was at a later period, the improvement *might* have been borrowed from the Greeks. [Dr. Ballantyne has pointed out that this is the rhetorical, as opposed to the strictly logical, syllogism, or as the Hindús express it, is the inference for the sake of another, not for one's self. See Prof. Max Muller's Appendix on Indian logic, subjoined to the *Laws of Thought*, by the Archbishop of York. But the usual form of a Hindú syllogism is rather composed of two propositions, "The mountain has fire-pervaded smoke, therefore it has fire." It is this notion of *vyápti* or pervasion which forms the peculiarity of the Hindú syllogism; and though of course it amounts to the same thing as our Western distribution and universality, it expresses it in an original way. In truth, the true interest of the Nyáya lies not in its result, but rather in the fact that it is the only logical system in the world not derived from Aristotle.—ED.]

[36] [Community is our genus or species, and is considered to be eternal; particularity (*viseshe*, whence the name of the system) is the eternal individual essence of ether, time, space, soul, and mind (which last is considered as atomic), and of the several atoms of earth, water, fire, and air. Intimate relation (or *samavaya*) is the relation which exists between a whole and its parts,—a genus or species and its individuals,—an action or quality and its subject,—and particularity and the eternal substances mentioned above.—ED.]

[37] Viz. passion, relation, quantity, when, where, situation, and habit.

often the same as those of Aristotle,—the senses, the elements, the soul and its different faculties, time, space, etc.; but many that are of the first importance in Aristotle's system are omitted by the Hindús and *vice versâ*. The definitions of the subjects often differ, and the general arrangement is entirely dissimilar.

One of the most remarkable coincidences is that all the Hindú schools constantly join to the five senses a sixth internal sense (which they call mind), which connects the other five, and answers exactly to the common, or internal, sense of Aristotle.

General classification according to Gotama's school.

The arrangement of Gótama's school is much more complete and comprehensive than that of Canáda, and some specimens of it may serve to give an idea of the minuteness to which their classification is attempted to be carried.

Heads or topics.

The first distribution of subjects is into sixteen heads or topics.[38] I can discover no principle on which it is made, except that it comprises the instruments, modes, and some of the subjects, of disputation. It is as follows:—

1. Proof. 2. That which is to be known and proven. 3. Doubt. 4. Motive. 5. Instance. 6. Demonstrated truth. 7. Member of a regular argument or syllogism. 8. Reasoning by reduction to absurdity. 9. Determination or ascertainment. 10. Thesis or disquisition. 11. Controversy. 12. Objection. 13. Fallacious reason. 14. Perversion. 15. Futility. 16. Confutation.

The subdivisions are more natural and systematic.

1st Head—Proof.

Proof (or evidence) is of four kinds; perception, inference, comparison,* and affirmation (or testimony).

Inference is again subdivided into antecedent, which discovers an effect from its cause; consequent, which deduces a cause from its effect; and analogous.[39]

2nd Head—Objects of Proof; its subdivisions.

Objects of proof are twelve in number:—1. Soul. 2. Body. 3. The organs of sensation. 4. The objects of sense. 5. Intellect. 6. Mind. 7. Activity. 8. Fault. 9. Transmigration. 10. Fruit of deeds. 11. Pain, or physical evil. 12. Liberation.

1. Soul.

1. The first object of proof is soul; and a full exposition is given of its nature and faculties, and of the proofs

[38] [These are the sixteen *padárthas* or categories of the Nyáya, as opposed to the seven of the Vaiśeshika; these latter, however, are generally accepted by most modern Naiyáyika writers.—Ed.]

* [i.e. where a man recognises a cow as like a gavæus from hearing that it is like a cow.—Ed.]

[39] [This is where the general is inferred from the special, as e.g. it is substance because it is earth; or where the subject is inferred from its qualities.—Ed.]

of its existence. It has fourteen qualities:—number, quantity, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, intellect, pain, pleasure, desire aversion, volition, merit, demerit, and the faculty of imagination

2. The second object of proof is body; which is still more fully discussed and analyzed; not without some mixture of what belongs more properly to physical science. 2. Body.

3. Next follow the organs of sense, which are said not to spring from consciousness, as is advanced by the Sánkhya school; but which are conjoined with the sixth internal sense, as in that school; while the five organs of action (which make up the eleven brought together by the Sánkhya) are not separately recognised here. 3. Organs of sense.

4. The next of the subdivisions of the second head consists of the objects of sense, among which are the terms which form the predicaments of Canáda. 4. Objects of

The first of these is substance, and is divided into nine sorts:—earth, water, light, air, ether, time, place, soul, mind. The qualities of each of these substances are fully examined; after which the author passes on to the second predicament, quality. There are twenty-four qualities. Sixteen are qualities of body; namely,—colour, savour, odour, feel, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscidity, and sound: and eight of soul; namely,—pain, desire, aversion, volition, virtue, vice, and faculty. Every one of these is examined at great length; and, sometimes, as well as by the Grecian schools.[40]

The remaining five predicaments are then defined, which completes the objects of sense. Each of the six remaining objects of proof is then examined in the same manner, which exhausts the second head or topic.

The third head or topic, doubt, is then taken in hand, and so on to the end of the sixteenth; but enough has already been said to show the method of proceeding, and much detail would be required to afford any information beyond that. 3rd Head—Doubt.

The discussion of the above topics involves many opinions, both on physical and metaphysical subjects; thus the immateriality, independent existence, and eternity of the soul Metaphysical opinions.

[40] Levity, for instance, is merely noticed as the absence of gravity; while in Aristotle it is held to be a separate principle, having a tendency to rise as gravity has to descend. Sound is said to be propagated by undulation, wave after wave proceeding from a centre. [The eight qualities peculiar to soul are intelligence, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, volition, virtue, and vice. Faculty comprises velocity, elasticity, and mental impression, i.e. it is the self-reproductive power. It and some of the fifteen qualities of material substances are found also in soul.—ED.]

are asserted: God is considered as the supreme soul, the seat of eternal knowledge, the maker of all things, etc.

The school of Canáda, or, as it is also called, the atomic school, supposes a transient world composed of aggregations of eternal atoms. It does not seem settled whether their temporary arrangement depends on their natural affinities, or on the creative power of God.[41]

Doctrine of atoms.

It is impossible not to be struck with the identity of the topics discussed by the Hindú philosophers with those which engaged the attention of the same class in ancient Greece, and with the similarity between the doctrines of schools subsisting in regions of the earth so remote from each other. The first cause, the relation of mind to matter, creation, fate, and many similar subjects, are mixed by the Hindús with questions that have arisen in modern metaphysics, without having been known to the ancients. Their various doctrines of the eternity of matter, or its emanation from the Divinity; of the separate existence of the Supreme Being, or his arising from the arrangements of nature; the supposed derivation of all souls from God, and return to him; the doctrine of atoms; the successive revolutions of worlds; have all likewise been maintained by one or other of the Grecian schools.[42] These doctrines may, however, have occurred independently to speculative men in unconnected countries, and each single coincidence may perhaps have been accidental; but when we find a whole system so similar to that of the Hindús as the Pythagorean,—while the doctrines of both are so unlike the natural suggestions of human reason,—it requires no faith in the traditions of the eastern journeys of Pythagoras to be persuaded that the two schools have originated in a common source.

Resemblance to some of the Greek schools, especially to Pythagoras.

The end of all philosophy, according to Pythagoras, is to free the mind from encumbrances which hinder its progress towards perfection;[43] to raise it above the dominion of the passions, and the influence of corporeal impressions, so as to assimilate it to the Divinity, and qualify it to join the gods.[44] The soul is a portion of the Divinity,[45] and returns after various transmigrations and successive intermediate states of purgation in the region of the

[41] Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 105. For a full account of the logical school, see *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 92; and Gladwin's *Ayeen Acbery*, vol. ii. p. 385; also Ward *on the Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 224. [The usual opinion is that the contact of atoms arises from *adrishta*, i.e. the merit or demerit of the souls which are to receive pleasure or pain from the resulting product of their union.—Ed.]

[42] See Ward *on the Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 114.

[43] Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 382.

[44] Ibid. p. 389. [45] Ibid. p. 393.

dead, to the eternal source from which it first proceeded. The mind (*θυμος*) is distinct from the soul (*φρην*).[46] God is the universal soul diffused through all things, the first principle of the universe; invisible, incorruptible, only to be comprehended by the mind.[47] Intermediate between God and mankind are a host of aërial beings, formed into classes, and exercising different influences on the affairs of the world.[48]

These are precisely the metaphysical doctrines of India; and when to them we join the aversion of Pythagoras for animal food, and his prohibition of it unless when offered in sacrifices,[49] his injunctions to his disciples not to kill or hurt plants,[50] the long probation of his disciples, and their mysterious initiation, it is difficult to conceive that so remarkable an agreement can be produced by anything short of direct imitation.

Further coincidences might be mentioned, equally striking, though less important than those already adduced: such are the affinity between God and light, the arbitrary importance assigned to the sphere of the moon as the limit of earthly changes, etc.: and all derive additional importance from their dissimilarity to the opinions of all the Grecian schools that subsisted in the time of Pythagoras.[51]

Some of the tenets of both schools are said to have existed among the ancient Egyptians, and may be supposed to have been derived from that source both by Pythagoras and the Bramins. But our accounts of these doctrines in Egypt are only found in books written long after they had reached Greece through other channels. The only *early* authority is Herodotus, who lived after the philosophy of Pythagoras had been universally diffused. If, however, these doctrines existed among the Egyptians, they were scattered opinions in the midst of an independent system; and in Greece they are obviously adscititious, and not received in their integrity by any other of the philosophers except by the Pythagoreans. In India, on the contrary, they are the main principles on which the religion of the people is founded, to

[46] Enfield's *History of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 397.

[47] Ibid. p. 393.

[48] Ibid. p. 395. See also Stanley's *History of Philosophy*.

[49] Enfield, vol. i. p. 377, and Stanley's *School of Philosophy*, p. 520.

[50] Stanley, p. 520.

[51] See, for the Hindú notions on light, the various interpretations of, and comments on, the Gáyatri, especially Sir W. Jones's *Works*, vol. vi. pp. 417, 421; Colebrooke's *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 400, and note; Rám Mohun Roy's translation of the Védas, p. 114; Colebrooke, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii. p. 20, and other places. For Pythagoras, see Enfield, vol. i. p. 394, and Stanley, p. 547; in both of which places he is said to have learned his doctrine from the magi or oriental philosophers. The opinions of both the Hindús and Pythagoras about the moon and aerial regions, are stated by Mr. Colebrooke, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 578; for those of Pythagoras, see Stanley, p. 551.

which all the schools of philosophy refer, and on which every theory in physics and every maxim in morality depends.

It is well argued by Mr. Colebrooke, that the Indian philosophy resembles that of the earlier rather than of the later Greeks; and that if the Hindús had been capable of learning the first doctrines from a foreign nation, there was no reason why they should not in like manner have acquired a knowledge of the subsequent improvements. From which he infers that "the Hindús were, in this instance, the teachers and not the learners."[52]

[52] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 579. It may, perhaps, be observed that the doctrines of Pythagoras appear to belong to a period later than Menu. The formation of a society living in common, and receiving common initiation, together with the practice of burying the dead instead of burning them, seem to refer to the rules of the monastic orders; while the strictness regarding animal food has also a resemblance to the tendency of later times.

BOOK III.

STATE OF THE HINDÚS IN LATER TIMES, CONTINUED.

FEW of the subjects which follow are noticed by Menu; we can, therefore, no longer attempt to mark the changes effected since his time, but must endeavour from other sources to trace the rise and describe the present state of each branch of inquiry as it occurs.

CHAPTER I.

ASTRONOMY AND MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE.

THE antiquity and the originality of the Indian astronomy form subjects of considerable interest.[1]

Antiquity of the Hindú astronomy.

The first point has been discussed by some of the greatest astronomers in Europe, and is still unsettled.

Cassini, Bailly, and Playfair, maintain that observations taken upwards of 3,000 years before Christ, are still extant, and prove a considerable degree of progress already made at that period.

Several men, eminent for science (among whom are La Place and De Lambre), deny the authenticity of the observations, and, consequently, the validity of the conclusion.

The argument is conducted entirely on astronomical principles and can only be decided by astronomers: as far as it can be understood by a person entirely unacquainted with mathematical science, it does not appear to authorize an award, to the extent that is claimed, in favour of the Hindús.

All astronomers, however, admit the great antiquity of the Hindú observations; and it seems indisputable, that the exactness of the mean motions that they have assigned to the sun and moon could only have been attained by a comparison of modern observations with others made in remote antiquity.[2] Even Mr.

[1] Much information on these subjects, but generally with views unfavourable to the Hindús, is given in the illustrations, by different hands, annexed to Mr. Hugh Murray's *Historical and Descriptive Account of British India*, a work of great ability and value. [The best works on Hindú mathematics and astronomy are Colebrooke's *Algebra* and Burgess's translation of the *Súrya Siddhánta*.—ED.]

[2] See Pond's *La Place System of the World*, vol. ii. p. 252.

Bentley, the most strenuous opponent of the claims of the Hindús, pronounces in his latest work, that their division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven lunar mansions (which supposes much previous observation) was made 1,442 years before our era; and, without relying upon his authority in this instance, we should be inclined to believe that the Indian observations could not have commenced at a later period than the fifteenth century before Christ. This would be from one to two centuries before the Argonautic expedition and the first mention of astronomy in Greece.

The astronomical rule relating to the calendar, which has been quoted from the Védas,[3] is shown to have been drawn up in the fourteenth century before Christ; and Parásara, the first writer on astronomy of whose writings any portion remains, appears to have flourished about the same time.[4]

In our inquiries into the astronomy of the Indians, we derive no aid from their own early authors. The same system of priestcraft, which has exercised so pernicious an influence on the Hindús in other respects, has cast a veil over their science. Astronomy having been made subservient to the extravagant chronology of the religionists, all the epochs which it ought to determine have been thrown into confusion and uncertainty; no general view of their system has been given; only such parts of science as are required for practical purposes are made known; and even of them the original sources are carefully concealed, and the results communicated as revelations from the Divinity.[5]

Its extent.

[3] In Appendix I. See also *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 489; vol. vii. p. 282.

[4] This appears by his observation of the place of the Colures, first mentioned by Mr. Davis. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 268.) Sir W. Jones, in consequence of some further information received from Mr. Davis, fixed Parásara in the twelfth century before Christ (1181 B.C.); but Mr. Davis himself afterwards explained (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 288) that, from the most minute consideration he could give the subject, the observation must have been made 1391 years before the Christian era. Another passage quoted from Parásara shows that the heliacal rising of Canopus took place in his time at a period which agrees with the date assigned to him on other grounds. (Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 356. See also *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 288, for the opinion of Mr. Davis.) Mr. Bentley, however, at one time suspected the whole of the works of Parásara to be modern forgeries (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 581); and when he admitted them afterwards (in his posthumous work), he put a different interpretation on the account of the rising of Canopus, and placed him, on that and other grounds, in the year 576 before Christ. (Abstract of Bentley's History, *Oriental Magazine*, vol. v. p. 245.) The attempt made by Sir W. Jones to fix other dates, by means of the mythological histories into which the name of Parásara is introduced, does not appear successful. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 399.)

[5] Thus the *Súrya Siddhánta*, the learned work of an astronomer of the fifth or sixth century, is only known to the Hindús as a revelation from heaven, received upwards of 2,164,900 years ago. Their enigmatical manner of communicating their knowledge is as remarkable in the other sciences as in astronomy. Professor Playfair speaks thus of their trigonometry: "It has the appearance, like many other things in the science of those eastern nations, of being drawn up

From this cause, the data from which their tables were computed are never quoted; and there is no record of a regular series of observations among them.

If this system be an obstruction to our inquiries, it must have been much more so to the progress of science. The art of making observations was probably taught to few; still fewer would be disposed to employ an instrument which could not confirm, but might impair, the faith due to divine truths. They had none of the skill which would have been taught, nor of the emulation which would have been excited, by the labours of their predecessors; and when the increasing errors of the revealed tables forced them at length on observations and corrections, so far from expecting applause for their improvements, they were obliged, by the state of public opinion, to endeavour to make it appear that no alteration had been made.[6]

In spite of these disadvantages, they appear to have made considerable advances in astronomy. As they have left no complete system which can be presented in a popular form, and compared with those of other nations, they must be judged of by mathematicians from the skill they have shown in treating the points on which they have touched. The opinions formed on this subject appear to be divided; but it seems to be generally admitted that great marks of imperfection are combined, in their astronomical writings, with proofs of very extraordinary proficiency.

The progress made in other branches of mathematical knowledge was still more remarkable than in astronomy. In the

by one who was more deeply versed in the subject than may be at first imagined, and who knew more than he thought it necessary to communicate. It is probably a compendium formed by some ancient adept in geometry for the use of others who were mere practical calculators." Of their arithmetic the *Edinburgh Review* says (vol. xxix. p. 147): "All this is done in verse. The question is usually propounded with enigmatical conciseness; the rule for the computation is given in terms somewhat less obscure; but it is not till the example, which comes in the third place, has been studied, that all ambiguity is removed. No demonstration nor reasoning, either analytical or synthetical, is subjoined; but, on examination, the rules are found not only to be exact, but to be nearly as simple as they can be made, even in the present state of analytical investigation." The same observation is applied to their algebra. Ibid. p. 151.

[6] The commentator on the *Sûrya Siddhânta* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 239) shows strongly the embarrassment that was felt by those who tried to correct errors sanctioned by religious authority. In the same essay (p. 257) it appears that, although the rational system had been established from time immemorial, it was still thought almost impious to oppose it to the mythological one. A single writer, indeed, avows that the earth is self-balanced in infinite space, and cannot be supported by a succession of animals; but the others display no such controversial spirit, and seem only anxious to show that their own rational opinions were consistent with the previously established fables. In the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. x. p. 459) there is a forcible illustration of the effect of the system of religious fraud in retarding the progress of science; and from this is deduced a well-founded argument for the early period at which the first discoveries must have been made.

"Súrya Siddhánta," written, according to Mr. Bentley, in A.D. 1091, at the latest, but generally assigned to the fifth or sixth century,[7] is contained a system of trigonometry, which not only goes far beyond anything known to the Greeks, but involves theorems which were not discovered in Europe till the sixteenth century.[8]

Their geometrical skill is shown, among other forms, by their demonstrations of various properties of triangles, especially one which expresses the area in the terms of the three sides, and was unknown in Europe till published by Clavius (in the sixteenth century);[9] and by their knowledge of the proportion of the radius to the circumference of a circle, which they express in a mode peculiar to themselves, by applying one measure and one unit to the radius and circumference. This proportion, which is confirmed by the most approved labours of Europeans, was not known out of India, until modern times.[10]

Geometry.

The Hindús are distinguished in arithmetic by the acknowledged invention of the decimal notation; and it seems to be the possession of this discovery which has given them so great an advantage over the Greeks in the science of numbers.[11]

Arithmetic.

But it is in algebra that the Bramins appear to have most excelled their contemporaries. Our accounts of their discoveries in that science are obtained from the works of Brahma Gupta (who lived in the sixth century), and Bháscara Achárya (in the twelfth century),[12] but both drew their materials

Algebra.

[7] See Mr. Colebrooke (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 329, note) for the position of the vernal equinox when the *Súrya Siddhánta* was written, and Sir W. Jones (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 392) for the period when the vernal equinox was so situated. Mr. Colebrooke thinks it contemporary with Brahma Gupta, whom he afterwards fixes about the end of the sixth century.

[8] Such is that of Vieta, pointed out by Professor Playfair, in his question sent to the Asiatic Society (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 152). Professor Playfair has published a memoir on the Hindú trigonometry (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. iv.), which is referred to by Professor Wallace, with the following important observation of his own:—"However ancient, therefore, any book may be in which we meet with a system of trigonometry, we may be assured it was not written in the infancy of science. We may therefore conclude that geometry must have been known in India long before the writing of the *Súrya Siddhánta*." There is also a rule for the computation of the sines, involving a refinement first practised by Briggs, in the beginning of the seventeenth century. (*British India*, vol. iii. p. 403, in the "Edinburgh Cabinet Library.")

[9] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 158.

[10] The ratio of the diameter to the circumference is given in the *Súrya Siddhánta*, probably written in the fifth century (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 259), and even by Mr. Bentley's account, in the eleventh. The demonstrations alluded to in the preceding lines are generally by Brahma Gupta in the sixth century.

[11] A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. xviii. p. 211), who discusses the subject in a tone of great hostility to the Hindú pretensions, makes an observation which appears entitled to much consideration. He lays down the position, that decimal notation is not a very old invention, and points out the improbability of its having escaped Pythagoras, if it had in his time been known in India.

[12] Mr. Bentley, in his last work, wishes to prove, by his usual mode of computa-

from Árya Bhata, in whose time the science seems to have been at its height; and who, though not clearly traced further back than the fifth century, may, in Mr. Colebrooke's opinion, not improbably have lived nearly as early as Diophantus, the first Greek writer on algebra; that is, about A.D. 360.[13]

But, whichever may have been the more ancient, there is no question of the superiority of the Hindús over their rivals in the perfection to which they brought the science. Not only is Árya Bhata superior to Diophantus (as is shown by his knowledge of the resolution of equations involving several unknown quantities, and in a general method of resolving all indeterminate problems of at least the first degree),[14] but he and his successors press hard upon the discoveries of algebraists who lived almost in our own time. Nor is Árya Bhata the inventor of algebra among the Hindús; for there seems every reason to believe that the science was in his time in such a state, as it required the lapse of ages, and many repeated efforts of invention to produce.[15] It was in his time, indeed, or in the fifth century, at latest, that Indian science appears to have attained its highest perfection.[16]

tion, that Bháscara wrote in the reign of Akber (A.D. 1556); but the date in the text is mentioned in a Persian translation of one of his works presented to that very emperor by the celebrated Feizi, whose inquiries into Hindú science form the most conspicuous part of the literature of that age. (See Book IX. Ch. iii.) Bháscara is likewise quoted by many authors anterior to Akber, whose authenticity Mr. Bentley is therefore obliged to deny.

[13] [The date of Áryabhata's birth has been fixed as A.D. 476 by Dr. Bháu Dáji, (*Journ. R. A. S.*, new series, vol. i. p. 405), from a passage in one of his works. In the same paper Brahma Gupta is proved to have been born in A.D. 598, and Bháskara Áchárya in A.D. 1114; the date of the death of Varáha Mihira is also fixed as A.D. 587.—ED.]

[14] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 142.

[15] Ibid. p. 148.

[16] In the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. xxi. p. 372) is a striking history of a problem (to find x so that $ax^2 + b$ shall be a square number). The first step towards a solution is made by Diophantus; it is extended by Fermat, and sent as a defiance to the English algebraists in the seventeenth century; but was only carried to its full extent by Euler; who arrives exactly at the point before attained by Bháscara in A.D. 1150. Another occurs in the same Review (vol. xxix. p. 153), where it is stated, from Mr. Colebrooke, that a particular solution given by Bháscara (A.D. 1150) is exactly the same that was hit on by Lord Brounker, in 1657; and that the general solution of the same problem was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and only accomplished by De la Grange, A.D. 1767; although it had been as completely given by Brahma Gupta in the sixth century of our era. But the superiority of the Hindús over the Greek algebraists is scarcely so conspicuous in their discoveries as in the excellence of their method, which is altogether dissimilar to that of Diophantus (Strachey's *Bija Ganita*, quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxi. pp. 374, 375), and in the perfection of their algorithm, or notation. (Colebrooke, *Indian Algebra*, quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 162.) One of their most favourite processes (that called cuttaca) was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac, about the year 1624, and is virtually the same as that explained by Euler. (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 151.) Their application of algebra to astronomical investigations and geometrical demonstrations is also an invention of their own; and their manner of conducting it is, even now, entitled to admiration. (Colebrooke, quoted by Professor Wallace, ubi supra, pp. 408, 409; and *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxix. p. 158.) [The *cuttaca* is "a quantity such that a given number

Originality of Hindú science.

Of the originality of Hindú science some opinions must have been formed from what has been already said. In their astronomy, the absence of a general theory, the unequal refinement of the different portions of science which have been presented to us, the want of demonstrations and of recorded observations, the rudeness of the instruments used by the Bramins, and their inaccuracy in observing, together with the suspension of all progress at a certain point, are very strong arguments in favour of their having derived their knowledge from a foreign source. But on the other hand, in the first part of their progress, all other nations were in still greater ignorance than they; and in the more advanced stages, where they were more likely to have borrowed, not only is their mode of proceeding peculiar to themselves, but it is often founded on principles with which no other ancient people were acquainted; and shows a knowledge of discoveries not made, even in Europe, till within the course of the last two centuries. As far as their astronomical conclusions depend on those discoveries, it is self-evident that they cannot have been borrowed; and even where there is no such dependence, it cannot fairly be presumed that persons who had such resources within themselves must necessarily have relied on the aid of other nations.

It seems probable that, if the Hindús borrowed at all, it was after their own astronomy had made considerable progress; and from the want of exact resemblance between the parts of their system and that of other nations, where they approach the nearest, it would rather seem as if they had taken up hints of improvement than implicitly copied the doctrines of their instructors.

That they did borrow in this manner from the Greeks of Alexandria does not appear improbable; and the reason cannot be better stated than in the words of Mr. Colebrooke, who has discussed the question with his usual learning, judgment, and impartiality. After showing that the Hindú writers of the fifth century speak with respect of the astronomy of the Yavanas (by whom there is every reason to think that, in this instance, they mean the Greeks), and that a treatise of one of their own authors is called "*Romaka* Siddhánta," very possibly in allusion to the system of the western (or Roman) astronomers, he goes on to say, "If these circumstances, joined to a resemblance, hardly to be supposed casual, which the Hindú astronomy, with its appa-

being multiplied by it, and the product added to, or subtracted from, a given quantity, the sum or difference will be divisible by a given divisor without remainder."—Ed.]

ratus of eccentrics and epicycles, bears in many respects to that of the Greeks, be thought to authorize a belief that the Hindús received from the Greeks that knowledge which enabled them to correct and improve their own imperfect astronomy, I shall not feel inclined to dissent from the opinion. There does appear ground for more than a conjecture that the Hindús had obtained a knowledge of Grecian astronomy before the Arabs began to cultivate the science."

In another place[17] Mr. Colebrooke intimates his opinion that it is not improbable that the Hindús may have taken the hint of their solar zodiac from the Greeks,[18] but adapted it to their own ancient division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven parts.[19] Their astrology, he thinks, is almost entirely borrowed from the West.[20]

From what has been already said, it seems very improbable that the Indian geometry and arithmetic have been borrowed from the Greeks, and there is no other nation which can contest the priority in those sciences. The peculiarity of their method gives every appearance of originality to their discoveries in algebra also.

In this last science, the claims of the Arabs have been set up against them: but Mr. Colebrooke has fully established that algebra had attained the highest perfection it ever reached in India before it was known to the Arabians, and indeed before the first dawn of the culture of the sciences among that people.[21]

[17] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 347.

[18] [The names and figures of the twelve zodiacal signs were only gradually invented by the Greeks. Cleostratus (in the sixth century, B.C.) added the ram and the archer, and the balance was introduced in the time of the Ptolemies (see Letronne, *Journ. des Savans*, 1839). The oldest mention of these signs in Sanskrit is the passage from Baudháyana's Sútras, quoted by Colebrooke, *Essays*, vol. i. p. 202. Dr. Bháu Dáji *Journ. R.A.S.*, new series, vol. i. p. 409) quotes a couplet from Varáhamihira (who died A.D. 587), giving all the Greek names in a corrupted form. Besides these we find many other Greek astronomical terms in his works, as *kéli* for ἥλιος *jyámitra* for diameter, *kona*, *kendra*, *lipta* (as a minute of a degree), &c. See also Dr. Kern's preface to his ed. of the *Brihat Sanhitá*.—ED.]

[19] [The Hindú origin of the twenty-seven *nakshatras* has been lately disputed, and several writers have endeavoured to prove that they were borrowed from the Chinese or Chaldeans.—ED.]

[20] In addition to the points already mentioned, in which the Hindús have gone beyond the other ancient nations, Mr. Colebrooke mentions two in astronomy: one is in their notions regarding the precession of the equinoxes, in which they were more correct than Ptolemy, and as much so as the Arabs, who did not attain to their degree of improvement till a later period; the other relates to the diurnal revolution of the earth on its axis, which the Brahmins discuss in the fifth century, and which, although formerly suggested in ancient times by Heraclitus, had been long laid aside by the Greeks, and was never revived in Europe until the days of Copernicus.

[21] Colebrooke's *Algebra, Arithmetic*, &c. [The first Arabian mathematician translated a Hindú book in the reign of the Khalif Almansúr, A.D. 773. Leonardo of Pisa first introduced algebra into Europe; he learned it at Bugia, in Barbary, where his father was a scribe in the custom-house by appointment from Pisa; his book is dated A.D. 1202.—ED.]

Whatever the Arabs possessed in common with the Hindús, there are good grounds for thinking that they received from the latter nation; and however great their subsequent attainments and discoveries, it is to be remembered that they did not begin till the eighth century, when they first gained access to the treasures of the Greeks.

On these subjects, however, as on all connected with the learning of the Bramins, the decisions of the most learned can only be considered as opinions *on the facts at present before us;* and they must all be regarded as open to question until our increased acquaintance with Sanscrit literature shall qualify us to pronounce a final judgment.

The history of science, after all, is chiefly interesting from the means it affords of judging of the character of the nation possessed of it; and in this view we find the Bramins as remarkable as ever for diligence and acuteness, but with the same want of manliness and precision as in other departments, and the same disposition to debase everything by a mixture of fable, and by sacrifice of the truth to the supposed interests of the sacerdotal order.

CHAPTER II.

GEOGRAPHY.

The Hindús have made less progress in this than in any other science.

According to their system, Mount Méru occupies the centre of the world.[1] It is a lofty mountain of a conical shape, the sides composed of precious stones, and the top forming a sort of terrestrial paradise. It may have been suggested by the lofty mountains to the north of India, but seems no part of that chain, or of any other that exists out of the fancy of the mythologists.

It is surrounded by seven concentric belts or circles of land, divided by seven seas.

The innermost of those circles is called Jambudwíp, which includes India, and is surrounded by a sea of salt water.[2]

[1] Some consider Mount Méru as the North Pole. however this may be, it is, in all the geographical systems of the Hindús, the point to which everything refers.

[2] Col. Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. pp. 291, 298, &c.

The other six belts are separated from each other by seas of milk, wine, sugar-cane juice, etc., and appear to be entirely fabulous.

The name of Jambudwíp is sometimes confined to India, which at other times is called Bhárata.[3]

That country, and some of those nearest to it, appear to be the only part of the earth at all known to the Hindús.

Within India, their ancient books furnish geographical divisions, with lists of the towns, mountains, and rivers in each; so that, though indistinct and destitute of arrangement, many modern divisions, cities, and natural features can be recognised.

But all beyond India is plunged in a darkness from which the boldest speculations of modern geographers have failed to rescue it.[4]

It is remarkable that scarcely one Sanscrit name of a place beyond the Indus coincides with those of Alexander's historians, though many on the Indian side do. It would seem, therefore, as if the Hindús had, in early times, been as averse to travelling as most of them are still; and that they would have remained for ever unconnected with the rest of the world if all mankind had been as exempt from restlessness and curiosity as themselves.

The existence of Indian nations in two places beyond the Indus furnishes no argument against this observation. Those near the sea coast were probably driven by political convulsions from their own country, and settled on the nearest spot they could find. (See Appendix III.) Of those in the northern mountains we cannot guess the history; but although both seem, in Alexander's time, to have lost their connection with India, and to have differed in many respects from the natives of that country, yet they do not appear to have formed any sort of acquaintance

[3] [*Bhárata varsha*, or "Bharata's varsha or continent," is the usual Hindú name; Hindustán is a Persian word, and was introduced by the Mohammedans. The latter name is an interesting relic of Vaidik times. The "land of the seven rivers" (*sapta-sindhavas*), which is mentioned in the *Rig Veda*, reappears as the Hapta-Hendu of the Zend. The Greeks obtained their Ἰνδοὶ and Ἰνδία from the Persians (the word first occurs in Æschylus); and from them the name became known to the Romans. Similarly the Jews in Babylon learned the Hoddú (for *Hondú*) of Esther i. 1.—ED.]

[4] The ill success with which this has been attempted may be judged of by an examination of Col. Wilford's *Essay on the Sacred Isles of the West*, especially the first part (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 267); while the superiority of the materials for a similar inquiry *within* India is shown by the same author's *Essay on Gangetic Hindostan* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiv. p. 373), as well as by an essay in the *Oriental Magazine*, vol. ii. See also the four first chapters of the second book of the Vishnu Purána, p. 161. [It is not impossible, however, that the Śwetadwípa of the Mahábh. (xii. § 340), where Nárada finds a nation of *ekántinah*, or worshippers of the Supreme, may refer to some intercourse with Alexandria. ED.]

with other nations, or to have been met with beyond their own limits.

At present (besides religious mendicants who occasionally wander to Báku the sacred fire on the Caspian, who sometimes go to Astrachan, and have been known to reach Moscow), individuals of a Hindú tribe from Shikárpúr, a city near the Indus, settle as merchants and bankers in the towns of Persia, Turkistán, and the southern dominions of Russia; but none of these are given to general inquiry, or ever bring back any information to their countrymen.

Few even of the neighbouring nations are mentioned in their early books. They knew the Greeks, and applied to them the name of Yavan,[5] which they afterwards extended to all other conquerors from the north-west; and there is good reason to think that they knew the Scythians under the name of Sacas.[6] But it was within India that they became acquainted with both those nations, and they were totally ignorant of the regions from which their visitors had come. The most distinct indication that I have observed of an acquaintance with the Romans is in a writer of the seventh or eighth century, quoted by Mr. Colebrooke,[7] who states that the Barbaric tongues are called Párasica, Yávana, Ráumaca, and Barbara, the three first of which would appear to mean Persian, Greek, and Latin.

The Western country, called Rómaka, where it is said to be midnight when it is sunrise at Lanká, may perhaps be Rome also. It is mentioned in what is stated to be a translation from the "Siddhánta Siromani,"[8] and must, in that case, have been known to the Bramins before they had much communication with the Mahometans. China they certainly knew. We possess the travels of a native of that country in India in the fourth

[5] [*Yavana* appears to be the Greek Ionian, which occurs in Homer as Ἰάονες, and is no doubt connected with the Hebrew *Yávan*. In later times it denotes the Mohammedans, and especially the Arabs; but in earlier books it was certainly, though not perhaps exclusively, applied to the Greeks. Beside the *Antiyoko Yona Rájá* of Aśoka's inscriptions, we have the Yavanas mentioned as settled beyond the Indus, in a play (the Malavikágnimitra) commonly attributed to Kálidása; and there is an example quoted in the Káśiká Comm. to Pánini's grammar, *Yavanáḥ sayánd bhunjate*, "the Yavanas eat lying down," which seems to allude to Greek customs. To these proofs we must also add the frequent mention of the Yavanas as skilled in astronomy, and the use of Greek words as astronomical terms.—Ed.]

[6] Supposed to be the same with the Sacæ of the ancient Persians, as reported by the Greeks.

[7] *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 453.

[8] Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. ii. p. 457. Rómaka is also mentioned as meaning Rome by Col. Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 367, and elsewhere); but it is to be observed that Rome and Italy are, to this day, quite unknown in the East. Even in Persia, Rúm means Asia Minor; and the "Cæsar of Rome" always meant the Byzantine Emperor, until the title was transferred to the Turkish Sultan.

century; and the king of Magadha is attested, by Chinese authors, to have sent embassies to China in the second and subsequent centuries. There is a people called China mentioned in Menu, but they are placed among the tribes on the north-west of India; and, moreover, the name of Chín was not adopted in the country to which it belongs till long after Menu's age.[2]

Unless we put faith in the very learned and ingenious deductions of Colonel Wilford, it will be difficult to find, in the essays on geographical subjects which have been drawn from Sanscrit sources, any signs of an acquaintance with Egypt; although the trade carried on for centuries by Greek and Roman navigators from that country might have been expected to have brought it into notice.

CHAPTER III.

CHRONOLOGY.

THE greater periods employed in the computation of time by the Hindús need scarcely be discussed. Though founded on astronomical data, they are purely mythological, and do not deserve the attention they have attracted from European scholars. Mythological periods.

A complete revolution of the nodes and apsides, which they suppose to be performed in 4,320,000,000 years, forms a calpa or day of Brahmá. In this are included fourteen manwantaras, or periods during each of which the world is under the control of one Menu. Each manwantara is composed of seventy-one mahá yugas, or great ages, and each mahá yuga contains four yugas, or ages, of unequal length. The last bear some resemblance to the golden, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the Greeks.

This last division alone has any reference to the affairs of mankind.[1] The first, or satya yuga, extends through 1,728,000 years. The second, or tretá yuga, through 1,296,000 years. The third, called dwápara yuga, through 864,000 years; and the last, or cali yuga, through 432,000 years. Of the last or cali

[2] [It has been conjectured that the name arose from the *Tsin* dynasty which ruled in China B.C. 249-206, but this is very doubtful. The Tsin family appear to have reigned for more than six centuries in the West of China before they seized the empire, and thus the name may have easily spread among the neighbouring nations. See Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, art. *Sinim*.—ED.]

[1] Mr. Davis, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. pp. 228-231.

yuga of the present manwantara 4,941 years have elapsed; and within that period most historical events are acknowledged to have occurred. Some, however, are placed at earlier epochs; and would be beyond the reach of chronology, if they could not be brought within more credible limits.[2]

We must, therefore, discard the yugas, along with the calpas and manwantaras, and must endeavour to draw the chronology of the Hindús from such other sources as they have themselves presented to us.

Impossibility of fixing early dates.

It has been shown that the Védas were probably collected about fourteen centuries before Christ; but no historical events can with any certainty be connected with that date. The astronomer Parásara may perhaps have lived in the fourteenth century before the commencement of our era; and with him, as with his son Vyása, the compiler of the Védas, many historical or mythological persons are connected; but, in both cases, some of those who are made contemporary with the authors in question appear in periods remote from each other; and the extravagant duration assigned to the lives of all holy persons, prevents the participation of any of them from contributing to settle the date of a transaction.

Solar and lunar races.

The next ground on which we might hope to establish the Hindú chronology is furnished by lists given in the Puránas of two parallel lines of kings (the races of the sun and moon), which are supposed to have reigned in Ayódhyá, and in the tract between the Jumna and Ganges, respectively; and from one or other of which all the royal families of ancient India were descended. These lists, according to the computation of Sir W. Jones, would carry us back to 3,500 years before Christ. But the lists themselves are so contradictory as to prevent all confidence in either. The heads of the two are contemporaries, being brother and sister; yet the lunar race has but forty-eight names in the same period in which the solar has ninety-five; and Crishna, whom the Puránas themselves make long posterior to Ráma, is fiftieth in the lunar race, while Ráma is sixty-third in the solar.[3]

[2] In fixing the date of the Institutes of Menu (which appear, in fact, to have been written less than 900 years before Christ), the Hindú chronologists overflow even the limits of the four ages, and go back nearly seven manwantaras—a period exceeding 4,320,000 multiplied by six times seventy-one. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol ii. p. 116.) The "Súrya Siddhánta" (written in the fifth century of our era) assumes a more modern date; and, being revealed in the first, or satya yuga, only claims an antiquity of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 years.

Ráma, who seems to be a real historical person, is fixed at the end of the second age, near 1,000,000 years ago.

[3] For the most improved copies of the lists, see Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 94, &c. For the previous discussions, see Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 128; Colonel Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v.

The various attempts made to reconcile the lists have only served to increase the discrepancy. The narrative by which they are accompanied in the Puránas discredits them still further by absurdities and puerilities; and although many of the kings named may have reigned, and some of the tales related may be allusions to real history, yet no part of either, down to the time of Crishna and the war of the Mahá Bhárata, affords the least basis on which to found a system of chronology.

From the time of the Mahá Bhárata we have numerous lists of kings in different parts of India, which present individually an appearance of probability, and are in several instances confirmed by extraneous testimony.

More frequently they are authenticated or illustrated by religious inscriptions and grants of land. These last, in particular, are sculptured on stone or engraved on copper-plates; the latter very common and generally in good preservation. They not only record the date with great care and minuteness, but almost always contain the names of some of the predecessors of the prince who confers the grant. If sufficient numbers should be found, they may fix the dates of whole series of kings; but, at present, they are unconnected fragments, which are of use in local histories, but give little help to general chronology.

Kings of Magadha.

The line of Magadha alone, besides receiving striking confirmations from various quarters, presents a connected chain of kings from the war of the Mahá Bhárata to the fifth century after Christ, and thus admits of an approximation to the principal epochs within that period.

Sahadéva was King of Magadha at the end of the war of the Mahá Bhárata.

The thirty-fifth king in succession from him was Ajáta Satru, in whose reign Sákya or Gótama, the founder of the Buddha religion, flourished. There can be little doubt that Sákya died about 550 before Christ.[4] We have, therefore, the testimonies of the Burmese, Ceylonese, Siamese, and some other Bauddha chronicles, written out of India, by which to settle the era of Ajáta Satru.

The sixth in succession from Ajáta Satru, inclusive, was Nanda, on whose date many others depend. The ninth from Nanda was Chandra Gupta; and the third from him was Asóca, a prince celebrated among the Bauddhas of all countries, as

table opposite p. 241, and p. 287. Mr. Ward, vol. i. p. 14; Dr. Hamilton Buchanan's *Hindoo Genealogies* (a separate work); consult likewise Professor Wilson's Preface to the *Vishnu Purána*, p. lxiv., &c., and the *Purána* itself, Book IV. chaps. i. and ii. p. 347.

[4] See p. 120; [or B.C. 477?—ED.]

one of the most zealous disciples and promoters of their religion.[5]

It is by means of the two last princes that we gain a link to connect the chronology of India with that of Europe; and are enabled (though still very loosely) to mark the limits of the period embraced by Hindú history.

From some motive, probably connected with the desire to magnify Crishna, the Hindú authors have made the end of the war of the Mahá Bhárata and the death of that hero contemporary with the commencement of the cali yuga, or evil age; and this assertion, though openly denied by one of their own authors,[6] and indirectly contradicted by facts stated in others, is still regarded as incontrovertible.

Chandragupta contemporary with Seleucus;

In applying the list of kings drawn from the Puránas to the verification of this epoch, Sir W. Jones was struck with the resemblance between the name of Chandragupta and that of Sandracottus, or Sandracoptus, who is mentioned by European writers as having concluded a treaty with Seleucus. On a close examination, he was surprised to find a great resemblance in their histories; and assuming the date of Chandragupta to be the same as that of Seleucus, he was enabled to reduce those of preceding events to a form more consistent with our notions.[7] The arguments by which this supposition may be supported are fully and fairly stated by Professor Wilson.[8] They are—the resemblance between the names just mentioned, and between that of Xandrames,[9] by which Diodorus calls Sandracottus, and that of Chandramas, by which he is sometimes designated in Indian authors; his low birth, and his usurpation, which are common to the Greek and Hindú stories; the situation of his kingdom, as described by Megasthenes, who was ambassador at his court; the name of his people, Prasii with the Greeks, corresponding to Práchyas,

[5] ["The Brâhman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas. Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas will possess the earth. Kautilya will place Chandragupta on the throne; his son will be Vindusára; his son will be Asokavardhana." (*Vishnu Pur.*) "Chandragupta's reign is given uniformly by the Puránas and Buddhist authorities as twenty-four years. The Vâyu P. calls his son Bhadrasára, and assigns twenty-five years to his reign." Muller's *Anc. Sans. Lit.*, pp. 297, 298.—Ed.]

[6] An historian of Cashmir. See note on the age of Yudhishthir, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

[7] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. xxxii.

[8] *Hindú Theatre*, vol. iii. p. 3.

[9] [The Greek authors, however, seem to distinguish Sandracottus and Xandrames, and to make the latter a predecessor of the former. Professor Max Müller conjectures that Xandrames may be the same as the last Nanda. (*Sanak. Lit.*, p. 279) Mr. Thomas identifies him with Kranandá, whose name is found on some old coins bearing Buddhist emblems; he considers Kranandá to be "the prominent representative of the regnant fraternity of the nine Nandas," and that these Nandas were Buddhists.—Ed.]

the term applied by Hindú geographers to the tract in which Magadha is situated; and of his capital, which the Greeks call Palibothra, while the Hindús call that of Chandragupta Pátaliputra. Subsequent discoveries, from Braminical sources, fixed the date of Chandragupta with somewhat more precision: Wilford placed him in 350 B.C., and Wilson in 315, and they received an unexpected confirmation from the chronological tables of the Bauddhas, procured from the distant countries of Ava and Ceylon. The first of these (from Crawford's "Ava"[10]) places his reign between the years 392 and 376 B.C.; and the other (in Turnour's "Mahâwanso"[11]) between the years 381 and 347 B.C.; while the Greek accounts lead us to fix it between the accession of Seleucus in 312, and his death in 280 B.C.[12] The difference between the Bauddha and Greek dates, amounting to thirty or forty years,[13] is ascribed by Mr. Turnour to a wilful fraud on the part of the priests of Buddha, who, though entirely free from the extravagances of Bramin chronology, have been tempted on this occasion to accommodate their historical dates to one which had been assumed in their religious traditions. The effect of this inconsistency would not be sufficient to prevent our retaining a strong conviction of the identity of Chandragupta and Sandracottus, even if no further proof had been obtained. All doubt, however, has been removed, by a discovery which promises to throw light on other obscure parts of Indian history. Many caves, rocks, and pillars, in different parts of India, are covered with inscriptions in a character which neither European nor native had been able to decipher, and which tantalized the spectators like the hieroglyphics of Egypt; until Mr. Prinsep, who had long made them his study, without being able to find a key to them, happened to notice the brevity and insulated position of all the inscriptions sent from a particular temple; and seizing on this circumstance, which he combined with a modern practice of the Bauddhas, he inferred that each probably recorded the gift of some votary. At the same time when he made this ingenious conjecture, he was struck with the fact that all the inscriptions ended in the same two letters; and, following up his theory, he assumed that those letters were D and N, the two radical letters in the Sanscrit name for a donation. The frequent recurrence

and Asoca with Antiochus.

[10] See Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 132.

[11] Introduction, p. xlvii.

[12] Clinton's *Fasti*.

[13] As the expedition of Seleucus was undertaken immediately after his reduction of Babylon (312 B.C.), we may suppose it to have taken place in 310 B.C.; and as Chandragupta (according to the "Mahâwanso") died in 347 B.C., there will be a discrepancy to the extent of thirty-seven years, even if the last act of Chandragupta's life was to sign the treaty.

of another letter suggested its representing S., the sign of the genitive in Sanscrit; and, having now got hold of the clue, he soon completed his alphabet. He found that the language was not pure Sanscrit, but Pálí, the dialect in which the sacred writings of the Bauddhas are composed; and by means of these discoveries, he proceeded to read the hitherto illegible inscriptions, and also to make out the names of the kings on one series of the Indian coins. He met with an agreeable confirmation of his theory, from a fact observed simultaneously by himself and Professor Lassen of Bonn; that the names of Agathocles and Pantaleon, which appeared in Greek on one side of a medal, were exactly repeated on the reverse in the newly discovered alphabet.

He now applied the powerful engine he had gained to the inscription on Fírúz Sháh's column at Delhi, which has long attracted the curiosity of orientalists, as well as to three other columns in Gangetic India, and found them all give way without difficulty. They proved all to contain certain edicts of Asóca:[14] and as he proceeded with other inscriptions, he found two relating to similar mandates of the same monarch. One of these was found by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson, President of the Literary Society of Bombay, engraved on a rock at Girnár, a sacred mountain of the Bauddhas, in the peninsula of Guzerát; and the other by Lieutenant Kittoe, on a rock at Dhauli, in Cattac, on the opposite coast of India.[15] One of them contained eleven, and the other fourteen edicts: all those of the pillars were included in both, and the two rock inscriptions agreed in ten edicts on the whole. One of those, found on both the rocks, related to the erection of hospitals and other charitable foundations, which were to be established as well in Asóca's own provinces, as in others occupied by the faithful (four of whom are named), "even as far as Tambapanni (Taprobane or Ceylon);" and, "moreover, within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek [Antiyako Yóna Rája], of which Antiochus's generals are the rulers."

A subsequent edict, on one of the rocks, is in a shattered state, and has not been perfectly made out; but seems to express exultation in the extension of Asóca's doctrines (especially with regard to forbearing to kill animals[16]) in foreign countries, as

[14] ["In the inscriptions he is always called Piyadasi (Priyadarsin), but according to Buddhist authorities, the Ramawhini and Dipawanso, quoted by Turnour (*J. A. S. Bengal*, Dec. 1837, and Nov. 1838), Piyadasi or Piyadasano is identified, both by name and circumstances, with Asoka." (Wilson, *Vishnu P.*, p. 470.) Cf. Prinsep's *Essays* (Thomas's ed.), vol. ii. pp. 24-30.—Ed.]

[15] [Another set of these inscriptions has since been found at Kapur di Giri, in Afghánistán; see Wilson's papers, *J. R. A. S.*, xii. xvi.—Ed.]

[16] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. vii. p. 261.

well as in his own. It contains the following fragment: "and the Greek king besides, by whom the *chapta* (?) Kings Turamáyo, Gongakena, and Maga."[17]

Two of these names Mr. Prinsep conceives to refer to Ptolemaios and Magas, and regards their occurrence as a proof that Asóca was not without acquaintance and intercourse with Egypt; a conclusion which may be adopted without hesitation, as the extent of the India trade, under the first Ptolemies, is a well-known fact in history. Mr. Prinsep's opinion, that the Ptolemy referred to was Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had a brother, named Magas, married to a daughter of Antiochus I., appears also to be highly probable; and would establish that the Antiochus mentioned in the other edict is either the first or second of the name: that is, either the son or grandson of Seleucus.[18]

The synchronism between the grandson of Chandragupta and one of the early successors of Seleucus leaves no doubt of the contemporary existence of the elder princes; and fixes an epoch in Hindú chronology, to which the dates of former events may with confidence be referred.

The first date to fix is that of Nanda. Though there were eight kings between him and Chandragupta, it is not known whether they were in lineal or collateral succession, one account making them all brothers; but four of the Puránas agree in assigning only 100 years to the whole nine, including Nanda. We may therefore suppose Nanda to have come to the throne 100 years before Sandracottus, or 400 years before Christ. Date of Nanda's reign.

The sixth king, counting back from Nanda inclusive, is Ajáta Satru, in whose reign Sákya died. The date of that event has been shown, on authorities independent of the Hindús, to be about 550 B.C.; and as five reigns interposed between that and 400 would only allow thirty years to each, there is no irreconcilable discrepancy between the epochs. Date of the death of Buddha.

[17] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. vii. p. 224. [These names have since been determined more accurately as Turamara (or Turamayo), Antikona, Mako (or Magá), and Alikasunari respectively identified as Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas, and Alexander—the *chapta* of the text is now read *chaptáro* or *chatura*, "four." The Antigonus may be Antigonus Gonatus of Macedon (B.C. 276-243), and the Alexander may be Alexander II. of Epirus (B.C. 272-254; Magas of Cyrene ruled B.C. 308-258. Thus all these princes would be contemporary with Antiochus II. But it is at least equally probable that "the record aimed at a vague selection of the more generally known Greek names to complete the list." See Prinsep's *Essays* (edited by Thomas), vol. ii. pp. 18-30. ED.]

[18] [Antiochus I. *Soter*, son of Seleucus Nicator, reigned B.C. 280-261; Antiochus II. *Theos*, 261-246; Antiochus III., or *the Great*, reigned 223-187. The last invaded India and formed an alliance with an Indian king named Sophagasenas (Subhagasena ?); but his date is too late for Asoka to have been his contemporary.—ED.]

Between Nanda and the war of the Mahá Bhárata, there had been three dynasties; and the number of years during which each reigned is given in four Puránas. The aggregate is 1,500 years; but the longest list gives only forty-seven kings; and the same four Puránas in another place give, with equal confidence, a different number of years. One makes the interval between Nanda and the war of the Mahá Bhárata 1,015 years; two others, 1,050; and the fourth, 1,115. Now, the shortest of these periods, divided among forty-seven kings, gives upwards of twenty-one years to a reign; and to make out 1,500 years, would require more than thirty-one years to each reign. Such a duration through forty-seven continuous reigns is so unlikely, that we can scarcely hesitate to prefer the medium between the shorter periods, and decide, as far as depends on the evidence of the Puránas, that the war of the Mahá Bhárata ended 1,050 years before Nanda, or 1,450 before Christ. If we adopt the belief of the Hindús, that the Védas were compiled in their present form, during that contest, we must place the war in the fourteenth century before Christ, upwards of fifty years later than the date given by the Puránas. This alteration is recommended by the circumstance that it would still further reduce the length of the reigns. It would place the war of the Mahá Bhárata about 200 years before the siege of Troy. But even the longest period (of 1,500 years from Nanda) would still leave ample room since the commencement of the cali yuga, or since the flood, to dispose of the few antecedent events in Hindú history. Supposing the flood and the cali yuga to be about the same time (as many opinions justify), there would be considerably more than 1,400 years from that epoch to the war of the Mahá Bhárata.

Probable date of the war of the Mahá Bhárata.

Two Puránas give the period from Nanda forwards, to the end of the fifth dynasty from him or fourth from Sandracottus: the whole period is 836 or 854 years from Nanda, or 436 or 454 A.D. The last of these dynasties, the Andhras, acceded to power about the beginning of our era; which agrees with the mention by Pliny, in the second century, of a powerful dynasty of the same name; and although this might refer to another family of Andhras in the Deckan, yet the name of Andhre Indi, on the Ganges, in the Peutengerian tables, makes it equally probable that it applied to the one in question.

Dates after Chandragupta.

The Chinese annals, translated by De Guignes, notice, in A.D. 408, the arrival of ambassadors from the Indian prince Yuegnai, King of Kia-pi-li. Kia-pi-li can be no other than Capila,

the birth-place and capital of Buddha, which the Chinese have put for all Magadha. Yue-gnai again bears some resemblance to Yaj-nasri, or Yajna, the king actually on the throne of the Andhras at the period referred to. The Andhras end in Pulimat, or Pulomárchish, A.D. 436; and from thence forward the chronology of Magadha relapses into a confusion nearly equal to that before the war of the Mahá Bhárata.

Coincidence with the Chinese annals.

An embassy is indeed mentioned in the Chinese annals, as arriving in A.D. 641, from Ho-lo-mien, of the family of Kie-li-tie, a great king in India. M. de Guignes supposes his kingdom to have been Magadha; but neither the king's name nor that of the dynasty bears the least resemblance to any in the Puránas.[19]

The Vishnu Purána states (in the prophetic tone which, as a professed work of Vyása, it is compelled to assume, in speaking of events subsequent to that sage's death) that "after these" [Andhras] there will reign—

Obscurity after A.D. 436.

7 Ábhíras,
10 Gardabhas,
16 Sakas,
8 Yavanas,
14 Tushára,
13 Múndas, and
11 Maunas;[20] who will be sovereigns of the whole earth for

[19] The note in which M. de Guignes offers this opinion is curious, as showing, from a Chinese work which he quotes, that Magadha was called Mo-kia-to, and its capital recognised by both its Hindu names Kusumapúra, for which the Chinese wrote Kia-so-mo-pou-lo, and Pátaliputra, out of which they made Po-to-li-tse, by translating Putra, which means a son in Sanscrit, into their own corresponding word tse. The ambassadors in A.D. 641 could not, however, have come from Pátaliputra, which had long before been deserted for Rájgriha (or Behár); for the capital was at the latter place when visited by the Chinese traveller, in the beginning of the fifth century (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v. p. 132); and another Chinese, who wrote in A.D. 640, states that Pátaliputra was a mass of ruins when he had seen it on his travels.

[20] ["These are not continuous, but nearly contemporary dynasties; and if they comprise, as they probably do, the Greek and Scythian princes of the West of India, the periods may not be very wide of the truth. . . . Col. Wilford has attempted a verification of these dynasties; in some instances, perhaps, with success, though certainly not in all. The Ábhíras he calls the Shepherd Kings of the North of India; they were more probably Greeks or Scythians or Parthians along the Lower Indus; traces of the name occur in the Abiria of Ptolemy, and the Ahírs as a distinct race still exist in Guzerat. The Sakas are the Sacæ, and the duration of their reign is not unlikely to be near the truth. The eight Yavana kings may be, as he supposes, Greek princes of Bactria or rather Western India. The Tushára he makes the Parthians. If the Bhágavata has the preferable reading, Tushkáras, they were the Tochari, a Scythian race. The Murúndas, or, as he has it, Maurundas, he considers to be a tribe of Huns, the Morundæ of Ptolemy. According to the Matsya Pur. they were of Mlechchha origin, Mlechchha-sambhava. The Vayu calls them Arya-Mlechchhas; qy. Barbarians of Ariana? Wilford regards the Maunas as also a tribe of Huns; and the

1,390 years: 11 Pauras follow, who reign for 300 years, and are succeeded by the Kailakila Yavanas, who reign for 106 years. All this would carry us nearly 500 years beyond the present year 1840; but, if we assume that the summing up the first dynasties into 1,390 is an error, and that they were in reality contemporaneous, or nearly so, the conclusion we are led to is that after the Andhras a period of confusion ensued, during which different parts of India were possessed by different races, of whom nothing further is known. If the Yavans be Greeks, it would, no doubt, be surprising to find eight of their monarchs reigning after A.D. 436; and the Kailakila Yavans would be still more embarrassing. They may possibly be Mussulmans.[21]

Immediately after all this confusion comes a list of dynasties reigning in different kingdoms; and among them is a brief notice of "the Guptas of Magadha, along the Ganges, to Prayága." Now, it has been put out of all dispute, by coins and inscriptions, that a race, some of whose names ended in Gupta, did actually reign along the Ganges from the fourth or fifth to the seventh or eighth century.[22]

There is, therefore, some truth mixed with these crudities, but it cannot be made available without external aid; and as nearly the same account is given in the other historical Puránas, we have nothing left but to give up all further attempts at the chronology of Magadha.

Eras of Vicramáditya and Sáliváhana.

The era of Vicramáditya in Málwa, which begins fifty-seven years before Christ, and is in constant use till this day all over Hindostan; and that of Sáliváhana, whose era, commencing A.D. 78, is equally current in the Deckan, might be expected to afford fixed points of reference

word is in all the MSS. of the *Matsya*, Hunas, traces of whom may be found still in the West and South of India (Inscript. at Merritch; see *Journ. R. As. S.*, vol. iii. p. 103.) The Gardabhas (or, as some Puránas read, Gardabhins), Wilford conjectures to be descendants of Bahram Gor, King of Persia; but this is very questionable. That they were a tribe in the West of India may be conjectured, as some strange tales prevail there of a Gandharba, changed to an ass, marrying the daughter of the king of Dhár (*As. Researches*, vi. 35, ix. 147); fables suggested no doubt by Gardabha signifying an ass. There is also evidently some affinity between these Gardabhins and the old Gadhia Paisa, or ass-money, as vulgarly termed, found in various parts of Western India, and which is unquestionably of ancient date. (*Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Dec. 1835, p. 688.) It may be the coinage of the Gardabha princes: Gardabha being the original of Gadha, meaning also an ass." (Wilson's *Vishnu P.*, p. 476, note.) Wilson elsewhere (*Journ. R. A. S.*, iii. 385) had illustrated these coins from the *Toycart*, the earliest Hindú drama, where a rare word, *gaddahi* (Prákrit for *gardabhí*, a she-ass) is explained by the commentators as a coin.—Ed.]

[21] Professor Wilson, *Vishnu Purána*, p. 481. Dr. Mill's translation from the Allahabad column, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. iii. p. 257; and other papers in that journal, quoted by Professor Wilson.

[22] [The date of the Gupta kings is still an unsettled problem; see Prinsep's *Essays* (Thomas's ed.), vol. i. pp. 270-276.—Ed.]

for all events after their commencement; and they are of the greatest use in fixing the dates of grants of land which are so important a part of our materials for history. But the fictitious era of the Puránas prevents their being employed in those collections, and there are no other chronicles in which they might be made use of. On the whole we must admit the insufficiency of the Hindú chronology, and confess that, with the few exceptions specified, we must be content with guesses, until the arrival of the Mussulmans at length put us in possession of a regular succession of events, with their dates.

CHAPTER IV.

MEDICINE.

THE earliest medical writers extant are Charaka and Susruta. We do not know the date of either of them; but there is a commentary on the second and later of the two, which was written in Cashmír in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and does not seem to have been the first.[1]

These authors were translated into Arabic, and probably soon after that nation turned its attention to literature. The Arab writers openly acknowledge their obligations to the medical writers of India, and place their knowledge on a level with that of the Greeks. It helps to fix the date of their becoming known to the Arabs, to find that two Hindús, named Manka and Saleh, were physicians to Hárún al Rashíd in the eighth century.[2]

Their acquaintance with medicine seems to have been very extensive. We are not surprised at their knowledge of simples, in which they gave early lessons to Europe, and more recently taught us the benefit of smoking datura in asthma, and the use of cowitch against worms: their chemical skill is a fact more striking and more unexpected.

They knew how to prepare sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and muriatic acid; the oxide of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge), tin and zinc; the sulphuret of iron, copper, mercury, antimony, and arsenic; the sulphate of copper, zinc, and iron; and carbonates of lead and iron. Their modes

[1] Most of the information in this chapter is taken from an essay on the antiquity of the Indian materia medica, by Dr. Royle, Professor of King's College, London. The additions are from Ward's *Hindoos* (vol. ii. p. 337, &c.), and Mr. Coats, *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, vol. iii. p. 232.

[2] Professor Dietz, quoted by Dr. Royle p. 64.

of preparing those substances seem, in some instances, if not in all, to have been peculiar to themselves.[3]

The use of these medicines seems to have been very bold. They were the first nation who employed minerals internally, and they not only gave mercury in that manner, but arsenic and arsenious acid, which were remedies in intermittents. They have long used cinnabar for fumigations, by which they produce a speedy and safe salivation.

Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine, especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the fœtus from the womb, and in their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments.[4] But their instruments were probably always rude. At present they are so much so, that, though very successful in cataract, their operations for the stone are often fatal.

They have long practised inoculation; but still many lives were lost from small-pox, until the introduction of vaccination.

The Hindú physicians are attentive to the pulse and to the state of the skin, of the tongue, eyes, etc., and to the nature of the evacuations; and they are said to form correct prognostics from the observation of the symptoms. But their practice is all empirical, their theory only tending to mislead them. Nor are they always judicious in their treatment: in fevers, for instance, they shut up the patient in a room artificially heated, and deprive him not only of food, but drink.

They call in astrology and magic to the aid of their medicine, applying their remedies at appropriate situations of the planets, and often accompanying them with mystical verses and charms.

Many of these defects probably belonged to the art in its best days, but the science has no doubt declined; chemists can conduct their preparations successfully without having the least knowledge of the principles by which the desired changes are effected; physicians follow the practice of their instructors without inquiry; and surgery is so far neglected, that bleeding is left to the barber, bone-setting to the herdsman, and every man is ready to administer a blister, which is done with the juice of the euphorbium, and still oftener with the actual cautery.

[3] See Dr. Royle, p. 44, who particularly refers to the processes for making calomel and corrosive sublimate.

[4] Dr. Royle, p. 49.

CHAPTER V.

LANGUAGE.

THE Sanscrit language has been pronounced by one whose extensive acquaintance with those of other ancient and modern nations entitles his opinion to respect, to be "of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either."[1] Sanscrit.

The language so highly commended seems always to have received the attention it deserved. Pánini, the earliest extant writer on its grammar, is so ancient as to be mixed up with the fabulous ages. His works and those of his successors have established a system of grammar the most complete that ever was employed in arranging the elements of human speech.

I should not, if I were able, enter on its details in this place; but some explanation of them is accessible to the English reader in an essay of Mr. Colebrooke.[2]

Besides innumerable grammars and dictionaries, there are, in Sanscrit, treatises on rhetoric and composition, proportioned in number to the extent of Hindú literature in every branch.[3] Sanscrit is still carefully cultivated; and, though it has long been a dead language, the learned are able even now to converse in it, probably with as much ease as those in Europe found in Latin before the general diffusion of the knowledge of modern tongues. It would be curious to ascertain when it ceased to be the language of the people, and how far it ever was so in its highly polished form.

Sanscrit has of late become an object of more interest to us from the discovery of its close connection (amounting in some cases to identity) with Greek and Latin. This fact has long been

[1] Sir W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 422.

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 199. Among many marks of high polish, is one which must have particularly promoted the melody of its versification. This consists in what Mr. Colebrooke calls its euphonical orthography (Sandhi), by which letters are changed, not only so as to avoid harsh combinations in particular words, but so as to preserve a similar harmony throughout the whole length of each of their almost interminable compounds, and even to contribute to the music of whole periods, which are generally subjected to those modifications, for the sake of euphony, which in other languages are confined to single words.

[3] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 205, &c. [The rhetoric of the Hindûs, in its analysis of the phenomena of taste and style, is inferior to that of no other nation; but it is interesting to observe the influence of national freedom in developing the *full* sense of the Greek ῥητορική, as contrasted with the Hindû alankára.—ED.]

known to Sanscrit scholars, who pointed it out in reference to single words; but it has now been demonstrated by means of a comparison of the inflexions, conducted by German writers, and particularly by Mr. Bopp.[4]

It is observed by Mr. Colebrooke, that the language, metre, and style of a particular hymn in one of the Védas, furnishes internal evidence "that the compilation of those poems in the present arrangement took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Véda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and profane, have been written."

From the Védas to Menu, and from Menu to the Puránas, Sir W. Jones conceives the change to be exactly in the same proportion as from the fragments of Numa to those of the twelve tables, and from those to the works of Cicero.

The Indian names introduced by the historians of Alexander are often resolvable into Sanscrit in its present form. No allusion is made by those authors to a sacred language, distinct from that of the people; but, in the earliest Hindú dramas, women and uneducated persons are introduced, speaking a less polished dialect, while Sanscrit is reserved for the higher characters.

Some conjectures regarding the history of Sanscrit may be suggested by the degree in which it is combined with the modern languages of India.

Other languages of India.

The five northern languages, those of the Panjáb, Canouj,[5] Mithilá (or North Behár), Bengal, and Guzerát, are, as we may infer from Mr. Colebrooke, branches of the Sanscrit, altered by the mixture of local and foreign words and new inflexions, much as Italian is from Latin;[6] but of the five languages of the Deckan,[7] three, at least (Tamil, Télugu, and Carnáta, have an origin totally distinct from the Sanscrit, and receive words from

[4] See a very succinct account of his comparison in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxiii. p. 481; and a more copious one in the *Annals of Oriental Literature*.

[5] [More often called Hindí. Besides this, Mr. Colebrooke mentions the Brij Bhákhá, a dialect very nearly allied to Hindí, and much used in Hindí poetry, as well as still spoken in parts of the Doáb. In fact it would be very easy to increase the number in the text, if we took into account the different local dialects in the various provinces. Dr. Caldwell, in his *Dravidian Comparative Grammar* (p. 27), would make nine Northern languages, i.e. Bengálí, Uriya, Hindí with its daughter Hindustáni, Panjábí, Sindhí, Guzerátí, Maráthí, and the languages of Nepál and Cashmír.—Ed.]

[6] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 219. See also Wilson, Preface to the *Mackenzie Collection*, p. li. [There is an interesting question which has not yet been settled, as to the origin of the non-Sanskrit element which is found in all these northern languages. It is very probable that this is a relic of the aboriginal languages.—Ed.]

[7] [For the tracts where these languages are respectively spoken, see Book IV. Ch. ii.—Ed.]

that tongue in the same manner that Latin has been ingrafted on English, or Arabic on Hindi. Of these three, Tamil is so much the most pure, that it is sometimes thought to be the source of the other two. Télugu, though it preserves its own structure, is much mixed with Sanscrit words.[8]

Of the remaining two, the language of Orissa (or the Uriya), though probably of the Tamil family, is so much indebted to Sanscrit as to lead Mr. Wilson to say that "if the Sanscrit vocables were excluded, it could not pretend to be a language." It is, indeed, often counted (instead of Guzerátí) among the five languages of the north.

Mahárâshtra, or Maratta, is considered by Mr. Wilson to belong to the northern family, though always counted among those of the south. The people must therefore be a branch of those beyond the Vindhya mountains, but no guess can be made at the period of their immigration.[9]

CHAPTER VI.

LITERATURE.

Poetry.

A PERSON unacquainted with Sanscrit scarcely possesses the means of forming an opinion on the poetry of the Hindús.

The singular attention to harmony which characterises the Sanscrit must give it a charm that is lost in translation; and the unbounded facility of forming compounds, which adds so much to the richness of the original, unavoidably occasions stiff and unnatural combinations in a language of a different genius.

Even the originality of Hindú poetry diminishes our enjoyment of it, by depriving it of all aid from our poetical associations. The peculiarity of the ideas and recollections of the people renders it difficult for us to enter into their spirit: while the difference of

[8] [These three, Tamil, Telugu, and Canarese, with the addition of Malayálam, the language of Malabar (which is closely connected with Tamil), are called the Drávidian branch. However they may borrow Sanskrit words in their vocabulary, they are essentially non-Sanskrit in their grammatical structure, and belong to the Scythian, not the Indo-European family. The dialects of most of the various mountain-tribes in South and Central India, as the Gonds, Khonds, &c., belong to the same stock, and perhaps some of those in North India; and thus the Drávidian tribes appear to represent the aboriginal inhabitants of India previous to the immigration of the Sanskrit-speaking Áryans. See Dr. Caldwell's *Dravidian Comparative Grammar*.—ED.]

[9] The remarks on the southern languages are taken, with a very few exceptions, from Mr. Wilson's Preface to the *Mackenzie Papers*, and from the writings of Mr. Ellis and Mr. Babington quoted in that dissertation.

all natural appearances and productions deprives their imagery of half its beauty, and makes that a source of obscurity to us, which to a native of the East would give additional vividness to every expression. What ideas can we derive from being told that a maiden's lips are a bandhujíva flower, and that the lustre of the madhúca beams on her cheeks? or, in other circumstances, that her cheek is like the champa leaf? Yet those figures may be as expressive, to those who understand the allusions, as our own comparisons of a youthful beauty to an opening rose, or one that pines for love to a neglected primrose.

With all these disadvantages, the few specimens of Sanscrit poetry to which we have access present considerable beauties.

Their drama, in particular, which is the department with which we are best acquainted, rises to a high pitch of excellence. Sacontalá has long been known to Europeans by the classical version of Sir W. Jones, and our acquaintance with the principal of the remaining dramas has now become familiar through the admirable translations of Mr. Wilson.

Drama.

Though we possess plays written at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era, and one which was composed in Bengal within these fifty years, yet the whole number extant does not exceed sixty. This is probably owing to the manner in which they were at first produced, being only acted once on some particular festival in the great hall or inner court of a palace,[1] and consequently losing all the popularity which plays in our times derive from repeated representations in different cities and in public theatres. Many must also have been lost, owing to the neglect of the learned;[2] for the taste for this species of poetry seems corrupted, if not extinct, among the Bramins; and although some of the least deserving specimens are still favourites, yet Professor Wilson assures us that he has met with but one Bramin who could be considered as conversant with the dramatic literature of his country.[3]

Of these dramas we possess translations of eight, and abstracts mixed with specimens of twenty-four more.

Though there are no tragedies among the number, none at least that terminate unhappily, yet these plays exhibit a variety not

[1] Wilson's Preface to the *Theatre of the Hindoos*.

[2] [That the Hindú drama is only partially represented by the surviving specimens is proved by the fact that one of the earliest of these plays (the Vikramorvási of Kálidása) refers to the sage Bharata as having analysed the dramatic art. The long-lost *Poetics* of this Hindú Aristotle, in thirty-four chapters, have been recently discovered by Dr. Hall. Many plays must have been composed, before a critic could have written so copiously on the theory.—Ed.]

[3] Appendix to the *Theatre of the Hindoos*, vol. iii. p. 97.

surpassed on any other stage. Besides the different classes of dramas, farces, moralities, and short pieces such as we should call interludes, the diversity arising from the subjects seems to have been almost unlimited. A play translated by Dr. Taylor of Bombay is a lively, and sometimes humorous, illustration of the tenets of the different schools of philosophy.[4] Of the more regular dramas, some relate to the actions of heroes; some, to the wars and loves of kings; others to the intrigues of ministers; and others are strictly confined to the incidents of private life.

The characters are as different as the subjects. In some there is not a trace of supernatural agency or an allusion to religion. In others, nymphs of paradise are attached to earthly lovers; gods and demons appear in others; enchantments, unconnected with religion, influence the fate of some; and in one, almost the whole Hindú Pantheon is brought on the stage to attest the innocence of the heroine.

In general, however, even in the cases where the gods afford their assistance, the interest of the drama turns entirely on human feelings and natural situations, over which the superior beings have no direct influence.

The number of acts is not fixed, and extends in practice from one to ten.

The division seems to be made when the stage becomes vacant, or when an interval is required between two parts of the action.

In general, unity of time is not much violated (though in one case twelve years passes between the first and second acts); unity of place is less attended to; but the more important point of unity of action is as well preserved as in most modern performances.

The plots are generally interesting; the dialogue lively, though somewhat prolonged; and considerable skill is sometimes shown in preparing the reader to enter fully into the feelings of the persons in the situations in which they are about to be placed.

Some judgment of the actors may be formed from the specimens still seen. Regular dramas are very rarely performed; when they are, the tone is grave and declamatory. The dresses are such as we see represented on ancient sculptures; and the high caps, or rather crowns, of the superior characters, composed of dark azure and gold, of the form peculiar to Hindú sculpture, give an air of much greater dignity than the modern turban. Mimics, buffoons, and actors of a sort of partly extemporary

[4] This will suggest *The Clouds* of Aristophanes, but it is more like some of the moralities of the middle ages.

farces, are common still. They are coarse, childish, and, when not previously warned, grossly indecent; but they exhibit considerable powers of acting and much comic humour.

The best dramatic authors are Cálidása, who probably lived in the fifth century, and Bhavabhúti, who flourished in the eighth. Each of these poets wrote three dramatic works, two of which, in each instance, have been translated. The first excels in tenderness and delicacy, and is full of highly poetical description. The beauties of his pastoral drama of "Sacontalá" have long been deservedly admired. The "Hero and the Nymph," in Mr. Wilson's collection, is in a still more romantic strain, and may be compared (in the wildness of its design at least) to the "Tempest" and "Midsummer Night's Dream."[5] The other great dramatist possesses all the same qualities in an equal degree, accompanied with a sublimity of description, a manly tone, and a high and even martial spirit, that is without example in any other Hindú poet that I have heard of.

It may, indeed, be asserted, of all the compositions of the Hindús, that they participate in the moral defects of the nation, and possess a character of voluptuous calm more adapted to the contemplation of the beauties of nature, than to the exertion of energy, or to the enjoyment of adventure. Hence, their ordinary poetry, though flowing and elegant, and displaying a profusion of the richest imagery, is often deficient in the spirit which ought to prevent the reader's being cloyed with sweetness, and seldom moves any strong feeling, or awakens any lofty sentiment.

The emotions in which they are most successful are those of love and tenderness. They powerfully present the raptures of mutual affection, the languishment of absence, and the ravings of disappointed passion. They can even rise to the nobler feelings of devoted attachment, and generous disregard of selfish motives; but we look in vain for traits of vigour, of pride, or independence: even in their numerous battles they seem to feel little real sympathy with the combatants, and are

[5] Mr. Mill's judgment on "Sacontalá" is not, in general, favourable; but one passage is so just, and so well expressed, that I cannot refrain from quoting it. "The poem, indeed, has some beautiful passages. The courtship between Sacontalá and Dushmanta (that is the name of the king) is delicate and interesting; and the workings of the passion on two amiable minds are naturally and vividly portrayed. The picture of the friendship which exists between the three youthful maidens is tender and delightful; and the scene which takes place when Sacontalá is about to leave the peaceful hermitage where she had happily spent her youth, her expressions of tenderness to her friends, her affectionate parting with the domestic animals she had tended, and even with the flowers and trees in which she had delighted, breathe more than pastoral sweetness."

obliged to make up by hyperbolical description for the want of that ardent spirit which a Greek or Roman poet could easily transfer into the bosom of his hero, while it glowed with all its fervour in his own.[6]

The great strength of the Sanscrit poets, as well as their great delight, is in description.[7] Their most frequent subjects are scenes of repose and meditation, amidst sequestered woods and flowery banks, fanned by fragrant gales and cooled by limpid waters; but they are not unsuccessful in cheerful and animated landscape. Such is the description[8] of the country round Ujein in the ninth act of "Málatí and Mádhava;" where mountains, rocks, woods, villages, and glittering rivulets combine to form an extensive and a varied prospect. The city occupies the centre of the view; its towers, temples, pinnacles, and gates are reflected on the clear stream beneath; while the groves on the banks refreshed with early rain, and the meadows brightening with the recent shower afford a luxuriant resting-place to the heavy-uddered kine. Sometimes, also, they raise their efforts to the frowning mountain and the gathering tempest. Bhavabhúti, in particular, excels in this higher sort of description. His touches of wild mountain scenery in different places, and his description of the romantic rocks and solemn forests round the source of the Godáverí, are full of grandeur and sublimity. Among his most impressive descriptions is one where his hero repairs at midnight to a field of tombs, scarcely lighted by the flames of funeral pyres, and evokes the demons of the place, whose appearance, filling the air with their shrill cries and unearthly forms, is painted in dark and powerful colours; while the solitude, the moaning of the winds, the hoarse sound of the brook, the wailing owl, and the long-drawn howl of the jackal, which succeed on the sudden disappearance of the spirits, almost surpass in effect the presence of their supernatural terrors.[9]

This taste for description is more striking from its contrast with the practice of some of their neighbours.

[6] The following speech of a stripling in one of Bhavabhuti's plays, however, reminds us of the "joys of combat" which delighted the northern warrior:—

"*Boys.* The soldiers raise their bows and point their shafts
Against you, and the hermitage is still remote.
Fly! &c.
"*Lava.* Let the shafts fall. Oh! this is glorious!"

[7] [Cf. Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. ii. pp. 403—408. (Otté's transl.), where he treats of the descriptive poetry of the ancient, as compared with that of the modern, world.—ED.]

[8] Málatí and Mádhava, Act V., in Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindoos*.

In Persian poets, for instance, a long description of inanimate nature is rarely met with. Their genius is for the expression of deep feelings or of sublime conceptions; and, in their brief and indistinct attempts at description, they attend exclusively to the sentiment excited by objects in the mind, quite neglecting the impression which they make on the senses.

But a Sanscrit poet, without omitting the characteristic emotion, presents all the elements from which it springs, delineates the peculiar features of the scene, and exhibits the whole in so picturesque a manner, that a stranger, even with his ignorance of the names of plants and animals, might easily form a notion of the nature of an Indian landscape.

Thus, in a description of a Persian garden, the opening buds smile, the rose spreads forth all her charms to the intoxicated nightingale; the breeze brings the recollections of youth, and the spring invites the youths and damsels to his bridal pavilion. But the lover is without enjoyment in this festival of nature. The passing rill recalls the flight of time; the nightingale seems to lament the inconstancy of the rose, and to remember that the wintry blast will soon scatter her now blooming leaves. He calls on the heavens to join their tears to his, and on the wind to bear his sighs to his obdurate fair.

A Hindú poet, on the other hand, represents, perhaps, the deep shade of a grove, where the dark tamála mixes its branches with the pale foliage of the nimba, and the mangoe tree extends its ancient arms among the quivering leaves of the lofty pípala, some creeper twines round the jambú, and flings out its floating tendrils from the topmost bough. The asóca hangs down the long clusters of its glowing flowers, the mádhaví exhibits its snow-white petals, and other trees pour showers of blossoms from their loaded branches. The air is filled with fragrance, and is still, but for the hum of bees and the rippling of the passing rill. The note of the cóil is from time to time heard at a distance, or the low murmur of the turtle-dove on some neighbouring tree. The lover wanders forth into such a scene, and indulges his melancholy in this congenial seclusion. He is soothed by the south wind, and softened by the languid odour of the mangoe blossoms, till he sinks down overpowered in an arbour of jessamine, and abandons himself to the thoughts of his absent mistress.

The figures employed by the two nations partake of this contrast: those of the Persians are conventional hints, which would scarcely convey an idea to a person unaccustomed to them. A beautiful woman's form is a cypress; her locks are musk (in

blackness); her eyes a languid narcissus; and the dimple in her chin a well; but the Sanscrit similes, in which they deal more than in metaphors, are in general new and appropriate, and are sufficient, without previous knowledge, to place the points of resemblance in a vivid light.

The Sanscrit poets have, no doubt, commonplaces, and some of them as fanciful as those of the Persians;[9] but in general the topics seem drawn from the writer's memory and imagination, and not adopted from a common stock which has supplied the wants of a succession of former authors. Having said so much of the Hindú drama, and having anticipated the general character of Sanscrit poetry, I shall be more brief with what remains.

Sacred poetry.

The most voluminous as well as the most ancient and important portion of Hindú verse consists of the sacred and the epic or heroic poems. On the sacred poems Mr. Colebrooke has pronounced,[10] that their "general style is flat, diffuse, and no less deficient in ornament than abundant in repetitions." The specimens which have been translated give no ground for questioning this decision.

Of the Védas, the first part, consisting of hymns, etc., can alone be classed with poetry; and however sublime their doctrines, it appears that the same praise cannot be extended to their composition.

The extracts translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Rám Móhan Rái, and Sir W. Jones, and the large specimen in the "Oriental Magazine" for December, 1825, afford no sign of imagination, and no example of vigour of thought or felicity of diction.

The same, with a few exceptions, applies to the prayers and hymns in Colebrooke's "Treatise on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindús."[11]

Heroic poems. The "Rámáyana."

Next in succession to the Védas comes the great heroic poem of the "Rámáyana," which commemorates the conquest of Ceylon.[12] The author, Válmíki, is said to have been contemporary with the event; but not even a poet would invest a living warrior with supernatural powers,

[9] [Hindú writers on rhetoric give lists of these stock epithets for the instruction of their readers: see *Sáhitya Darpana*, vii. 590.—ED.]

[10] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x. p. 425.

[11] A cursory view of the portion of the *Rig Véda*, translated by Mr. Rosen, does not raise our opinion of those works. It seems to be a collection of short hymns addressed to the gods of the elements and the heavenly bodies, conveying praises and petitions, little varied, and but rarely showing signs of a poetic spirit. The topics of praise appear to be confined to the effect of each god's power on the material world; and the prayers are even less spiritual, being, in a great majority of instances, for wealth alone.

[12] See p. 99, and Book IV. Ch. i.

or would give him an army of apes for allies. A considerable period must have elapsed before the real circumstances of the story were sufficiently forgotten to admit of such bold embellishments. This argument, however, shows the early date of the hero, without impugning the antiquity of the poem. Of that there can be no dispute; for the language approaches nearer than any other Sanscrit poem to the early form used in the Védas, and an epitome is introduced into the "Mahá Bhárata," itself the work of a remote age.

The "Mahá Bhárata."

This last poem is ascribed to Vyása, the author of the Védas, and an eye-witness of the exploits which it records. But within the poem itself is an acknowledgment that it was put into its present form by Sauti, who received it through another person from Vyása: 24,000 verses out of 100,000 are alleged, in the same place, to be the work of the original poet.[13] Its pretensions to such remote antiquity are disproved by the advanced stage of the language; and the mention of Yavanas[14] (if that term be applied to the Greeks) shows that some portion is of later date than the middle of the fourth century before Christ. But there seems no ground to question the opinion of one well qualified to judge that it was familiar to the Hindús at least two or three centuries before Christ.[15] It illustrates the date of both works to observe that, although the heroes in both are incarnations of Vishnu, Ráma commonly appears throughout the poem in his human character alone, and though Crishna is sometimes declared to be the Supreme Being in a human form, yet his actions imply no such divinity, and the passages in which his identity with the ruler of the universe are most clearly stated may be suspected of being the production of a later period than the rest.[16]

With the exception of Mr. Colebrooke (who includes them in his censure of the sacred poetry), all who have read the heroic poems in the original are enthusiastic in their praise; and their beauties have been most felt by those whose own productions entitle their judgment to most respect. Nor is this admiration confined to critics who have peculiarly devoted themselves to Oriental literature: Milman and Schlegel vie with Wilson and Jones in their applause; and from one or other of those writers

[13] *Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 133.

[14] Translation at the place just referred to, and Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 101.

[15] *Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 133. [Prof. Lassen (*Ind. Alterthumskunde*, vol. i.) maintains that the principal part of the Mahá bhárata is "älter als die Herrschaft des Buddhismus," i. e. than Asoka's time. —Ed.]

[16] Preface to the *Vishnu Purána*, p. ix.

we learn the simplicity and originality of the composition; the sublimity, grace, and pathos of particular passages; the natural dignity of the actors; the holy purity of the manners, and the inexhaustible fertility of imagination in the authors. From such evidence, and not from translations in prose, we should form our opinions of the originals. If we were obliged to judge from such of those literal versions as we possess in English (which are mostly from the "Rámáyana"), we should be unable to discover any of the beauties dwelt on, except simplicity; and should conceive the poems to be chiefly characterized by extreme flatness and prolixity. Some of the poetical translations exhibit portions more worthy of the encomiums bestowed on them. The specimens of the "Mahá Bhárata" which appeared, in blank verse, in the "Oriental Magazine,"[17] are of this last description. It is true that, though selections, and improved by compression, they are still tediously diffuse; but they contain many spirited and poetical passages: the similes, in particular, are short, simple, and picturesque: and, on the whole, the author must be acknowledged to tread, at whatever distance, on the path of Homer.

The episode of "Nala and Damayantí," in the same poem,[18] being a domestic story, is better fitted than battles to the Hindú genius; and is a model of beautiful simplicity. Among the other episodes in the same poem (as it now stands) is the "Bhagavad Gitá," which is supposed to be the work of a much later age.[19] It is a poetical exposition of the doctrines of a particular school of theology, and has been admired for the clearness and beauty of the language and illustrations. Whatever may be its merits as to clearness, it deserves high praise for the skill with which it is adapted to the original epic, and for the tenderness and elegance of the narrative by means of which it is introduced.

The legendary part of the Puránas may be regarded as belonging to this description of poetry. Some of the extracts introduced by Colonel Kennedy in his "Researches into Hindú Mythology" are spirited and poetical.

The portion of the "Rámáyana" of Bódháyana, translated by Mr. Ellis in the "Oriental Magazine" for September, 1826, is more conformable to European taste than the other translations; but it seems doubtful, from the note in page 8, whether it is

[17] For December, 1824, and March and September, 1825. [These have been since republished in Professor Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. iii. pp. 290—341.—ED.]

[18] Translated by the Rev. H. H. Milman.

[19] Translated by Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Wilkins, in 1784.

designed to be a literal translation; and, consequently, it cannot safely be taken as a specimen of Hindú poetry.

The "Meghadúta"[20] is an excellent example of purely descriptive poetry. A spirit banished from heaven charges a cloud with a message to his celestial mate, and describes the countries over which it will have to pass.

Descriptive.

The poet avails himself of the favourite Hindú topic of the setting in of the rainy season, amidst assembled clouds and muttering thunder, the revival of nature from its previous languor, the rejoicing of some animals at the approach of rain, and the long lines of cranes and other migratory birds that appear in the higher regions of the sky: he describes the varied landscape and the numerous cities over which the cloud is to pass, interspersing allusions to the tales which are associated with the different scenes.

Intermixed with the whole are the lamentations of the exile himself, and his recollections of all the beauties and enjoyments from which he is excluded.

The description is less exuberant than in most poems, but it does not escape the tameness which has been elsewhere ascribed to Sanscrit verse.

The "Gíta Góvinda, or Songs of Jaya Déva,"[21] are the only specimens I know of pure pastoral. They exhibit, in perfection, the luxuriant imagery, the voluptuous softness, and the want of vigour and interest which form the beauties and defects of the Hindú school.

Pastoral.

They are distinguished also by the use of conceits; which, as the author lived as late as the fourteenth century, are, perhaps, marks of the taste introduced by the Mahometans.

I have seen no specimen of Hindú satire. Some of their dramatic performances seem to partake of this character.[22] Judging from the heaviness of the ludicrous parts occasionally introduced into the regular plays, I should not expect to find much success in this department.

Satire.

Though there are several other poetical works translated, enough has, perhaps, been said on this subject, considering the little value of opinions formed on such grounds. An important part of the Hindú literature, however, still remains to be noticed, in their tales and fables; in both of which species of composition they appear to have been the instructors of all

Tales and fables.

[20] Translated by Professor Wilson, and published with the original Sanscrit, in 1813.

[21] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 185.

[22] See Wilson's *Hindoo Drama*, vol. iii. p. 97, &c. of the Appendix.

the rest of mankind. The most ancient fables (those of Bídpái) have been found almost unchanged in their Sanscrit dress; and to them almost all the fabulous relations of other countries have been clearly traced.[23] The complicated scheme of story-telling, tale within tale, like the "Arabian Nights," seems also to be of their invention, as are the subjects of many well-known tales and romances both Oriental and European. In their native form, they are told with simplicity, and not without spirit and interest. It is remarkable, however, that the taste for description seems here to have changed sides, the Hindú stories having none of those gorgeous and picturesque accompaniments which are so captivating in the Arabian and Persian tales.[24]

CHAPTER VII.

THE FINE ARTS.

Music.

THE Hindú music appears, from the account of Sir W. Jones[1] and Mr. Paterson,[2] to be systematic and refined.

They have eighty-four modes,[3] of which thirty-six are in general use, and each of which, it appears, has a peculiar expression, and the power of moving some particular sentiment or affection.

They are named from the seasons of the year and the hours of the day and night, and are each considered to possess some quality appropriate to the time.

Musical science is said to have declined like all others; and, certainly, the present airs do not give to an unlearned ear the impression of any such variety or complication. They are

[23] By Mr. Colebrooke, the Baron de Sacy, and Professor Wilson.

[24] As a guide to further inquiry into the Indian origin of European fictions, consult the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 156. [This is Professor Wilson's paper on the Panchatantra, reprinted in his *Collected Works*, vol. iv. pp. 1—80. See also his papers on the Kathá sarit Ságara of Somadeva, *Collected Works*, vol. iii. pp. 166—268; vol. iv. pp. 81—159.—ED.]

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 55.

[2] Ibid. vol. ix. p. 445.

[3] Sir W. Jones explains that these modes are not to be confounded with our modern modes which result from the system of accords now established in Europe. The Indian modes are formed partly "by giving the lead to one or other of our twelve sounds, and varying, in seven different ways, the position of the semitones." This gives the number of eighty-four, which has been retained, although many of the original, or rather possible, modes have been dispensed with, and the number made up by aids drawn "from the association of ideas, and the mutilation of the regular scales."

almost all of one sort, remarkably sweet and plaintive, and distinguishable at once from the melodies of any other nation. To do them justice, however, they should be heard from a single voice, or accompanied by the vína, which has been called the Indian lyre.

The usual performance is by a band of fiddles and drums beaten with the fingers. It is loud and unmusical, and would drown the voices of the singers if they were not exerted to a pitch that is fatal to all delicacy or softness.[4]

Painting.

Painting is still in the lowest stage. Walls of houses are often painted in water colours, and sometimes in oils. The subjects are mythology, battles, processions, wrestlers, male and female figures, and animals, with no landscape, or at best a tree or two, or a building stuck in without any knowledge of perspective, or any attention to light and shade. Of the works of other nations they most resemble the paintings on the walls of Egyptian tombs. They have also pictures of a small size in a sort of distemper, which, in addition to the above subjects, include likenesses of individuals.

The Hindús have often beautifully illuminated manuscripts, but the other ornaments are better executed than the figures. If portraits were not spoken of as common in the dramas, I should suspect that they had learned this art from the Mussulmans, by whom (in spite of the discouragement given by the Mahometan religion) they are very far surpassed.

Sculpture.

One would expect that sculpture would be carried to high perfection among a people so devoted to polytheism; and it certainly is not for want of employment that it has failed to attain to excellence. Besides innumerable images, all caves and temples are covered with statues and reliefs; and the latter are often bold, including complicated groups, and expressing various passions. They are sometimes very spirited, and neither the sculptures nor paintings fail to produce very fine specimens of grace in figure and attitude; but there is a total ignorance

[4] It is but fair to give the following opinion from a person eminently qualified to judge (in the *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, for December, 1825, p. 197):—"We may add that the only native singers and players whom Europeans are in the way of hearing, in most parts of India, are regarded by their scientific brethren in much the same light as a ballad-singer at the corner of the street by the primo soprano of the Italian Opera."

of anatomy, and an inattention even to the obvious appearances of the limbs and muscles, together with a disregard of proportion between different figures, and a want of skill in grouping, which must entirely exclude the best of the Hindú sculpture from coming into the most remote comparison with European works of art.

Architecture.

The numerous edifices erected by the Hindús attest their knowledge of the practice of architecture; and if any confidence can be given to the claims of the books of which fragments still remain, they seem early to have been acquainted with the science.

A candid and judicious review of the extant works on architecture is contained in a late essay by an intelligent native, where also the system taught by them is ably developed.[5]

The principles of the art seem, by this essay, to have been well understood; and numerous rules appear to have been derived from them.

The various mouldings, twelve in number, are described; some (the cyma, toro, cavetto, etc.) are the same as our own, and a few are peculiar. The forms and proportions of pedestals, bases, shafts, capitals, and entablatures are given; how fully, in some cases, may be conjectured from there being sixty-four sorts of bases. There are no fixed orders, but the height of a column may vary from six to ten diameters, and its proportions regulate, though not strictly, those of the capitals, intercolumniations, etc. This place does not admit of any specification of the rules of architecture, or anything beyond a general notion of the native buildings which are now to be seen in India. The style of those structures has been supposed to resemble those of Egypt. It does so only in the massy character both of the buildings and the materials, and in the quantity of sculpture on some descriptions of edifices. The practice of building high towers at gateways is also similar, but in Egypt there is one on each side, and in India only one over the gateway.

Some few of the Egyptian columns bear a resemblance to some in the cave temples; but these are all the points in which any similarity can be discovered.

The two most striking features in Egyptian architecture are, the use of pyramids, and the manner in which the sides of

[5] *Essay on Hindú Architecture*, by Rám Ráz, published by the Oriental Translation Fund.

every building slope inwards until they reach the top, where they meet a flat roof with a particularly bold and deep cornice. Neither of these characteristics is to be found in India. Pyramidal roofs to the halls before temples are not uncommon, but they are hollow within, and supported by walls or pillars. Solid pyramids are unknown; and even the roofs are diversified on the outside with acroteria and other ornaments, that take away all resemblance to the Egyptian pyramids. Walls are always perpendicular, and though towers of temples diminish gradually, yet they do so in a manner peculiar to themselves, and bear as much resemblance to our slender steeples as to the broad masses of Egyptian architecture. They, in fact, hold an intermediate place between both, but have little likeness to either.

In the south they are generally a succession of stories, each narrower than the one below it; and north of the Godáverí they more frequently taper upwards, but with an outward curve in the side, by means of which there is a greater swell near the middle than even at the base. They do not come quite to a point, but are crowned by a flattened dome, or some more fanciful termination, over which is, in all cases, a high pinnacle of metal gilt, or else a trident, or other emblem peculiar to the god. Though plainer than the rest of the temple, the towers are never quite plain, and are often stuck over with pinnacles, and covered with other ornaments of every description.

The sanctuary is always a small, nearly cubical chamber, scarcely lighted by one small door, at which the worshipper presents his offering and prefers his supplication. In very small temples this is the whole building; but in others it is surmounted by the tower, is approached through spacious halls, and is surrounded by courts and colonnades, including other temples and religious buildings. At Seringam there are seven different enclosures, and the outer one is near four miles in circumference.[6] The colonnades which line the interior of the courts, or form approaches to the temple, are often so deep as to require many rows of pillars, which are generally high, slender, and delicate, but thickly set. Gothic aisles have been compared to avenues of oaks, and these might be likened to groves of palm trees.

There are often lower colonnades, in which, and in many other places, are highly-wrought columns, round, square, and octagon, or mixing all three; sometimes cut into the shape of

[6] Orme's *Indostan*, vol. i. p. 182.

vases, and hung with chains or garlands; sometimes decorated with the forms of animals, and sometimes partly composed of groups of human figures.

Clusters of columns and pilasters are frequent in the more solid parts of the building; where, also, the number of salient and retiring angles, and the corresponding breaks in the entablature, increase the richness and complexity of the effect. The posts and lintels of the doors, the panels and other spaces, are enclosed and almost covered by deep borders of mouldings, and a profusion of arabesques of plants, flowers, fruits, men, animals, and imaginary beings; in short, of every species of embellishment that the most fertile fancy could devise. These arabesques, the running patterns of plants and creepers in particular, are often of an elegance scarcely equalled in any other part of the world.

The walls are often filled with sculptures in relief; exhibiting animated pictures of the wars of the gods and other legends. Groups of mythological figures, likewise, often run along the frieze, and add great richness to the entablature.[7]

Temples, such as have been described, are sometimes found assembled in considerable numbers. At the ruins of Bhuvanéswara, in Orissa, for instance, it is impossible to turn the eye in any direction from the great tower without taking into the view upwards of forty or fifty stone towers of temples, none less than fifty or sixty, and some from 150 to 180 feet high.[8]

Those of Bijayanagar, near the left bank of the river Tum badra, are of still more magnificent dimensions.

But, notwithstanding their prodigious scale, the effect produced by the Hindú pagodas never equals the simple majesty and symmetry of a Grecian temple, nor even the grandeur arising from the swelling domes and lofty arches of a mosque. The extensive parts of the building want height, and the high ones are deficient in breadth; there is no combination between the different parts; and the general result produces a conviction that, in this art, as in most other things, the Hindús display more richness and beauty in details than greatness in the conception of the whole. The cave temples, alone, exhibit boldness and grandeur of design.

The impression made on the spectator by favourable specimens

[7] There are some beautiful specimens of Hindu architecture in Tod's *Rajasthán*. The work of Ram Rás shows the details everywhere employed, as well as the general architecture of the south; but the splendid works of the Daniells exhibit in perfection every species of cave or temple in all the wide range of India.

[8] Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 307.

of temples, is that of great antiquity and sanctity, accompanied with a sort of romantic mystery, which neither the nature of the religion itself, nor the familiarity occasioned by the daily sight of its ceremonies, seems suited to inspire.

Though in temples of recent formation there is sometimes a mixture of the Mahometan style, yet the general character of these buildings is strikingly original, and unlike the structures of other nations. We may infer from this that the principles of the art were established in early times; but we have no reason to think that any of the great works which now attract admiration are of very ancient date. Even the caves have no claim to great antiquity. The inscriptions, in a character which was in use at least three centuries before Christ, and which has long been obsolete, would lead us to believe that the Bauddha caves must be older than the Christian era;[9] but those of the Hindús are shown beyond doubt, from the mythological subjects on their walls, to be at least as modern as the eighth or ninth century.[10] The sculptured works at Mahá Balipuram, south of Madras, have been carried back to the remotest era; but the accounts on the spot assign their construction to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries after Christ, and the sculptures on the walls afford a perfect confirmation of the tradition.[11]

Some of the most celebrated *built* temples are of very modern date. The pagoda of Jagannáth (of which we have heard so much), and the Black Pagoda in the same district, have been mentioned as among the most ancient of Hindú temples; yet the first is well known to have been completed in A.D. 1198, and the second in A.D. 1241.[12] Many of the other great temples are doubtless much older than this; but there are no proofs of the great antiquity of any of them, and some presumptions to the contrary.

The palaces are more likely to adopt innovations than the temples; but many retain the Hindú character, though constructed in comparatively recent times.

The oldest of these show little plan, or else have been so often added to, that the original plan is lost. Being generally of solid construction, and with terraced roofs, the facility is great of building one house on the roof of another; so that, besides

[9] An extensive Bauddha cave is mentioned by the Chinese traveller in the very beginning of the fifth century, and must have been excavated in the fourth at latest.—*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. v. p. 103.

[10] Mr. Erskine, *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, and Professor Wilson, *Mackenzie Papers*, Preface, p. lxx.

[11] Professor Wilson, *Mackenzie Papers*, Introduction, p. lxxi.

[12] Stirling's Orissa, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. pp. 315, 327.

spreading towards the sides, they are piled upwards to a great height, and with great irregularity.

They generally contain small courts surrounded with high buildings; sometimes open, and sometimes shaded with the trees best adapted for that purpose. There is always a deep colonnade round each court.

The great rooms of state are upstairs, closed round like ours, not running to the whole height of the house and open at one side like Mahometan divans. The stairs are narrow and steep, and cut out of the thickness of the wall.

The same remarks apply to the private houses, which are hardly entitled to come under the head of architecture.

Those of rich people have a small court or two, with buildings round, almost always terraced, sometimes left in the full glare of the white stucco, sometimes coloured of a dusky red, and the walls sometimes painted with trees or mythological and other stories. All are as crowded and ill-arranged as can be imagined.

Perhaps the greatest of all the Hindú works are the tanks, which are reservoirs for water, of which there are two kinds; one dug out of the earth, and the other formed by damming up the mouth of a valley. In the former case there are stone or other steps all round, down to the water, generally the whole length of each face, and in many instances temples round the edge, and little shrines down the steps. In the other sort these additions are confined to the embankment. The dug tanks are often near towns, for bathing, etc., but they are also made use of for irrigation. The dams are always for the latter purpose. Many of them are of vast extent, and the embankments are magnificent works, both in respect to their elevation and solidity. Some of them form lakes, many miles in circumference, and water great tracts of country.

One species of Hindú well is also remarkable. It is frequently of great depth and of considerable breadth. The late ones are often round, but the more ancient, square. They are surrounded, for their whole depth, with galleries, in the rich and massy style of Hindú works, and have often a broad flight of steps, which commences at some distance from the well, and passes under part of the galleries down to the water.

The most characteristic of the Hindú bridges are composed of stone posts, several of which form a pier, and which are connected by stone beams. Such bridges are common in the south of India. Others are on thick piers of masonry, with narrow

Gothic arches; but their antiquity is doubtful, nor does it appear that the early Hindús knew the arch, or could construct vaults or domes, otherwise than by layers of stone, projecting beyond those beneath, as in the Treasury of Atreus in Mycenæ.

Among other species of architecture must be mentioned the columns and arches, or rather gateways, erected in honour of victories. There is a highly-wrought example of the column, 120 feet high, at Chitór, which is represented in Tod's "Rájasthán."[13] Of the triumphal arches (if that term may be applied to square openings), the finest example is at Barnagar, in the north of Guzerát. It is indeed among the richest specimens of Hindú art.[14]

CHAPTER VIII.

OTHER ARTS.

Weaving. Of the Indian manufactures, the most remarkable is that of cotton cloth, the beauty and delicacy of which was so long admired, and which in fineness of texture has never yet been approached in any other country.

Their silk manufactures were also excellent, and very probably known to them, as well as the art of obtaining the material, at a very early period.[1]

Gold and silver brocade were also favourite, and perhaps, original, manufactures of India.

Dyeing. The brilliancy and permaneney of many of their dyes has not yet been equalled in Europe.

Working in gold. Their taste for minute ornament fitted them to excel in goldsmiths' work.

Their fame for jewels originated more in the bounty of nature than in their own skill; for their taste is so bad that they give a preference to yellow pearls and table diamonds; and their setting is comparatively rude, though they often combine their jewellery into very gorgeous ornaments.

Their way of working at all trades is very simple, and their tools few and portable. A smith brings his small anvil, and the peculiar sort of bellows which he uses, to the house where he is wanted. A carpenter does so with more ease, working on the floor, and securing any object with his toes as easily as with his hands.

[13] Vol. i. pp. 328, 761.

[14] [Mr. Fergusson's works are the latest and best authority on Hindú architecture. —Ed.]

[1] Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 61.

CHAPTER IX.

AGRICULTURE.

THE nature of the soil and climate makes agriculture a simple art. A light plough, which he daily carries on his shoulder to the field, is sufficient, with the help of two small oxen, to enable the husbandman to make a shallow furrow in the surface, in which to deposit the grain. Sowing is often performed by a sort of drill (it is scarcely entitled to the addition of plough), which sheds the seed through five or six hollow canes; and a board, on which a man stands, serves for a harrow. A hoe, a mattock, and a few other articles, complete the implements of husbandry. Reaping is performed with the sickle: the grain is trodden out by cattle, brought home in carts, and kept in large dry pits under ground. The fields, though the bounds of each are carefully marked, are generally unenclosed; and nothing interrupts their continuity, except occasional varieties in the crops.

But although the Indian agriculture has such a character of simplicity, there are some peculiarities in it which call forth certain sorts of skill and industry not required elsewhere, and there are some descriptions of cultivation to which the former character does not at all apply.

The summer harvest is sufficiently watered by the rains, but a great part of the winter crop requires artificial irrigation. This is afforded by rivers, brooks, and ponds; but chiefly by wells. In the best parts of the country there is a well in every field, from which water is conveyed in channels, and received in little beds, divided by low ridges of earth. It is raised by oxen in a large bucket, or rather *bag*, of pliant leather, which has often an ingenious contrivance, by which it empties itself when drawn up.

In some soils it is necessary, every three or four years, to eradicate the weeds by deep ploughing, which is done with a heavy plough, drawn by buffaloes, at a season when the ground is saturated with moisture. Manure is little used for general cultivation, but is required in quantities for sugar cane, and many other sorts of produce. Many sorts also require to be fenced; and are sometimes surrounded by mud walls, but usually by high and impenetrable hedges of cactus, euphorbium, aloe,

and other strong prickly plants, as well as by other thorny bushes and creepers.

One great labour is to scare away the flocks of birds, which devour a great part of the harvest in spite of all precautions. Scarecrows have some effect, but the chief dependence is on a man, who stands on a high wooden stage overlooking the field, shouting, and throwing stones from a sling, which is so contrived as to make a loud crack at every discharge.

The Indians understood rotation of crops, though their almost inexhaustible soil renders it often unnecessary. They class the soils with great minuteness, and are well informed about the produce for which each is best, and the mode of cultivation which it requires. They have the injudicious practice of mixing different kinds of grain in one field, sometimes to come up together, and sometimes in succession.

Some of the facts mentioned affect armies and travellers. At particular seasons, the whole face of the country is as open and passable as the road, except near villages and streams, where the high enclosures form narrow lanes, and are great obstructions to bodies of passengers. Large water-courses, or ducts, by which water is drawn from rivers or ponds, also form serious obstacles.

These remarks are always liable to exceptions from varieties in different parts of India; and in the rice countries, as Bengal and the coast of Coromandel, they are almost inapplicable. There, the rice must be completely flooded, often requires to be transplanted at a certain stage, and is a particularly laborious and disagreeable sort of cultivation.

CHAPTER X.

COMMERCE.

External commerce.

Though many articles of luxury are mentioned in Menu, it does not appear that any of them were the produce of foreign countries. Their abundance, however, proves that there was an open trade between the different parts of India.

There is one passage in the Code[1] in which interest on money lent on risk is said to be fixed by "men well acquainted with *sea voyages*, or journeys by land." As the word

[1] Ch. viii. § 156, 157.

used in the original for *sea* is not applicable to any inland waters, the fact may be considered as established, that the Hindús navigated the ocean as early as the age of the Code, but it is probable that their enterprise was confined to a coasting trade. An intercourse with the Mediterranean no doubt took place at a still earlier period; but it is uncertain whether it was carried on by land, or partly by sea; and, in either case, whether the natives of India took a share in it beyond their own limits.[2] It seems not improbable that it was in the hands of the Arabs, and that part crossed the narrow sea from the coast on the west of Sind to Muscat, and then passed through Arabia to Egypt and Syria; while another branch might go by land, or along the coast to Babylon and Persia.[3] Our first clear accounts of the seas west of India give no signs of trade carried on by Indians in that direction. Nearchus, who commanded Alexander's fleet (in 326 B.C.), did not meet a single ship in coasting from the Indus to the Euphrates; and expressly says that fishing boats were the only vessels he saw, and those only in particular places, and in small numbers. Even in the Indus, though there were boats, they were few and small; for, by Arrian's account, Alexander was obliged to build most of his fleet himself, including all the larger vessels, and to man them with sailors from the Mediterranean.[4] The same author, in enumerating the Indian classes, says of the fourth class (that of tradesmen and artisans), "of this class also are the ship-builders and the sailors, as many as navigate the rivers:"[5] from which we may infer that, as far as his knowledge went, there were no Indians employed on the sea.

Trade from the west coast.

The next accounts that throw light on the western trade of India are furnished by a writer of the second century before Christ,[6] whose knowledge only extended to the intercourse between Egypt and the south of Arabia, but who mentions cinnamon and cassia as among the articles imported,

[2] [Whether Ophir is to be looked for in India, or, as seems more probable, in the "Golden Chersonese" or Malacca, it is almost certain that some of the articles brought by the Phœnician and Jewish fleets in Solomon's days came from India (see 1 King x. 22). The Hebrew words are evidently foreign, and probably of Indian origin; thus *kof*, "ape," seems to be the Sanskrit *kapi*; *thukki*, "a peacock," is probably the Tamil *tokei*, and *shen-habbim*, "ivory," is explained by Gesenius as a contraction for *shen-hd-ibbim*, the latter part being the Sanskrit *ibha*, "an elephant," with the Hebrew article prefixed. ED.]

[3] Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. pp. 357–370.

[4] See *Expeditio Alexandri*, book vi. pp. 235, 236, ed. 1704, and *Indica*, chap. xviii. p. 332, of the same edition.

[5] *Indica*, chap. xii. p. 325.

[6] Agatharchides preserved in Diodorus and Photius. See Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 25.

and who, moreover, expressly states that ships came from India to the ports of Sabæa (the modern Yemen). From all that appears in this author we should conclude that the trade was entirely in the hands of the Arabs.

It is not till the first century after Christ that we obtain a distinct account of the course of this trade, and a complete enumeration of the commodities which were the objects of it. This is given in the "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," apparently the work of an experienced practical sailor in that part of the ocean. He describes the whole coast of the Red Sea, and of the south-east of Arabia, and that of India, from the Indus round Cape Comorin, to a point high up on the coast of Coromandel; and gives accounts of the commerce carried on within those limits, and in some places beyond them. From this writer it appears that, nearly until this time, the ships from India continued to cross the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and creep along the shore of Arabia to the mouth of the Red Sea; but that, at a recent period, the Greeks from Egypt, if not all navigators, used to quit the coast soon after leaving the Red Sea, and stretch across the Indian Ocean to the coast of Malabar.

The trade thus carried on was very extensive, but appears to have been conducted by Greeks and Arabs. Arabia is described as a country filled with pilots, sailors, and persons concerned in commercial business; but no mention is made of any similar description of persons among the Indians, nor is there any allusion to Indians out of their own country except that they are mentioned with the Arabs and Greeks, as forming a mixed population, who were settled in small numbers on an island near the mouth of the Red Sea, supposed to be Socotra. So much, indeed, were the Arabs the carriers of the Indian trade, that in Pliny's time their settlers filled the western shores of Ceylon, and were also found established on the coast of Malabar.[1] But in the same work (the "Periplus") the Indians are represented as actively engaged in the traffic on their own coast. There were boats at the Indus to receive the cargoes of the ships which were unable to enter the river on account of the bar at its mouth; fishing boats were kept in employ near the opening of the Gulf of Cambay to pilot vessels coming to Barygaza, or Baróch; where, then as now, they were exposed to danger from the extensive banks of

Coasting trade.

[1] Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, vol. ii. p. 283.

mud, and from the rapid rise of the tides. From Baróch, southward, the coast was studded with ports, which the author calls *local* emporia, and which, we may infer, were visited by vessels employed in the coasting trade; but it is not till the author has got to the coast on the east of Cape Comorin, that he first speaks of large vessels which crossed the Bay of Bengal to the Ganges and to Chryse, which is probably Sumatra, or the Malay peninsula. This last circumstance is in complete accordance with the accounts derived from the east, by which the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel seem early to have been distinguished by their maritime enterprise from their countrymen on the west of India. It is probable, from the nature of the countries which they water, that at the same time when Nearchus saw so little sign of commerce on the Indus, the Ganges may have been covered with boats, as it is at this moment, and as the number of ancient and civilized kingdoms on its shores would lead us to anticipate. The commodities supplied by so rich and extensive a region could not but engage the attention of the less advanced countries in the Deckan; and as the communication between that part of India and the Ganges was interrupted by forests, and plundering tribes, both probably even wilder than they are now, a strong temptation was held out to the sailors on the eastern coast to encounter the lesser danger of making the direct passage over the Bay of Bengal: on which, without being often out of sight of land, they would be beyond the reach of the inhabitants of the shore.

Trade from the east coast.

This practice once established, it would be an easy effort to cross the upper part of the bay, and before long, the broadest portion of it also, which is bounded by the Malay peninsula and Sumatra. But, whatever gave the impulse to the inhabitants of the coast of Coromandel, it is from the north part of the tract that we first hear of the Indians who sailed boldly into the open sea. The histories of Java give a distinct account of a numerous body of Hindús from Clinga (Calinga), who landed on their island, civilized the inhabitants, and who fixed the date of their arrival by establishing the era still subsisting, the first year of which fell in the seventy-fifth year before Christ. The truth of this narrative is proved beyond doubt by the numerous and magnificent Hindú remains that still exist in Java, and by the fact that, although the common language is Malay, the sacred language, that of historical and poetical compositions, and of most inscriptions, is a dialect of Sanscrit. The early date is almost as decisively proved by the

Hindú settlements in Java and other eastern islands.

journal of the Chinese pilgrim in the end of the fourth century, who found Java entirely peopled by Hindús, and who sailed from the Ganges to Ceylon, from Ceylon to Java, and from Java to China, in ships manned by crews professing the Braminical religion.[8] The Hindú religion in Java was afterwards superseded by that of Buddha; but the Indian government subsisted till the end of the fourteenth century; when it was subverted by Mahometan proselytes, converted by Arab missionaries in the course of the preceding century. The island of Báli, close to the east of Java, is still inhabited by Hindús, who have Malay or Tartar features, but profess to be of the four Hindú classes. It is not impossible that they may be so descended, notwithstanding the alteration in their features; but it is more probable that their pure descent is a fiction, as we have an example of a still more daring imposture in the poets of Java, who have transferred the whole scene of the "Mahá Bhárata," with all the cities, kings, and heroes of the Jumna and Ganges, to their own island.

Trade in times subsequent to the Greeks.

The accounts of voyagers and travellers in times subsequent to the "Periplus" speak of an extensive commerce with India, but afford no information respecting the part taken in it by the Indians, unless it be by their silence; for while they mention Arab and Chinese ships as frequenting the ports of India, they never allude to any voyage as having been made by a vessel of the latter country.[9]

Marco Polo, indeed, speaks of pirates on the coast of Malabar, who *cruised* for the whole summer; but it appears, afterwards, that their practice was to lie at anchor, and consequently close to the shore, only getting under weigh on the approach of a prize. When Vasco da Gama reached the coast of Malabar, he found the trade exclusively in the hands of the Moors, and it was to their rivalry that he and his successors owed most of the opposition they encountered.

Exports in ancient times.

The exports from India to the West do not seem, at the time of the "Periplus," to have been very different from what they are now;[10] cotton cloth, muslin, and chintz of various kinds; silk cloth, and thread; indigo and other dyes; cinnamon and other spices; sugar; diamonds, pearls

[8] See *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. ix. pp. 136—138.

[9] See, in particular, Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 687.

[10] [The principal exports now are cotton, indigo, sugar, rum, rice, saltpetre, lac, jute, opium, silk, pepper, coffee, tobacco, and tea. The principal articles of import are British cotton goods, thread, yarn, iron, copper, and hardware. The native manufactures have everywhere given way before English competition.—Ed].

emeralds, and many inferior stones; steel; drugs; aromatics; and sometimes, female slaves.[11]

The imports were—coarse and fine cloth (probably woollen); brass; tin; lead; coral; glass; antimony; some few perfumes not known in the country; wines (of which that from Italy was preferred); together with a considerable quantity of specie and bullion. Imports.

The great facility of transport afforded by the Ganges and its numerous branches has been alluded to; but, as few of the other rivers are navigable far from the sea, the internal trade must always have been mostly carried on by land. Oxen would be the principal means of conveyance; but, as from the earliest Hindú times to the decline of the Mogul empire, the great roads were objects of much attention to the government, we may, perhaps, presume that carts were much more in use formerly than of later years. Inland trade.

CHAPTER XI.

MANNERS AND CHARACTER.

IT has been stated that Hindostan and the Deckan are equal, in extent, to all Europe; except the Russian part of it, and the countries north of the Baltic.[1] Difference of Indian nations.

Ten different civilized nations are found within the above space. All these nations differ from each other, in manners and language,[2] nearly as much as those inhabiting the corresponding portion of Europe.

They have, also, about the same degree of general resemblance which is observable among the nations of Christendom, and which is so great that a stranger from India cannot, at first, perceive any material difference between an Italian and an

[11] [Some of the Indian exports retained their native names in Greek and Latin; thus *ὄρυζα* probably comes from the Sanskrit *vrihi*; *καρπασος* and *carbasus* (cf. Heb. *karpas*) from *kârpâsa*; *σακχαρ* and *saccharon* from *śarkará*; *πέπερι* and *piper* from *pippalí*; *ζιγγιβερι* from *śringavera*; *agallochum* (cf. Heb. *ahálim* and the modern *lignum aquilæ*) from *agaru*; *σανταλον* or *σάνταλον*, and *sandalum* from *chandana*; *κόστον from kushṭha*; *νάρδος* from *nalada*; *μαλάβαθρον* and *malabathrum* from *tamálapatra*; *κασσίτερος* from *kastíra*, &c. See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. pp. 245—290. The derivation of *elephant* is uncertain; but the name indigo (*indicum*) tells its own story.—ED.]

[1] Introduction, pp. 3, 4, note.

[2] See pp. 162, 163.

Englishman. In like manner Europeans do not at once distinguish between the most dissimilar of the nations of India.

The greatest difference is between the inhabitants of Hindostan proper and of the Deckan.

The neighbouring parts of these two great divisions naturally resemble each other; but in the extremities of the north and south, the languages have no resemblance, except from a common mixture of Sanscrit; the religious sects are different; the architecture, as has been mentioned elsewhere, is of different characters; the dress differs in many respects, and the people differ in appearance; those of the north being tall and fair, and the other small and dark. The northern people live much on wheat, and those of the south on rági, a grain almost as unknown in Hindostan as in England.[3] Many of the points of difference arise from the unequal degrees in which the two tracts were conquered and occupied, first, by the people professing the Braminical religion, and, afterwards, by the Mussulmans; but more must depend on peculiarities of place and climate, and, perhaps, on varieties of race. Bengal and Gangetic Hindostan, for instance, are contiguous countries, and were both early subjected to the same governments; but Bengal is moist, liable to inundation, and has all the characteristics of an alluvial soil; while Hindostan, though fertile, is comparatively dry, both in soil and climate. This difference may, by forming a diversity of habits, have led to a great dissimilitude between the people: the common origin of the languages appears, in this case, to forbid all suspicion of a difference of race.

From whatever causes it originates, the contrast is most striking. The Hindostánis on the Ganges are the tallest, fairest, and most warlike and manly of the Indians; they wear the turban, and a dress resembling that of the Mahometans; their houses are tiled, and built in compact villages in open tracts: their food is unleavened wheaten bread.

The Bengalese, on the contrary, though good-looking, are small, black, and effeminate in appearance; remarkable for timidity and superstition, as well as for subtlety and art. Their villages are composed of thatched cottages, scattered through woods of bamboos or of palms: their dress is the old Hindú one, formed by one scarf round the middle and another thrown over the shoulders. They have the practice, unknown in Hindostan, of rubbing their limbs with oil after bathing, which gives their skins a sleek and glossy appearance, and protects

[3] Cynosurus Coracanus.

them from the effect of their damp climate. They live almost entirely on rice; and, although the two idioms are more nearly allied than English and German, their language is quite unintelligible to a native of Hindostan.

Yet these two nations resemble each other so much in their religion and all the innumerable points of habits and manners which it involves, in their literature, their notions on government and general subjects, their ceremonies and way of life, that a European, not previously apprised of the distinction, might very possibly pass the boundary that divides them, without at once perceiving the change that had taken place.

The distinction between the different nations will appear as each comes on the stage in the course of the following history. All that has hitherto been said, and all that is about to follow, is intended to apply to the whole Hindú people.

Notwithstanding the abundance of large towns in India, the great majority of the population is agricultural. The peasants live assembled in villages; going out to their fields to labour, and returning, with their cattle, to the village at night. Villages.

Villages vary much in different parts of the country: in many parts they are walled, and capable of a short defence against the light troops of a hostile army; and in some disturbed tracts, even against their neighbours, and against the government officers: others are open; and others only closed by a fence and gate, to keep in the cattle at night.

The houses of a Bengal and Hindostan village have been contrasted. The cottage of Bengal, with its thin curved thatched roof and cane walls, is the best looking in India.

Those of Hindostan are tiled, and built of clay or unburnt bricks; and, though equally convenient, have less neatness of appearance. The mud or stone huts and terraced roofs of the Deckan village look as if they were mere uncovered ruins, and are the least pleasing to the eye of any. Further south, though the material is the same, the execution is much better; and the walls, being painted in broad perpendicular streaks of white and red, have an appearance of neatness and cleanness.

Each village has its bázár, composed of shops for the sale of grain, tobacco, sweetmeats, coarse cloth, and other articles of village consumption. Each has its market day, and its annual fairs and festivals; and each, in most parts of India, has, at least, one temple, and one house or shed for lodging strangers. All villages make an allowance for giving food for charity to religious mendicants, and levy a fund for this and other expenses, including

public festivities on particular holidays. The house for strangers sometimes contains also the shrine of a god, and is generally used as the town house; though there are usually some shady trees in every village, under which the heads of the village and others meet to transact their business. No benches or tables are required on any occasion.

In houses, also, there is no furniture but a mat for sitting on, and some earthen and brass pots and dishes, a hand-mill, pestle and mortar, an iron plate for baking cakes on, and some such articles. The bed, which requires neither bedding nor curtains, is set upright against the wall during the day; and cooking is carried on under a shed, or out of doors. The huts, though bare, are clean and neat.

Habits of Villagers.

There is scarcely more furniture in the houses of the richer inhabitants of the village. Their distinction is, that they are two stories high, and have a court-yard.

The condition of the country people is not, in general, prosperous. They usually borrow money to pay their rent, and consequently get involved in accounts and debts, through which they are so liable to imposition, that they can scarcely get extricated. They are also, in general, so improvident, that if they were clear, they would omit to lay up money for their necessary payments, and soon be in debt again. Some, however, are prudent, and acquire property. Their villages are sometimes disturbed by factions against the headman, or by oppression on his part, or that of the government; and they have more litigation among themselves than the same class in England; but violence of all sorts is extremely rare, drunkenness scarcely known, and, on the whole, the country people are remarkably quiet, well-behaved, and, for their circumstances, happy and contented.

The husbandman rises with the earliest dawn; washes, and says a prayer; then sets out with his cattle to his distant field. After an hour or two, he eats some remnants of his yesterday's fare for breakfast, and goes on with his labour till noon, when his wife brings out his hot dinner; he eats it by a brook or under a tree, talks and sleeps till two o'clock, while his cattle also feed and repose. From two till sunset he labours again; then drives his cattle home, feeds them, bathes, eats some supper, smokes, and spends the rest of the evening in amusement with his wife and children, or his neighbours. The women fetch water, grind the corn, cook, and do the household work, besides spinning, and such occupations.

Hindú towns are formed of high brick or stone houses, with a

few small and high-placed windows, over very narrow streets, which are paved (if paved at all) with large uneven slabs of stone. They are crowded with people moving to and fro; processions, palankeens, and carriages drawn by oxen; running footmen with sword and buckler, religious mendicants, soldiers out of service smoking or lounging; and sacred bulls, that can scarcely be made to move their unwieldy bulk out of the way of the passenger, or to desist from feeding on the grain exposed for sale. Towns.

The most conspicuous shops are those of confectioners, fruiterers, grainsellers, braziers, druggists, and tobacconists: sellers of cloth, shawls, and other stuffs, keep their goods in bales; and those of more precious articles do not expose them. They are quite open towards the street, and often are merely the veranda in front of the house; the customers standing and making their purchases in the street.

Towns are often walled, and capable of defence.

They have not hereditary headmen and officers, like villages, but are generally the residence of the government agent in charge of the district, who manages them, with the help of an establishment for police and revenue. They are divided into wards for the purposes of police; and each cast has its own elected head, who communicates between the government and its members. These casts, being in general trades also, are attended with all the good and bad consequences of such combinations.

The principal inhabitants are bankers and merchants, and people connected with the government.

Bankers and merchants generally combine both trades, and farm the public revenues besides. They make great profits, and often without much risk. In transactions with governments they frequently secure a mortgage on the revenue, or the guarantee of some powerful person, for the discharge of their debt. They lend money on an immense premium, and with very high compound interest, which increases so rapidly, that the repayment is always a compromise, in which the lender gives up a great part of his demand, still retaining an ample profit. They live plainly and frugally, and often spend vast sums on domestic festivals or public works.

The great men about the government will be spoken of hereafter, but the innumerable clerks and hangers-on in lower stations must not be passed over without mention. Not only has every office numbers of these men, but every department, however small, must have one: a company of soldiers would not be com-

plete without its clerk. Every nobleman (besides those employed in collections and accounts) has clerks of the kitchen, of the stable, the hawking establishment, etc. Intercourse of business and civility is carried on through these people, who also furnish the newswriters; and, after all, great numbers are unemployed, and are ready agents in every sort of plot and intrigue.

Food and manner of eating, of all classes.

The food of the common people, both in the country and in towns, is unleavened bread with boiled vegetables, clarified butter or oil, and spices. Smoking tobacco is almost the only luxury. Some few smoke intoxicating drugs; and the lowest casts alone, and even they rarely, get drunk with spirits. Drunkenness is confined to damp countries, such as Bengal, the Concans, and some parts of the south of India. It increases in our territories, where spirits are taxed; but it is so little of a natural propensity, that the absolute prohibition of spirits, which exists in most native states, is sufficient to keep it down. Opium, which is used to great excess in the west of Hindostan, is peculiar to the Rájpúts, and does not affect the lower classes. All but the poorest people chew bítel (a pungent aromatic leaf) with the hard nut of the areca, mixed with a sort of lime made from shells, and with various spices, according to the person's means. Some kinds of fruit are cheap and common.

The upper classes, at least the Bramin part of them, have very little more variety; it consists in the greater number of kinds of vegetables and spices, and in the cookery. Assafœtida is a favourite ingredient, as giving to some of their richer dishes something of the flavour of flesh. The caution used against eating out of dishes or on carpets defiled by other casts, gives rise to some curious customs. At a great Bramin dinner, where twenty or thirty different dishes and condiments are placed before each individual, all are served in vessels made of leaves sewed together. These are placed on the bare floor, which, as a substitute for a table cloth, is decorated for a certain distance in front of the guests, with patterns of flowers, etc., very prettily laid out in lively-coloured sorts of sand, spread through frames in which the patterns are cut, and swept away after the dinner. The inferior casts of Hindús eat meat, and care less about their vessels; metal, especially, can always be purified by scouring. In all classes, however, the difference of cast leads to a want of sociability. A soldier, or any one away from his family, cooks his solitary meal for himself, and finishes it without a companion, or any of the pleasures of the table, but those derived from

taking the necessary supply of food. All eat with their fingers, and scrupulously wash before and after meals.

Though they have chess, a game played with tables and dice as backgammon is, and cards (which are circular, in many suits, and painted with Hindú gods, etc., instead of kings, queens, and knaves), yet the great in-door amusement is to listen to singing interspersed with slow movements, which can scarcely be called dancing. The attitudes are not ungraceful, and the songs, as has been mentioned, are pleasing; but it is, after all, a languid and monotonous entertainment; and it is astonishing to see the delight that all ranks take in it; the lower orders, in particular, often *standing* for whole nights to enjoy this unvaried amusement. In-door amusements.

These exhibitions are now often illuminated, when in rooms, by English chandeliers; but the true Hindú way of lighting them up is by torches held by men, who feed the flame with oil from a sort of bottle constructed for the purpose. For ordinary household purposes they use lamps of earthenware or metal.

In the houses of the rich, the doorways are hung with quilted silk curtains; and the doors, the arches, and other wood-work in the rooms are highly carved. The floor is entirely covered with a thin mattress of cotton, over which is spread a clean white cloth to sit on; but there is no other furniture of any description. Equals sit in opposite rows down the room. A prince or great chief has a seat at the head of the room between the rows, very slightly raised by an additional mattress, and covered with a small carpet of embroidered silk. This, with a high round embroidered bolster behind, forms what is called a masnad or gádí, and serves as a throne for sovereigns under the rank of king. Houses, ceremonial, and conversation of the upper classes.

Great attention is paid to ceremony. A person of distinction is met a mile or two before he enters the city; and a visitor is received (according to his rank) at the outer gate of the house, at the door of the room, or by merely rising from the seat. Friends embrace if they have not met for some time. Bramins are saluted by joining the palms, and raising them twice or thrice to the forehead: with others the salute with one hand is used, so well known by the Mahometan name of salám. Bramins have a peculiar phrase of salutation for each other. Other Hindús, on meeting, repeat twice the name of the god Ráma. Visitors are seated with strict attention to their rank, which, on public occasions, it often takes much previous nego-

tiation to settle. Hindús of rank are remarkable for their politeness to inferiors, generally addressing them by some civil or familiar term, and scarcely ever being provoked to abusive or harsh language.

The lower classes are courteous in their general manners among themselves, but by no means so scrupulous in their language when irritated.

All visits end by the master of the house presenting bítel leaf with areca nut, etc., to the guest: it is accompanied by attar of roses, or some other perfume put on the handkerchief, and rose-water sprinkled over the person; and this is the signal for taking leave.

At first meetings, and at entertainments, trays of shawls and other materials for dresses are presented to the guests, together with pearl necklaces, bracelets, and ornaments for the turban of jewels: a sword, a horse, and an elephant, are added when both parties are men of high rank. I do not know how much of this custom is ancient, but presents of bracelets, etc., are frequent in the oldest dramas.

Such presents are also given to meritorious servants, to soldiers who have distinguished themselves, and to poets or learned men; they are showered on favourite singers and dancers.

At formal meetings nobody speaks but the principal persons, but in other companies there is a great deal of unrestrained conversation. The manner of the Hindús is polite, and their language obsequious. They abound in compliments and expressions of humility even to their equals, and when they have no object to gain. They seldom show much desire of knowledge, or disposition to extend their thoughts beyond their ordinary habits. Within that sphere, however, their conversation is shrewd and intelligent, often mixed with lively and satirical observations.

The rich rise at the same hour as the common people, or, perhaps, not quite so early; perform their devotions in their own chapels; despatch private and other business with their immediate officers and dependents; bathe, dine, and sleep. At two or three they dress, and appear in their public apartments, where they receive visits and transact business till very late at night. Some, also, listen to music till late; but these occupations are confined to the rich, and, in general, a Hindú town is all quiet soon after dark.

Entertainments, besides occasions of rare occurrence, as marriages, etc., are given on particular festivals, and sometimes to

show attention to particular friends. Among themselves they commence with a dinner; but the essential part of the entertainment is dancing and singing, sometimes diversified with jugglers and buffoons; during which time perfumes are burnt, and the guests are dressed with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers: presents, as above described, are no less essential.

Entertainments and pomp of the rich.

At courts there are certain days on which all the great and all public officers wait on the Prince to pay their duty; and, on those occasions, the crowd in attendance is equal to that of a birthday levee in Europe.

All go up to the Prince in succession, and present him with a nazzer, which is one or more pieces of money laid on a napkin, and which it is usual to offer to superiors on all formal meetings. The amount depends on the rank of the offerer; the lowest in general is a rupee, yet poor people sometimes present a flower, and shopkeepers often some article of their traffic or manufacture. A dress of some sort is, on most occasions, given in return. The price of one dress is equal to many nazzers. The highest regular nazzer is 100 ashrefis, equal to 150 or 170 guineas; but people have been known to present jewels of high value, and it is by no means uncommon, when a prince visits a person of inferior rank, to construct a low base for his masnad of bags, containing in all 100,000 rupees (or 10,000*l.*), which are all considered part of the nazzer. So much is that a form, that it has been done when the Nizám visited the Resident at Hyderábád, though that prince was little more than a dependent on our government. I mention this as a general custom at present, though not sure that it is originally Hindú.

The religious festivals are of a less doubtful character. In them a great hall is fitted up in honour of the deity of the day. His image, richly adorned, and surrounded by gilded balustrades, occupies the centre of one end of the apartment, while the prince and his court, in splendid dresses and jewels, are arranged along one side of the room as guests or attendants. The rest of the ceremony is like other entertainments. The songs, may, perhaps, be appropriate; but the incense, the chaplets of flowers, and other presents, are as on ordinary occasions: the bítel leaf and attar, indeed, are brought from before the idol, and distributed as if from him to his visitors.

Among the most striking of these religious exhibitions is that of the capture of Lanká, in honour of Ráma, which is necessarily performed out of doors.

Lanká is represented by a spacious castle with towers and battlements, which are assailed by an army dressed like Ráma and his followers, with Hanumat and his monkey allies. The combat ends in the destruction of Lanká, amidst a blaze of fireworks which would excite admiration in any part of the world, and in a triumphal procession sometimes conducted in a style of grandeur which might become a more important occasion.

The festival is celebrated in another manner, and with still greater splendour, among the Marattas. It is the day on which they always commence their military operations; and the particular event which they commemorate is Ráma's devotions and his plucking a branch from a certain tree, before he set out on his expedition.

A tree of this sort is planted in an open plain near the camp or city; and all the infantry and guns, and as many of the cavalry as do not accompany the prince, are drawn up on each side of the spot, or form a wide street leading up to it. The rest of the plain is filled with innumerable spectators. The procession, though less regular than those of Mahometan princes, is one of the finest displays of the sort in India. The chief advances on his elephant, preceded by flags and gold and silver sticks or maces, and by a phalanx of men on foot bearing pikes of fifteen or sixteen feet long. On each side are his nobles and military leaders on horseback, with sumptuous dresses and caparisons, and each with some attendants selected for their martial appearance; behind are long trains of elephants with their sweeping housings, some with flags of immense size, and glittering with gold and embroidery; some bearing howdahs, open or roofed, often of silver, plain or gilt, and of forms peculiarly oriental: around and behind is a cloud of horsemen, their trappings glancing in the sun, and their scarfs of cloth of gold fluttering in the wind, all overtopped by sloping spears and waving banners; those on the flanks dashing out, and returning after displaying some evolutions of horsemanship: the whole moving, mixing, and continually shifting its form as it advances, and presenting one of the most animating and most gorgeous spectacles that is ever seen, even in that land of barbarous magnificence. As the chief approaches, the guns are fired, the infantry discharge their pieces, and the procession moves on with accelerated speed, exhibiting a lively picture of an attack by a great body of cavalry on an army drawn up to receive them.

When the prince has performed his devotions and plucked his bough, his example is followed by those around him: a fresh

salvo of guns is fired: and, at the signal, the troops break off, and each man snatches some leaves, from one of the fields of tall grain which is grown for the purpose near the spot: each sticks his prize in his turban, and all exchange compliments and congratulations. A grand darbár, at which all the court and military officers attend, closes the day.

Fairs, pilgrimages, etc.

There is less grandeur, but scarcely less interest, in the fairs and festivals of the common people.

These have a strong resemblance to fairs in England, and exhibit the same whirling machines, and the same amusements and occupations. But no assemblage in England can give a notion of the lively effect produced by the prodigious concourse of people in white dresses and bright-coloured scarfs and turbans, so unlike the black head-dresses and dusky habits of the North. Their taste for gaudy shows and processions, and the mixture of arms and flags, give also a different character to the Indian fairs. The Hindús enter into the amusements of these meetings with infinite relish, and show every sign of peaceful festivity and enjoyment. They may, on all these occasions, have some religious ceremony to go through, but it does not take up a moment, and seldom occupies a thought. At the pilgrimages, indeed, the long anticipation of the worship to be performed, the example of other pilgrims invoking the god aloud, and the sanctity of the place, concur to produce stronger feelings of devotion. There are also more ceremonies to be gone through, and sometimes these are joined in by the whole assembly, when the thousands of eyes directed to one point, and of voices shouting one name, is often impressive even to the least interested spectator.

But, even at pilgrimages, the feeling of amusement is much stronger than that of religious zeal; and many such places are also among the most celebrated marts for the transfer of merchandise, and for all the purposes of a fair.

Gardens and natural scenery.

Among the enjoyments of the upper classes, I should not omit their gardens, which, though always formal, are nevertheless often pleasing. They are divided by broad alleys, with long and narrow ponds or canals, enclosed with regular stone and stucco work, running up the centre, and, on each side, straight walks between borders of poppies of all colours, or of flowers in uniform beds or in patterns. Their summer-houses are of white stucco, and though somewhat less heavy and inelegant than their ordinary dwellings, do not much relieve the formality of the garden: but there is still something rich and oriental in the groves of orange and citron trees, the mixture of dark

cypresses with trees covered with flowers or blossoms, the tall and graceful palms, the golden fruits, and highly-scented flowers. In the heats of summer, too, the trellised walks, closely covered with vines, and the slender stems and impervious shades of the areca tree, afford dark and cool retreats from the intolerable glare of the sun, made still more pleasant by the gushing of the little rills that water the garden, and by the profound silence and repose that reign in that overpowering hour.

I have great doubts whether the present kind of gardens has not been introduced by the Mussulmans, especially as I remember no description in the poets which are translated which suggests this sort of formality.

The flowers and trees of Indian gardens are neither collected with the industry, nor improved with the care, of those in Europe; and it is amidst the natural scenery that we see both in the greatest perfection. The country is often scattered with old mangoe trees and lofty tamarinds and pípals, which, in Guzerát especially, are accompanied with undulations of the ground that give to extensive tracts the varied beauties of an English park. In other parts, as in Róhilcand, a perfectly flat and incredibly fertile plain is scattered with mangoe orchards, and delights us with its extent and prosperity, until at last it wearies with its monotony. In some parts of Bengal the traveller enters on a similar flat, covered with one sheet of rice, but without a tree, except at a distance on every side, where appears a thick bamboo jungle, such as might be expected to harbour wild beasts. When this jungle is reached, it proves to be a narrow belt, filled with villages and teeming with population; and when it is passed, another bare flat succeeds, again encircled with bamboo jungle almost at the extremity of the horizon.

The central part of the Deckan is composed of waving downs, which at one time presents, for hundreds of miles, one unbroken sheet of green harvests, high enough to conceal a man and horse,[4] but in the hot season bears the appearance of a desert, naked and brown, without a tree or shrub to relieve its gloomy sameness. In many places, especially in the west, are woods of old trees filled with scented creepers, some bearing flowers of the most splendid colours, and others twining among the branches, or stretching boldly from tree to tree, with stems as thick as a man's thigh. The forests in the east[5] and the centre of India,[6]

[4] Of bájri (Holcus spicatus) and juár (Holcus sorghum).

[5] The sál forests near the mountains.

[6] The forest that fills the country from Nágpúr to Bengal, and from Bundélcand to the northern Circars.

and near one part of the western Ghâts,[7] are composed of trees of prodigious magnitude, almost undisturbed by habitations, and imperfectly traversed by narrow roads, like the wildest parts of America.

In the midst of the best cultivated country are often found spaces of several days' journey across, covered with the palás or dák tree, which in spring loses all its leaves and is entirely covered with large red and orange flowers, which make the whole of the hills seem in a blaze.

The noblest scenery in India is under Himálaya, where the ridges are broken into every form of the picturesque, with abrupt rocks, mossy banks, and slopes covered with gigantic pines and other trees, on the same vast scale, mixed with the most beautiful of our flowering shrubs and the best of our fruits in their state of nature. Over the whole towers the majestic chain of Himálaya covered with eternal snow; a sight which the soberest traveller has never described without kindling into enthusiasm, and which, if once seen, leaves an impression that can never be equalled or effaced. The western Ghâts present the charms of mountain scenery on a smaller scale, but it is no exaggeration of their merits to say that they strongly resemble the valleys of the Neda and the Ladon, which have long been the boast of Arcadia and of Europe.

The beauty of the Ghâts, however, depends entirely on the season when they are seen; in summer, when stripped of their clouds and deprived of their rich carpet of verdure and their innumerable cascades, the height of the mountains is not sufficient to compensate by its grandeur for their general sterility, and the only pleasure they afford is derived from the stately forests which still clothe their sides.

Manner of life of the townspeople, and festivals of all classes.

The day of the poor in towns is spent much like that of the villagers, except that they go to their shop instead of the field, and to the bázár for amusement and society. The villagers have some active games; but the out-of-door amusements of the townspeople are confined to those at fairs and festivals; some also perform their complicated system of gymnastic exercise, and practise wrestling; but there are certain seasons which have their appropriate sports, in which all descriptions of people eagerly join.

Perhaps the chief of these is the hóli, a festival in honour of the spring, at which the common people, especially the boys, dance round fires, sing licentious and satirical songs, and give

[7] Malabar, &c.

vent to all sorts of ribaldry against their superiors, by whom it is always taken in good part. The great sport of the occasion, however, consists in sprinkling each other with a yellow liquid, and throwing a crimson powder over each other's persons. The liquid is also squirted through syringes, and the powder is sometimes made up in large balls covered with isinglass, which break as soon as they come in contact with the body. All ranks engage in this sport with enthusiasm, and get more and more into the spirit of the contest, till all parties are completely drenched with the liquid, and so covered with the red powder that they can scarcely be recognised.

A grave prime minister will invite a foreign ambassador to play the hóli at his house, and will take his share in the most riotous parts of it with the ardour of a schoolboy.

There are many other festivals of a less marked character; some general, and some local. Of the latter description is the custom among the Marattas of inviting each other to eat the toasted grain of the bájri (or Holcus spicatus) when the ear first begins to fill. This is a natural luxury among villagers; but the custom extends to the great; the Rája of Berár, for instance, invites all the principal people of his court, on a succession of days, to this fare, when toasted grain is first served, and is followed by a regular banquet.

The díwálí is a general festival, on which every house and temple is illuminated with rows of little lamps along the roofs, windows, and cornices, and on bamboo frames erected for the purpose.

Benáres, seen from the Ganges, used to be very magnificent on this occasion. During the whole of the month in which this feast occurs, lamps are hung up on bamboos, at different villages and private houses, so high as often to make the spectator mistake them for stars in the horizon.

The jannam ashtomi[1] is a festival at which a sort of opera is performed by boys dressed like Crishna and his shepherdesses, who perform appropriate dances, and sing songs in character.

Exercises. The military men (that is, all the upper class not engaged in religion or commerce) are fond of hunting, running down wolves, deer, hares, etc., with dogs, which they also employ against wild boars, but depending chiefly, on these last occasions, on their own swords or spears. They shoot tigers from elephants, and sometimes attack them on horseback and on foot; even villagers sometimes turn out in a body to attack a tiger that infests their neighbourhood, and conduct themselves with great

[1] [The janmáshtami or anniversary of Krishna's nativity.—Ed.]

resolution. As long as a tiger does not destroy men, however, they never quarrel with him.

The military men, notwithstanding their habitual indolence, are all active and excellent horsemen. The Marattas in particular are celebrated for their management of the horse and lance. They all ride very short, and use tight martingales, and light but very sharp bits. Their horses are always well on their haunches, and are taught to turn suddenly when at speed, in the least possible room. They are also taught to make sudden bounds forward, by which they bring their rider on his adversary's bridle-arm before he has time to counteract the manœuvre.

The skirmishers of two Indian armies mix and contend with their spears in a way that looks very much like play to a European. They wheel round and round each other, and make feigned pushes apparently without any intention of coming in contact, though always nearly within reach. They are in fact straining every nerve to carry their point, but each is thrown out by the dexterous evolutions of his antagonist, until, at length, one being struck through and knocked off his horse, first convinces the spectator that both parties were in earnest.

The Hindús are also good shots with a matchlock from a horse; but in this they are much excelled by the Mahometans.

Among other instances of activity, great men sometimes drive their own elephants, defending the seeming want of dignity, on the ground that a man should be able to guide his elephant in case his driver should be killed in battle. In early days this art was a valued accomplishment of the heroes.

The regular dress of all Hindús is probably that which has been mentioned as used in Bengal, and which is worn by all Dress. strict Bramins. It consists of two long pieces of white cotton cloth, one of which is wrapped round the middle, and tucked up between the legs, while part hangs down a good deal below the knees; the other is worn over the shoulders, and occasionally stretched over the head, which has no other covering.[8] The head and beard are shaved, but a long tuft of hair is left on the crown. Mustachios are also worn, except perhaps by strict Bramins. Except in Bengal, all Hindús, who do not affect strictness, now wear the lower piece of cloth smaller and tighter, and over it a white cotton, or chintz, or silk tunic, a coloured muslin sash round the middle, and a scarf of the same material over the shoulders, with a turban; some wear loose drawers like the Mahometans.

The full dress is a long white gown of almost transparent

[8] This is exactly the Hindú dress described by Arrian, *Indica*, cap. xvi.

muslin close over the body, but in innumerable loose folds below the waist. This, with the sash and turban, bracelets, necklaces, and other jewels and ornaments, make the dress complete. As this dress is partly borrowed from the Mahometans, and cannot be very ancient, it is singular that it should be accurately represented in some of the figures of kings on the tombs at Thebes in Egypt,[9] where the features, attitudes, and everything else are, by a remarkable coincidence (for it can be nothing more), exactly what is seen in a Hindú Rája of the present day.

Women. The dress of the women is nearly the same as that first described for the men; but both the pieces of cloth are much larger and longer, and they are of various bright colours as well as white. Both sexes wear many ornaments. Men even of the lower orders wear earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. They are sometimes worn as a convenient way of keeping all the money the owner has; but the necklaces are sometimes made of a particular berry that hardens into a rough but handsome dark brown bead, and sometimes of particular kinds of wood turned; and these are mixed alternately with beads of gold or coral. The neck and legs are bare; but on going out, embroidered slippers with a long point curling up are put on, and are laid aside again on entering a room or a palankeen. Children are loaded with gold ornaments, which gives frequent temptation to child-murder.

Women, under the ancient Hindús, appear to have been more reserved and retired than with us; but the complete seclusion of them has come in with the Mussulmans, and is even now confined to the military classes. The Bramins do not observe it at all. The Péshwá's consort used to walk to temples, and ride or go in an open palankeen through the streets with perfect publicity, and with a retinue becoming her rank.

Women, however, do not join in the society of men, and are not admitted to an equality with them. In the lower orders, the wife, who cooks and serves the dinner, waits till the husband has finished before she begins. When persons of different sexes walk together, the woman always follows the man, even when there is no obstacle to their walking abreast. Striking a woman is not so disgraceful with the lower orders as with us. But, in spite of the low place systematically assigned to them, natural affection and reason restore them to their rights: their husbands confide in them, and consult with them on their affairs, and are as often subject to their ascendancy as in any other country.

[9] Especially on the sides of one of the doors in Belzoni's cave.

Another reproach to Hindú civilization, though more real than that just mentioned, falls very short of the idea it at first sight suggests. Domestic slavery in a mild form is almost universal. The slaves are home-born, or children sold by their parents during famine, and sometimes children kidnapped by Banjáras, a tribe of wandering herdsmen, who gain their subsistence by conveying grain and merchandise from one part of the country to another. Such a crime is, of course, liable to punishment; but from its being only occasionally practised, it is even more difficult to detect than slave-trading among ourselves. Slavery.

Domestic slaves are treated exactly like servants, except that they are more regarded as belonging to the family. I doubt if they are ever sold; and they attract little observation, as there is nothing apparent to distinguish them from freemen. But slavery is nowhere exempted from its curse. The female children kidnapped are often sold to keepers of brothels to be brought up for public prostitution, and in other cases are exposed to the passions of their masters and the jealous cruelty of their mistresses.

In some parts of India slaves are not confined to the great and rich, but are found even in the families of cultivators, where they are treated exactly like the other members. Among the ancient Hindús it will have been observed, from Menu, that there were no slaves attached to the soil. As the Hindús spread to the south, however, they appear in some places to have found, or to have established, prædial servitude. In some forest tracts there are slaves attached to the soil, but in so loose a way, that they are entitled to wages, and, in fact, are under little restraint. In the south of India they are attached to and sold with the land; and in Malabar (where they seem in the most abject condition), even without the land. The number in Malabar and the extreme south is guessed at different amounts, from 100,000 to 400,000. They exist also in some parts of Bengal and Behár, and in hilly tracts like those in the south-east of Guzerát. Their proportion to the people of India is, however, insignificant; and in most parts of that country the very name of prædial slavery is unknown.

Marriages are performed with many ceremonies, few of which are interesting; among them are joining the hands of the bride and bridegroom, and tying them together with a blade of sacred grass; but the essential part of the ceremony is when the bride steps seven steps, a particular text being repeated for each. When the seventh step is taken, the marriage is indis- Ceremonies of marriage

soluble.[10] This is the only form of marriage now allowed, the other seven being obsolete.[11]

The prohibition, so often repeated in Menu, against the receipt by the bride's father of any present from the bridegroom, is now more strictly observed than it was in his time. The point of honour in this respect is carried so far, that it is reckoned disgraceful to receive any assistance in after life from a son-in-law or brother-in-law. It is indispensable that the bridegroom should come to the house of the father-in-law to sue for the bride, and the marriage must also be performed there.

At the visit of the suitor, the ancient modes of hospitality are maintained according to a prescribed form. The sort of entertainment still appears in the production of a cow to be killed for the feast; but the suitor now intercedes for her life, and she is turned loose at his request.[12]

In the case of princes, where the bride comes from another country, a temporary building is erected with great magnificence and expense, as a house for the bride's father; and in all cases the procession in which the bride is taken home after the marriage is as showy as the parties can afford.

In Bengal these processions are particularly sumptuous, and marriages there have been known to cost lacs of rupees.[13] The parties are generally children; the bride must always be under the age of puberty, and both are usually under ten. These premature marriages, instead of producing attachment, often cause early and lasting disagreements.

Education.

Hindú parents are remarkable for their affection for their children while they are young; but they not unfrequently have disputes with grown-up sons, the source of which probably lies in the legal restrictions on the father's control over his property.

Boys of family are brought into company dressed like men (with little swords, etc.), and behave with all the propriety, and almost all the formality, of grown-up people.

The children of the common people sprawl about the streets, pelt each other with dust, and are less restrained even than children in England. At this age they are generally very handsome.

[10] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. pp. 303, 309.

[11] Ibid. p. 311.

[12] Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. pp. 288, 289. So uniform was the practice of sacrificing a cow for the entertainment of a visitor, that goghna (cow-killer) is a Sanscrit term for a guest. [The word, however, never occurs in this sense in classical Sanskrit; it is only given by the grammarians.—Ed.]

[13] Ward, vol. i. p. 170.

The education of the common people does not extend beyond writing and the elements of arithmetic. There are schools in all towns, and in some villages, paid by small fees; the expense for each boy in the south of India is estimated at from 15*s.* to 16*s.* a year;[14] but it must be very much less in other places. In Bengal and Behár the fee is often only a small portion of grain or uncooked vegetables.[15]

They are taught, with the aid of monitors, in the manner introduced from Madras into England.

The number of children educated at public schools under the Madras presidency (according to an estimate of Sir T. Munro) is less than one in three; but, low as it is, he justly remarks, this is a higher rate than existed, till very lately, in most countries in Europe. It is probable that the proportion under the other presidencies is not greater than under Madras.[16] I should doubt, indeed, whether the average was not a good deal too high. Women are everywhere almost entirely uneducated.

People in good circumstances seldom send their children to school, but have them taught at home by Bramins retained for the purpose. The higher branches of learning are taught gratuitously; the teachers maintaining themselves, and often a portion of their scholars, by means of presents received from princes and opulent individuals.

There is now no learning, except among the Bramins, and with them it is at a low ebb.

The remains of ancient literature sufficiently show the far higher pitch to which it had attained in former times. There is no such proof of the greater *diffusion* of knowledge in those days; but when three of the four classes were encouraged to read the Védas, it is probable that they were more generally well informed than now.

More must be said of Indian names than the intrinsic importance of the subject deserves, to obviate the difficulty of recognising individuals named in different histories. Names.

Few of the Hindú nations have family names. The Marattas have them exactly as in Europe. The Rájpúts have names of clans or tribes, but too extensive completely to supply the place

[14] Captain Harkness, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 19.

[15] Mr. Adams's *Report on Education* (Calcutta, 1838).

[16] [Mr. Adams (Ibid. 1835) states that on an average there was probably a village school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys in Bengal and Behár; but the incompetency of the instructors, and the early age at which the boys were removed, neutralised all the benefit. Of course the recent progress of education, especially in Bengal, has introduced an entirely new order of things.—ED.]

of family names; and the same is the case with the Bramins of the north of India.

In the south of India it is usual to prefix the name of the city or place of which the person is an inhabitant to his proper name (as Carpa Candi Ráo, Candi Ráo of Carpa, or Caddapa).[17] The most general practice on formal occasions is that common in most parts of Asia, of adding the father's name to that of the son; but this practice may, perhaps, have been borrowed from the Mussulmans.

A European reader might be led to call a person indifferently by either of his names, or to take the first or last for shortness; but the first might be the name of a town, and the last the name of the person's father, or of his cast, and not his own.

Another difficulty arises, chiefly among the Mahometans, from their frequent change of title; as is the case with our own nobility.

Funerals. The Hindús in general burn their dead, but men of the religious orders are buried in a sitting posture cross-legged. A dying man is laid out of doors, on a bed of sacred grass. Hymns and prayers are recited to him, and leaves of the holy basil scattered over him. If near the Ganges, he is, if possible, carried to the side of that river. It is said that persons so carried to the river, if they recover, do not return to their families; and there are certainly villages on the Ganges which are pointed out as being entirely inhabited by such people and their descendants; but the existence of such a custom is denied by those likely to be best informed; and the story has probably originated in some misconception. After death, the body is bathed, perfumed, decked with flowers, and immediately carried out to the pyre. It is enjoined to be preceded by music, which is still observed in the south of India. There, also, the corpse is exposed on a bed with the face painted with crimson powder. In other parts, on the contrary, the body is carefully covered up. Except in the south, the corpse is carried without music, but with short exclamations of sorrow from the attendants.

The funeral pile for an ordinary person is not above four or five feet high; it is decorated with flowers, and clarified butter and scented oils are poured upon the flames. The pyre is lighted by a relation, after many ceremonies and oblations; and the relations, after other observances, purify themselves in a stream, and sit down on a bank to wait the progress of the fire. They present a melancholy spectacle on such occasions, wrapped up

[17] Men's offices also often afford a distinguishing appellation.

in their wet garments, and looking sorrowfully on the pyre. Neither the wet dress nor the sorrow is required by their religion; on the contrary, they are enjoined to alleviate their grief by repeating certain verses, and to refrain from tears and lamentations.[18]

The Hindûs seldom erect tombs, except to men who fall in battle, or widows who burn with their husbands. Their tombs resemble small square altars.

The obsequies performed periodically to the dead[19] have been fully explained in another place. I may mention here the prodigious expense sometimes incurred on those occasions. A Hindú family in Calcutta were stated, in the newspapers for June, 1824, to have expended, besides numerous and most costly gifts to distinguished Bramins, the immense sum of 500,000 rupees (£50,000) in alms to the poor, including, I suppose, 20,000 rupees, which it is mentioned that they pay to release debtors.[20]

It is well known that Indian widows sometimes sacrifice themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, and that such victims are called Satís. The period at which this barbarous custom was introduced is uncertain. It is not alluded to by Menu, who treats of the conduct proper for faithful and devoted widows, as if there were no doubt about their surviving their husbands.[21] It is thought by some to have been recognised in ancient authorities, particularly in the Rig Véda; but others deny this construction of the text.[22] It certainly is of great antiquity, as an instance is described by Diodorus (who wrote before the birth of Christ), and is stated to have occurred in the army of Eumenes upwards of 300 years before our era.[23] The claim of the elder wife to preference over the younger, the Indian law against the burning of pregnant women, and other similar circumstances mentioned in his narrative, are too consistent with Hindú institutions, and the ceremonies are too correctly described,

Satís.

[18] The following are among the verses:—

"Foolish is he who seeks permanence in the human state, unsolid like the stem of the plantain tree, transient like the foam of the sea."

"All that is low must finally perish; all that is elevated must ultimately fall."

"Unwillingly do the Manes taste the tears and rheum shed by their kinsmen: then do not wail, but diligently perform the obsequies of the dead."—Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 244.

[19] Book I. p. 44.

[20] *Quarterly Oriental Magazine* for September, 1824, p. 23.

[21] Ch. v. 156, &c.

[22] See *Translations* by Rája Rám Móhan Roy, pp. 200—206. See also Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iv. p. 205, and Professor Wilson, *Oxford Lectures*, p. 19. [See *supra*, p. 50.—ED.]

[23] Diodorus Siculus lib. xiv. cap. ii. The custom is also mentioned, but much less distinctly, by Strabo, on the authority of Aristobulus and Onesicritus.

to leave the least doubt that Diodorus's account is authentic, and that the custom was as fully, though probably not so extensively, established in the time of Eumenes as at present.

The practice is ascribed by Diodorus, as it still is by our missionaries, to the degraded condition to which a woman who outlives her husband is condemned. If the motive were one of so general an influence, the practice would scarcely be so rare. It is more probable that the hopes of immediately entering on the enjoyment of heaven, and of entitling the husband to the same felicity, as well as the glory attending such a voluntary sacrifice, are sufficient to excite the few enthusiastic spirits who go through this awful trial.

It has been said that the relations encourage self-immolation for the purpose of obtaining the property of the widow. It would be judging too harshly of human nature to think such conduct frequent, even in proportion to the number of cases where the widow has property to leave; and in fact, it may be confidently relied on, that the relations are almost in all, if not in all cases, sincerely desirous of dissuading the sacrifice. For this purpose, in addition to their own entreaties, and those of the infant children, when there are such, they procure the intervention of friends of the family, and of persons in authority. If the case be in a family of high rank, the sovereign himself goes to console and dissuade the widow. It is reckoned a bad omen for a government to have many satís. One common expedient is, to engage the widow's attention by such visits, while the body is removed and burnt.

The mode of concremation is various: in Bengal, the living and dead bodies are stretched on a pile where strong ropes and bamboos are thrown across them so as to prevent any attempt to rise. In Orissa, the woman throws herself into the pyre, which is below the level of the ground. In the Deckan, the woman sits down on the pyre with her husband's head in her lap, and remains there till suffocated, or crushed by the fall of a heavy roof of logs of wood, which is fixed by cords to posts at the corners of the pile.

The sight of a widow burning is a most painful one; but it is hard to say whether the spectator is most affected by pity or admiration. The more than human serenity of the victim, and the respect which she receives from those around her, are heightened by her gentle demeanour, and her care to omit nothing in distributing her last presents, and paying the usual marks of courtesy to the bystanders; while the cruel death that

awaits her is doubly felt from her own apparent insensibility to its terrors. The reflections which succeed are of a different character, and one is humiliated to think that so feeble a being can be elevated by superstition to a self-devotion not surpassed by the noblest examples of patriots or martyrs.

I have heard that, in Guzerát, women about to burn are often stupefied with opium. In most other parts this is certainly not the case. Women go through all the ceremonies with astonishing composure and presence of mind, and have been seen seated, unconfined, among the flames, apparently praying, and raising their joined hands to their heads with as little agitation as at their ordinary devotions. On the other hand, frightful instances have occurred of women bursting from amidst the flames, and being thrust back by the assistants. One of these diabolical attempts was made in Bengal, when an English gentleman happened to be among the spectators, and succeeded in preventing the accomplishment of the tragedy; but, next day, he was surprised to encounter the bitterest reproaches from the woman, for having been the occasion of her disgrace, and the obstacle to her being then in heaven enjoying the company of her husband, and the blessings of those she had left behind.

The practice is by no means universal in India. It never occurs to the south of the river Kishna; and under the Bombay presidency, including the former sovereignty of the Bráhmin Péshwás, it amounts to thirty-two in a year. In the rest of the Deckan it is probably more rare. In Hindostan and Bengal it is so common, that some hundreds are officially reported as burning annually within the British dominions alone.

Self-immolation by men also is not uncommon, but it is generally performed by persons lingering under incurable disorders. It is done by leaping into fire, by burning alive, by plunging into a river, or by other modes, such as throwing oneself before the sacred car at Jagannáth. During the four years of Mr. Stirling's attendance at Jagannáth, three persons perished under the car; one case he ascribed to accident, and the other two persons had long suffered under excruciating disorders.[24]

The Hindús have some peculiarities that do not admit of classification. As they have casts for all the trades, they have also casts for thieves, and men are brought up to consider robbing as their hereditary occupation. Most of the hill tribes, bordering on cultivated countries, are of this description; and even throughout the plains there are casts

Hereditary thieves.

[24] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 324.

more notorious for theft and robbery than gipsies used to be for pilfering in Europe.

In their case hereditary professions seem favourable to skill, for there are nowhere such dexterous thieves as in India. Travellers are full of stories of the patience, perseverance, and address with which they will steal, unperceived, through the midst of guards, and carry off their prize in the most dangerous situations. Some dig holes in the earth, and come up within the wall of a well-closed house: others, by whatever way they enter, always open a door or two to secure a retreat; and proceed to plunder, naked, smeared with oil, and armed with a dagger; so that it is as dangerous to seize them as it is difficult to hold.

One great class, called Thags, continually travel about the country, assuming different disguises, an art in which they are perfect masters. Their practice is to insinuate themselves into the society of travellers whom they hear to be possessed of property, and to accompany them till they have an opportunity of administering a stupifying drug, or of throwing a noose over the neck of their unsuspecting companion. He is then murdered without blood being shed, and buried so skilfully that a long time elapses before his fate is suspected. The Thags invoke Bhawání, and vow a portion of their spoil to her. This mixture of religion and crime might of itself be mentioned as a peculiarity; but it is paralleled by the vows of pirates and banditti to the Madonna; and in the case of Mussulmans, who form the largest portion of the Thags, it is like the compacts with the devil, which were believed in days of superstition.

It need scarcely be said that the longest descent of the thievish casts gives them no claim on the sympathy of the rest of the community, who look on them as equally obnoxious to punishment, both in this world and the next, as if their ancestors had belonged to the most virtuous classes.

The hired watchmen are generally of these casts, and are faithful and efficacious. Their presence alone is a protection against their own class; and their skill and vigilance, against strangers. Guzerát is famous for one class of people of this sort, whose business it is to trace thieves by their footsteps. In a dry country a bare foot leaves little print to common eyes; but one of these people will perceive all its peculiarities so as to recognise it in all circumstances, and will pursue a robber by these vestiges for a distance that seems incredible.[25]

[25] One was employed to pursue a man who had carried off the plate belonging to a regimental mess at Kaira; he tracked him to Ahmedábád, twelve or fourteen

In another instance, a cast seems to employ its privilege exclusively for the protection of property. These are the Bháts and Chárans. Bháts and Chárans of the west of India, who are revered as bards, and in some measure as heralds, among the Rájpút tribes. In Rájpútána they conduct caravans, which are not only protected from plunder, but from legal duties. In Guzerát they carry large sums in bullion, through tracts where a strong escort would be insufficient to protect it. They are also guarantees of all agreements of chiefs among themselves, and even with the government.

Their power is derived from the sanctity of their character and their desperate resolution. If a man carrying treasure is approached, he announces that he will commit trága, as it is called: or if an engagement is not complied with, he issues the same threat unless it is fulfilled. If he is not attended to, he proceeds to gash his limbs with a dagger, which, if all other means fail, he will plunge into his heart; or he will first strike off the head of his child; or different guarantees to the agreement will cast lots who is to be first beheaded by his companions. The disgrace of these proceedings, and the fear of having a bard's blood on their head, generally reduce the most obstinate to reason. Their fidelity is exemplary, and they never hesitate to sacrifice their lives to keep up an ascendancy on which the importance of their cast depends.[26]

Of the same nature with this is the custom by which Bramins seat themselves with a dagger or with poison at a man's door, and threaten to make away with themselves if the owner eats before he has complied with their demands. Common creditors also resort to this practice (which is called dharná); but without threats of self-murder. They prevent their debtor's eating by an appeal to his honour, and also by stopping his supplies; and they fast, themselves, during all the time that they compel their debtor to do so. This sort of compulsion is used even against princes, and must not be resisted by force. It is a very common mode employed by troops to procure payment of arrears, and is then directed either against the paymaster, the prime minister, or the sovereign himself.

The practice of sworn friendship is remarkable, though not peculiar to the Hindús. Persons take a vow of friendship and

miles, lost him among the well-trodden streets of that city, but recovered his traces on reaching the opposite gate; and, though long foiled by the fugitive's running up the water of a rivulet, he at last came up with him, and recovered the property, after a chase of from twenty to thirty miles.

[26] See Tod's *Rájasthán*, and Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. ii. p. 130.

mutual support with certain forms; and, even in a community little remarkable for faith, it is infamous to break this oath.[27]

Mountaineers and forest tribes.

The hills and forests in the centre of India are inhabited by a race of people differing widely from those who occupy the plains. They are small, black, slender, but active, with peculiar features, and a quick and restless eye. They wear few clothes, are armed with bows and arrows, make open profession of plunder, and, unless the government is strong, are always at war with all their neighbours. When invaded, they conduct their operations with secrecy and celerity, and shower their arrows from rocks and thickets, whence they can escape before they can be attacked, and often before they can be seen.

They live in scattered, and sometimes movable hamlets, are divided into small communities, and allow great power to their chiefs. They subsist on the produce of their own imperfect cultivation, and on what they obtain by exchanges or plunder from the plains. They occasionally kill game, but do not depend on that for their support. In many parts the berries of the mahua tree form an important part of their food. Besides one or two of the Hindú gods, they have many of their own, who dispense particular blessings or calamities. The one who presides over the small-pox is, in most places, looked on with peculiar awe.

They sacrifice fowls, pour libations before eating, are guided by inspired magicians, and not by priests, bury their dead, and have some ceremonies on the birth of children, marriages, and funerals, in common. They are all much addicted to spirituous liquors; and most of them kill and eat oxen. Their great abode is in the Vindhya mountains, which run east and west from the Ganges to Guzerát, and the broad tract of forest which extends north and south from the neighbourhood of Allahabad to the latitude of Masulipatam, and, with interruptions, almost to Cape Comorin. In some places the forest has been encroached on by cultivation, and the inhabitants have remained in the plains as village watchmen, hunters, and other trades suited to their habits. In a few places their devastations have restored the clear country to the forest; and the remains of villages are seen among the haunts of wild beasts.

The points of resemblance above mentioned lead to the opinion that all these rude tribes form one people; but they differ in other particulars, and each has a separate name; so that it is only by comparing their languages (where they retain a distinct

[27] Part of the ceremony is dividing a bhél, or wood-apple, half of which is kept by each party, and, from this compact, is called bhél bhandár.

language) that we can hope to see the question of their identity settled.

These people, at Bágalpúr, are called paháris, or mountaineers. Under the name of Cóls they occupy a great tract of wild country in the west of Bengal and Behár, and extend into the Vindhya mountains, near Mírzápúr. In the adjoining part of the Vindhya range, and in the centre and south of the great forest, they are called Gónds; further west, in the Vindhya chain, they are called Bhíls; and in all the western hills, Cólis; which name probably has some connection with the Cóls of Behár, and may possibly have some with the Cólaris, a similar tribe in the extreme south. The Cólis stretch westward along the hills and forests in Guzerát, nearly to the desert; on the south they take in part of the range of Ghâts.

These tribes are known by different names in other parts of the country; but the above are by far the most considerable.

Their early history is uncertain. In the Deckan they were in their present state at the time of the Hindú invasion; and probably some of them were those allies of Ráma whom tradition and fiction have turned into a nation of monkeys.

That whole country was then a forest; and the present tribes are in those portions of it which have not yet been brought into cultivation. The great tract of forest, called Góndwána, lying between the rich countries of Berár and Cattac, and occasionally broken in upon by patches of cultivation, gives a clear idea of the original state of the Deckan, and the progress of its improvement.

In Hindostan they may be the unsubdued part of the nation from whom the servile class was formed; or, if it be true that even there their language is mixed with Tamil, they may possibly be the remains of some aboriginal people anterior even to those conquered by the Hindús.

There are other tribes of mountaineers in the north-eastern hills, and the lower branches of Himálaya; but they all differ widely from those above described, and partake more of the features and appearance of the nations between them and China.

No separate mention is made of the mountain tribes by the Greeks; but Pliny more than once speaks of such communities.

Englishmen in India have less opportunity than might be expected of forming opinions of the native character. Character
Even in England few know much of the people beyond their own class, and what they do know they learn from newspapers and publications of a description which does not exist in India.

In that country, also, religion and manners put bars to our intimacy with the natives, and limit the number of transactions as well as the free communication of opinions. We know nothing of the interior of families but by report; and have no share in those numerous occurrences of life in which the amiable parts of character are most exhibited.

Missionaries of a different religion, judges, police magistrates, officers of revenue or customs, and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a nation, nor any portion, unless when influenced by passion, or occupied by some personal interest. What we do see we judge by our own standard. We conclude that a man who cries like a child on slight occasions, must always be incapable of acting or suffering with dignity; and that one who allows himself to be called a liar would not be ashamed of any baseness. * Our writers also confound the distinctions of time and place; they combine in one character the Maratta and the Bengalese; and tax the present generation with the crimes of the heroes of the "Mahá Bhárata." It might be argued, in opposition to many unfavourable testimonies, that those who have known the Indians longest have always the best opinion of them; but this is rather a compliment to human nature than to them, since it is true of every other people. It is more in point, that all persons who have retired from India think better of the people they have left after comparing them with others even of the most justly admired nations.

These considerations should make us distrust our own impressions, when unfavourable, but cannot blind us to the fact that the Hindús have, in reality, some great defects of character. Their defects no doubt arise chiefly from moral causes; but they are also to be ascribed in part to physical constitution, and in part to soil and climate.

Some races are certainly less vigorous than others; and all must degenerate if placed in an enervating atmosphere.

Mere heat may not enervate. If it is unavoidable and unremitting, it even produces a sort of hardiness like that arising from the rigours of a northern winter. If sterility be added, and the fruits of hard labour are contested among scattered tribes, the result may be the energy and decision of the Arab.

But, in India, a warm temperature is accompanied by a fertile soil, which renders severe labour unnecessary, and an extent of land that would support an almost indefinite increase of inhabitants. The heat is moderated by rain, and warded off by numerous trees and forests: everything is calculated to produce that

state of listless inactivity, which foreigners find it so difficult to resist. The shades of character that are found in different parts of India tend to confirm this supposition. The inhabitants of the dry countries in the north, which in winter are cold, are comparatively manly and active. The Marattas, inhabiting a mountainous and unfertile region, are hardy and laborious; while the Bengalese, with their moist climate and their double crops of rice, where the cocoa-nut tree and the bamboo furnish all the materials for construction unwrought, are more effeminate than any other people in India. But love of repose, though not sufficient to extinguish industry or repress occasional exertions, may be taken as a characteristic of the whole people. Akin to their indolence is their timidity, which arises more from the dread of being involved in trouble and difficulties than from want of physical courage; and from these two radical influences almost all their vices are derived. Indolence and timidity themselves may be thought to be produced by despotism and superstition, without any aid from nature; but if those causes were alone sufficient, they would have had the same operation on the indefatigable Chinese and the imperturbable Russian; in the present case they are as likely to be effect as cause.

The most prominent vice of the Hindús is want of veracity, in which they outdo most nations even of the East. They do not even resent the imputation of falsehood; the same man would calmly answer to a doubt by saying, "Why should I tell a lie?" who would shed blood for what he regarded as the slightest infringement of his honour.

Perjury, which is only an aggravated species of falsehood, naturally accompanies other offences of the kind (though it is not more frequent than in other Asiatic countries); and those who pay so little regard to statements about the past, cannot be expected to be scrupulous in promises for the future. Breaches of faith in private life are much more common in India than in England; but even in India, the great majority, of course, are true to their word.

It is in people connected with government that deceit is most common; but in India, this class spreads far; as from the nature of the land revenue, the lowest villager is often obliged to resist force by fraud.

In some cases, the faults of the government produce an opposite effect. Merchants and bankers are generally strict observers of their engagements. If it were otherwise, commerce could not go on where justice is so irregularly administered.

Hindús are not ill fitted by nature for intrigue and cunning, when their situation calls forth those qualities. Patient, supple, and insinuating, they will penetrate the views of a person with whom they have to deal; watch his humours; soothe or irritate his temper; present things in such a form as suits their designs, and contrive, by indirect manœuvres, to make others even unwillingly contribute to the accomplishment of their ends. But their plots are seldom so daring or flagitious as those of other Asiatic nations, or even of Indian Mussulmans, though these last have been softened by their intercourse with the people among whom they are settled.

It is probably owing to the faults of their government that they are corrupt: to take a bribe in a good cause is almost meritorious; and it is a venial offence to take one when the cause is bad. Pecuniary fraud is not thought very disgraceful, and, if against the public, scarcely disgraceful at all.

It is to their government, also, that we must impute their flattery and their importunity. The first is gross, even after every allowance has been made for the different degrees of force which nations give to the language of civility. The second arises from the indecision of their own rulers; they never consider an answer final, and are never ashamed to prosecute a suit as long as their varied invention, the possible change of circumstances, or the exhausted patience of the person applied to, gives them a hope of carrying their point.

Like all that are slow to actual conflict, they are very litigious, and much addicted to verbal altercation. They will persevere in a lawsuit till they are ruined; and will argue, on other occasions, with a violence so unlike their ordinary demeanour, that one unaccustomed to them expects immediate blows or bloodshed.

The public spirit of Hindús is either confined to their cast or village, in which cases it is often very strong; or if it extends to the general government, it goes no farther than zeal for its authority on the part of its agents and dependents. Great national spirit is sometimes shown in war, especially where religion is concerned, but allegiance in general sits very loose: a subject will take service against his natural sovereign as readily as for him; and always has more regard to the salt he has eaten than to the land in which he was born.

Although the Hindús, as has been seen, break through some of the most important rules of morality, we must not suppose that they are devoid of principle. Except in the cases specified, they have all the usual respect for moral obligations; and to some

rules which, in their estimation, are of peculiar importance, they adhere, in spite of every temptation to depart from them. A Bramin will rather starve to death than eat prohibited food: a headman of a village will suffer the torture rather than consent to a contribution laid on the inhabitants by a tyrant, or by banditti; the same servant who cheats his master in his accounts may be trusted with money to any amount in deposit. Even in corrupt transactions, it is seldom that men will not rather undergo a punishment than betray those to whom they have given a bribe.

Their great defect is a want of manliness. Their slavish constitution, their blind superstition, their extravagant mythology, the subtilties and verbal distinctions of their philosophy, the languid softness of their poetry, their effeminate manners, their love of artifice and delay, their submissive temper, their dread of change, the delight they take in puerile fables, and their neglect of rational history, are so many proofs of the absence of the more robust qualities of disposition and intellect throughout the mass of the nation.

But this censure, though true of the whole, when compared with other nations, by no means applies to all classes, or to any at all times. The labouring people are industrious and persevering; and other classes, when stimulated by any strong motive, and sometimes even by mere sport, will go through great hardships and endure long fatigue.

They are not a people habitually to bear up against desperate attacks, and still less against a long course of discouragement and disaster; yet they often display bravery not surpassed by the most warlike nations; and will always throw away their lives for any consideration of religion or honour. Hindú Sepoys in our pay have, in two instances, advanced, after troops of the King's service had been beaten off, and on one of these occasions they were opposed to French soldiers. The sequel of this history will show instances of whole bodies of troops rushing forward to certain death, while, in private life, the lowest do not hesitate to commit suicide if they once conceive their honour tarnished.

Their contempt of death is, indeed, an extraordinary concomitant to their timidity when exposed to lesser evils. When his fate is inevitable, the lowest Hindú encounters it with a coolness that would excite admiration in Europe, converses with his friends with cheerfulness, and awaits the approach of death without any diminution of his usual serenity.

The best specimen of the Hindú character, retaining its peculiarities while divested of many of its defects, is found among

the Rájpúts and other military classes in Gangetic Hindostan, from among whom so many of our Sepoys are recruited. It is there we are most likely to gain a clear conception of their high spirit, their enthusiastic courage, and generous self-devotion, so singularly combined with gentleness of manners and softness of heart, together with a boyish playfulness and almost infantine simplicity.

The villagers are everywhere an inoffensive, amiable people, affectionate to their families, kind to their neighbours, and, towards all but the government, honest and sincere.

The townspeople are of a more mixed character; but they are quiet and orderly, seldom disturbing the public peace by tumults, or their own by private broils. On the whole, if we except those connected with the government, they will bear a fair comparison with the people of towns in England. Their advantages in religion and government give a clear superiority to our middle classes; and even among the labouring class, there are many to whom no parallel could be found in any rank in India; but, on the other hand, there is no set of people among the Hindús so depraved as the dregs of our great towns; and the swarms of persons who live by fraud—sharpers, impostors, and adventurers of all descriptions, from those who mix with the higher orders down to those who prey on the common people—are almost unknown in India.

Some of the most conspicuous of the crimes in India exceed those of all other countries in atrocity. The Thags[28] have been mentioned; and the Dacoits are almost as detestable for their cruelty as the others for their deliberate treachery.

The Dacoits are gangs associated for the purpose of plunder, who assemble by night, fall on an unsuspecting village, kill those who offer resistance, seize on all property, and torture those whom they imagine to have wealth concealed. Next morning they are melted into the population; and such is the dread inspired by them, that even when known, people can seldom be found to come forward and accuse them. Except in the absence of political feeling, and the greater barbarity of their proceedings, their offence resembles those which have, at times, been common in Ireland. In India it is the consequence of weak government during the anarchy of the last hundred years, and is rapidly disappearing under the vigorous administration of the British. Both Thags and Dacoits are at least as often Mahometans as Hindús.

The horror excited by such enormities leads us at first to

[28] See p. 210.

imagine peculiar depravity in the country where they occur; but a further inquiry removes that impression. Including Thags and Dacoits, the mass of crime in India is less than in England. Thags are almost a separate nation, and Dacoits are desperate ruffians who enter into permanent gangs and devote their lives to rapine; but the remaining part of the population is little given to such passions as disturb society. By a series of Reports laid before the House of Commons in 1832,[29] it appears that, on an average of four years, the number of capital sentences *carried into effect* annually in England and Wales was 1 for 203,281 souls; and in the provinces under the Bengal presidency, 1 for 1,004,182;[30] transportation for life in England, 1 for 67,173, and in the Bengal provinces, 1 for 402,010.

We may admit that the proportion of undetected crimes in Bengal is considerably greater than in England; but it would require a most extravagant allowance on that account to bring the amount of great crimes in the two countries to an equality.

Murders are oftener from jealousy, or some such motive, than from gain: and theft is confined to particular classes; so that there is little uneasiness regarding property. Europeans sleep with every door in the house open, and their property scattered about as it lay in the daytime, and seldom have to complain of loss: even with so numerous a body of servants as fills every private house, it is no small proof of habitual confidence to see scarcely anything locked up.

The natives of India are often accused of wanting gratitude; but it does not appear that those who make the charge have done much to inspire such a sentiment. When masters are really kind and considerate, they find as warm a return from Indian servants as any in the world; and there are few who have tried them in sickness, or in difficulties and dangers, who do not bear witness to their sympathy and attachment. Their devotion to their own chiefs is proverbial, and can arise from no other cause than gratitude, unless where cast supplies the place of clannish feeling. The fidelity of our Sepoys to their foreign masters has been shown in instances which it would be difficult to match, even among national troops, in any other country.[31]

Nor is this confined to the lower orders; it is common to see persons who have been patronised by men in power, not only

[29] *Minutes of Evidence* (Judicial, No. iv. p. 103.

[30] The annual number of sentences to death in England was 1,232, and of executions 64. In Bengal, the sentences were 59, and the executions the same. England is taken at 13,000,000 souls, and the Bengal provinces at 60,000,000.

[31] [This was written in 1841.—ED.]

continue their attachment to them when in disgrace, but even to their families when they have left them in a helpless condition.[32]

Though their character is altered since the mixture with foreigners, the Hindús are still a mild and gentle people. The cruel massacres that attended all their battles with the Mahometans must have led to sanguinary retaliation; and they no longer act on the generous laws of war which are so conspicuous in Menu. But even now they are more merciful to prisoners than any other Asiatic people, or than their Mussulman countrymen.

Tippoo used to cut off the right hands and noses of the British camp followers that fell into his hands. The last Péshwá gave to men of the same sort a small quantity of provisions and a rupee each, to enable them to return to their business, after they had been plundered by his troops.

Cold-blooded cruelty is, indeed, imputed to Bramins in power, and it is probably the result of checking the natural outlets for resentment; but the worst of them are averse to causing death, especially when attended with shedding blood. In ordinary circumstances, the Hindús are compassionate and benevolent; but they are deficient in *active* humanity, partly owing to the unsocial effects of cast, and partly to the apathy which makes them indifferent to their own calamities, as well as to those of their neighbours.

This deficiency appears in their treatment of the poor. All feed Bramins and give alms to religious mendicants; but a beggar from mere want would neither be relieved by the charity of Europe, nor the indiscriminate hospitality of most parts of Asia.

Though improvidence is common among the poor, and ostentatious profusion, on particular occasions, among the rich, the general disposition of the Hindús is frugal, and even parsimonious. Their ordinary expenses are small, and few of any rank in life hesitate to increase their savings by employing them indirectly in commerce, or by lending them out at high interest.

Hindú children are much more quick and intelligent than European ones. The capacity of lads of twelve and fourteen is

[32] A perfectly authentic instance might be mentioned, of an English gentleman, in a high station in Bengal, who was dismissed, and afterwards reduced to great temporary difficulties in his own country; a native of rank, to whom he had been kind, supplied him, when in those circumstances, with upwards of 10,000*l.*, of which he would not accept repayment, and for which he could expect no possible return. This generous friend was a Maratta Bramin, a race of all others who have least sympathy with people of other casts, and who are most hardened and corrupted by power.

often surprising; and not less so is the manner in which their faculties become blunted after the age of puberty. But at all ages they are very intelligent; and this strikes us most in the lower orders, who, in propriety of demeanour, and in command of language, are far less different from their superiors than with us.

Their freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which the Hindús appear to most advantage. It can scarcely be expected, from their climate and its concomitants, that they should be less licentious than other nations; but if we compare them with our own, the absence of drunkenness, and of immodesty in their other vices, will leave the superiority in purity of manners on the side least flattering to our self-esteem.

Their indifference to the grossest terms in conversation appears inconsistent with this praise; but it has been well explained as arising from "that simplicity which conceives that whatever can exist without blame, may be named without offence;" and this view is confirmed by the decorum of their behaviour in other respects.

Though naturally quiet and thoughtful, they are cheerful in society; fond of conversation and amusement, and delighting in anecdote and humour bordering on buffoonery. It has been remarked before, that their conversation is often trifling, and this frivolity extends to their general character, and is combined with a disposition to vanity and ostentation.

In their persons they are, *generally speaking*, lower, and always more slender, than Europeans.[33] They have a better carriage and more grace, less strength, but more free use of their limbs.

They are of a brown colour, between the complexion of the southern European and that of the negro. Their hair is long, rather lank, and always jet black. Their mustachios and (in the few cases in which they wear them) their beards are long and strong. Their women have a large share of beauty and grace, set off by a feminine reserve and timidity.[34]

The cleanliness of the Hindús in their persons is proverbial. They do not change their clothes after each of their frequent ablutions; but even in that respect the lower classes are more cleanly than those of other nations. The public parts of their houses are kept very neat; but they have none of the English

[33] The military classes in Hindostan are much taller than the common run of Englishmen.

[34] The Lascars, now so common in the streets of London, are mostly from the coast near Bombay, or the south-eastern part of Bengal, both moist and hot rice countries, and present an unfavourable specimen of the natives of India.

delicacy which requires even places out of sight to partake of the general good order.

Comparison of the Hindú character in ancient and modern times.

Before coming to any conclusions from the two views which have been given of the Hindús,—at the earliest epoch of which we possess accounts, and at the present day,—it will be of advantage to see how they stood at an intermediate period, for which we fortunately possess the means, through the accounts left us by the Greeks, a people uninfluenced by any of our peculiar opinions, and yet one whose views we can understand, and whose judgment we can appreciate.

This question has been fully examined in another place,[35] and the results alone need be mentioned here.

From them it appears that the chief changes between the time of Menu's Code and that of Alexander were—the complete emancipation of the servile class; the more general occurrence, if not the first instances of the practice of self-immolation by widows; the prohibition of intermarriages between casts; the employment of the Bramins as soldiers, and their inhabiting separate villages; and, perhaps, the commencement of the monastic orders.

The changes from Menu to the present time have already been fully set forth; and if we take a more extensive review (without contrasting two particular periods), we shall find the alterations have generally been for the worse.

The total extinction of the servile condition of the Súdras is, doubtless, an improvement; but in other respects we find the religion of the Hindús debased, their restrictions of cast more rigid (except in the interested relaxation of the Bramins), the avowed imposts on the land doubled, the courts of justice disused, the laws less liberal towards women, the great works of peace no longer undertaken, and the courtesies of war almost forgotten. We find, also, from their extant works, that the Hindús once excelled in departments of taste and science on which they never now attempt to write; and that they formerly impressed strangers with a high respect for their courage, veracity, simplicity, and integrity,—the qualities in which they now seem to us most deficient.

It is impossible, from all this, not to come to a conclusion that the Hindús were once in a higher position, both moral and intellectual, than they are now; and as, even in their present state of depression, they are still on a footing of equality with any people

[35] See Appendix III.

out of Europe, it seems to follow that, at one time, they must have attained a state of civilization only surpassed by a few of the most favoured of the nations, either of antiquity or of modern times.

The causes of their decline have already been touched on in different places. Their religion encourages inaction, which is the first step towards decay. The rules of cast check improvement at home, and at the same time prevent its entering from abroad: it is those rules that have kept up the separation between the Hindús and the Mussulmans, and furnished the only instance in which an idolatrous religion has stood out against the comparative purity even of that of Mahomet, when professed by the government. Despotism would doubtless contribute its share to check the progress of society; but it was less oppressive and degrading than in most Asiatic countries.

The minute subdivision of inheritances is not peculiar to the Hindús; and yet it is that which most strikes an inquirer into the causes of the abject condition of the greater part of them. By it the descendants of the greatest landed proprietor, must, in time, be broken down to something between a farmer and a labourer, but less independent than either; and without a chance of accumulation to enable them to recover their position. Bankers and merchants may get rich enough to leave all their sons with fortunes; but, as each possessor knows that he can neither found a family, nor dispose of his property by will, he endeavours to gain what pleasure and honour he can from his life-rent, by ostentation in feasts and ceremonies; and by commencing temples, tanks, and groves, which his successors are too poor to complete or to repair.[56]

The effect of equal division on men's minds is as great as on their fortunes. It was resorted to by some ancient republics to prevent the growth of luxury and the disposition to innovation. In India it successfully answers those ends, and stifles all the restless feelings to which men might be led by the ambition of permanently improving their condition. A man who has amassed a fortune by his own labours is not likely to have a turn for literature or the fine arts; and if he had, his collections would be dispersed at his death, and his sons would have to begin their toils anew, without time for acquiring that refinement in taste or elevation of sentiment which is brought about by the improved education of successive generations.

[56] Hence the common opinion among Europeans, that it is thought unlucky for a son to go on with his father's work.

Hence, although rapid rise and sudden fortunes are more common in India than in Europe, they produce no permanent change in the society; all remains on the same dead level, with no conspicuous objects to guide the course of the community, and no barriers to oppose to the arbitrary will of the ruler.[37]

Under such discouragements we cannot be surprised at the stagnation and decline of Hindú civilization. The wonder is, how it could ever struggle against them, and how it attained to such a pitch as exists even at this moment.

At what time it had reached its highest point it is not easy to say. Perhaps in institutions and moral character it was at its best just before Alexander; but learning was much longer in reaching its acme. The most flourishing period for literature is represented by Hindú tradition to be that of Vicramáditya, a little before the beginning of our era; but some of the authors who are mentioned as the ornaments of that prince's court appear to belong to later times;[38] and the good writers, whose works are extant, extend over a long space of time, from the second century before Christ to the eighth of the Christian era. Mathematical science was in most perfection in the fifth century after Christ; but works of merit, both in literature and science, continued to be composed for some time after the Mahometan invasion.

[37] The great military chiefs may be said to be exceptions to this rule, for they not unfrequently transmit their lands to their children; but they are, for purposes of improvement, the worst people into whose hands property could fall. As their power rests on mercenary soldiers, they have no need to call in the aid of the people, like our barons; and as each lives on his own lands at a distance from his equals, they neither refine each other by their intercourse, nor those below them by the example of their social habits.

[38] [Tradition associates nine authors as the "nine gems" of his court—Dhanwantari, Khsapaṇaka, Amara Sinha, Śanku, Vetálabhaṭṭa, Ghaṭakarpara, Kálidása, Varáhamihira, and Vararuchi; but Varáhamihira lived in the sixth century, and some hold that Amara Sinha lived about the same time (see Gen. Cunningham, *Journ. A. S. B.*, 1863, Suppl.). Bhavabhúti, the dramatist, is supposed to have lived at the court of Yaśovarman, King of Kanauj, A.D. 720; and Bána flourished at the same court in the preceding century. (Dr. Hall, *Journ. A.S.B.*, 1862.)—Ed.]

BOOK IV.

HISTORY OF THE HINDÚS UP TO THE MAHOMETAN INVASION.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE HINDÚS—HINDOSTAN.

THE first information we receive on Hindú history[1] is from a passage in Menu,[2] which gives us to infer that their residence was at one time between the rivers Saraswatí (Sersooty) and Drishadwatí (Caggar), a tract about 100 miles to the north-west of Delhi, and in extent about sixty-five miles long, and from twenty to forty broad. That land, Menu says, was called Brahmávarta, because it was frequented by gods; and the custom preserved by immemorial tradition in that country is pointed out as a model to the pious.[3] The country between that tract and the Jumna, and all to the north of the Jumna and Ganges, including North Behár, is mentioned, in the second place, under the name of Brahmarshi; and Bramins born within that tract are pronounced to be suitable teachers of the several usages of men.[4]

[1] [For the historical hints which the Vaidik writings give us, see Appendices VII. and VIII.—ED.]

[2] [The following is a translation of this important passage of Menu (II. 17—24):—

"The space between the two divine rivers, the Saraswatí and the Drishadwatí, —that god-created tract they call *Brahmavarta*.* The custom prevalent in that tract, received from successive tradition, concerning the castes and the mixed castes, is called the good custom. Kurukshetra, the Matsyas, the Panchálas, and the Súrasenas,†—this land, which comes next to Brahmávarta, is the land of Brahmarshis (*Brahmarshidesa*, or the land of divine sages). From a Brahman born in that district let all the men on the earth learn their several duties. The tract between the Himavat and Vindhya, to the east of Vinasana ‡ and to the west of Prayága, is called the central region (*Madhyadeśa*). The space between these two mountain ranges, to the eastern and the western sea, the wise know as *Áryávarta* (or the land of the Áryas). Where the black antelope naturally grazes is to be held as the proper land for offering sacrifices; all else is Mlechchha-land. Let the twice-born carefully keep within these countries; but a Súdra, distressed for subsistence, may dwell anywhere."—ED.]

[3] Menu, Book II. v. 17, 18. This tract is also the scene of the adventures of the first princes, and the residence of the most famous sages. Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purana*, p. lxvii.

[4] Menu, Book II. v. 19, 20.

* This may mean the land of Brahmá, or the land of sacred knowledge.

† See *supra*, p. 26.

‡ This is the place where the Saraswatí terminates, losing itself in the great sandy desert.

This, therefore, may be set down as the first country acquired after that on the Saraswatí.

The Puránas pass over these early stages unnoticed, and commence with Ayodhyá (Oudh), about the centre of the last-mentioned tract. It is there that the solar and lunar races have their origin; and from thence the princes of all other countries are sprung.

From fifty to seventy generations of the solar race are only distinguished from each other by purely mythological legends.

After these comes Ráma, who seems entitled to take his place in real history.

Expedition of Ráma.

His story,[5] when stripped of its fabulous and romantic decorations, merely relates that Ráma possessed a powerful kingdom in Hindostan; and that he invaded the Deckan and penetrated to the island of Lanká (Ceylon), which he conquered.

The first of these facts there is no reason to question; and we may readily believe that Ráma led an expedition into the Deckan; but it is highly improbable that, if he was the first, or even *among* the first invaders, he should have conquered Ceylon. If he did so, he could not have lived, as is generally supposed, before the compilation of the Vedas; for, even in the time of Menu's Institutes, there were no settlements of Hindú conquerors in the Déckan. It is probable that the poets who have celebrated Ráma, not only reared a great fabric on a narrow basis, but transferred their hero's exploits to the scene which was thought most interesting in their own day.

The undoubted antiquity of the "Rámáyana"[6] is the best testimony to the early date of the event which it celebrates; yet, as no conspicuous invasion of the Deckan could have been undertaken without great resources, Ráma must have lived after Hindú civilization had attained a considerable pitch.

After Ráma, sixty princes of his race ruled in succession over his dominions; but as we hear no more of Ayodhyá (Oudh), it is possible that the kingdom (which at one time was called Coshala) may have merged in another, and that the capital was transferred from Oudh to Canouj.

War of the "Mahá Bhárata."

The war celebrated in the "Mahá Bhárata" is the next historical event that deserves notice.

It is a contest between the lines of Pándu and of Curu (two branches of the reigning family) for the territory of Hastinápura (probably a place on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi, which

[5] See p. 99. [6] See p. 170.

still bears the ancient name). The family itself is of the lunar race, but the different parties are supported by numerous allies, and some from very remote quarters.

There seem to have been many states in India[7] (six, at least, in the one tract upon the Ganges[8]); but a considerable degree of intercourse and connexion appears to have been kept up among them. Crishna, who is an ally of the Pándus, though born on the Jumna, had founded a principality in Guzerát; among the allies on each side are chiefs from the Indus, and from Calinga in the Deckan—some even who, the translators are satisfied, belong to nations beyond the Indus; and Yavanas, a name which most orientalists consider to apply, in all early works, to the Greeks. The Pándus were victorious, but paid so dear for their success, that the survivors, broken-hearted with the loss of their friends and the destruction of their armies, abandoned the world and perished among the snows of Himálaya. Crishna, their great ally, fell, as was formerly stated,[9] in the midst of civil wars in his own country. Some Hindú legends relate that his sons were obliged to retire beyond the Indus;[10] and, as those Rájpúts who have come from that quarter in modern times to Sind and Cach are of his tribe of Yadu, the narrative seems more deserving of credit than at first sight might appear. The more authentic account, however, (that of the "Mahá Bhárata" itself), describes them as finally returning to the neighbourhood of the Jumna.

The story of the "Mahá Bhárata" is much more probable than that of the "Rámáyana." It contains more particulars about the state of India, and has a much greater appearance of being founded on facts. Though far below the "Iliad" in appearance of reality, it bears nearly the same relation to the "Rámáyana" that the poem on the Trojan war does to the legends on the adventures of Hercules; and like the "Iliad," it is the source to which many chiefs and tribes endeavour to trace their ancestors.

The date of the war has already been discussed;[11] it was probably in the fourteenth century before Christ.

[7] [Every glimpse which we get of ancient India reveals the same state of things as that described by Herodotus:—"There are many different nations of the Indians, and they speak different languages" (iii. 98).—ED.]

[8] Hastináipura, Mattra, Panchála (part of Oudh and the Lower Doáb), Benáres, Magadha, and Bengal. (*Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 135; Tod, vol. i. p. 49.) Ayodhyá is not mentioned in the "Mahá Bhárata," [?] nor Canyácubja (Canouj), [?] unless, as asserted in Menu (Chap. II. s. 19), [or rather by Kulluka], Panchala is only another name for that kingdom.

[9] See page 100.

[10] See Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 85, and the translation (through the Persian) of the "Mahá Bhárata," published by the Oriental Translation Fund, in 1831.

[11] Page 156.

Twenty-nine (some say sixty-four) of the descendants of the Pándus succeeded them on the throne, but the names alone of those princes are preserved. The seat of their government seems to have been transferred to Delhi.

The successors of one of the kings who appear as allies in the same poem were destined to attract greater notice. These are the kings of Magadha, of whom so much has been already said.[12]

Magadha.

The kings of Magadha seem always to have possessed extensive authority. The first of them (he who is mentioned in the "Mahá Bhárata") is represented as the head of a number of chiefs and tribes; but most of those probably were within the limits of Bengal and Behár, as we have seen that there were five other independent kingdoms in the tract watered by the Ganges.[13]

For many centuries they were all of the military tribe, but the first Nanda was born of a Súdra mother; and Chandragupta, who overthrew the dynasty, was also of a low class:[14] from this time, say the Puránas, the Cshatriyas lost their ascendancy in Magadha, and all the succeeding kings and chiefs were Súdras.[15]

They do not seem to have lost their consequence from the degradation of their cast; for the Súdra successors of Chandragupta are said, in the hyperbolical language of the Puránas, to have brought the "whole earth under one umbrella;"[16] and there appears the strongest reason to believe that Asóca, the third of the line, was really in possession of a commanding influence over the states to the north of the Nerbadda. The extent of his dominions appears from the remote points at which his edict-columns are erected; and the same monuments bear testimony to the civilized character of his government, since they contain orders for establishing hospitals and dispensaries throughout his empire, as well as for planting trees and digging wells along the public highways.

[12] Page 151.

[13] It is remarkable the Yavanas or Greeks are represented as allies of the King of Magadha- a circumstance evidently arising from the connexion between the King of the Prasii and the successors of Alexander. (Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 101.) Another of their allies, Bhagadatta, who receives the pompous title of "King of the South and West," appears by the "Áyini Akbari" (vol. ii. p. 16) to have been Prince of Bengal.

[14] [The Buddhist traditions make Chandragupta to have been of the same family as Buddha, i.e. the royal line of the Sákyas; the Brahmans explain Maurya as a metronymic, Murá being one of Nanda's wives (Muller's *Sanak. Lit.*, p. 297).—Ed.]

[15] Sir. W. Jones, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 130; Professor Wilson, *Hindú Drama*, vol. iii. p. 14.

[16] Professor Wilson, *Hindú Theatre*, vol. iii. p. 14.

This ascendancy of Asóca is the earliest ground I have been able to discover for an opinion which has been maintained, that the kings of Magadha were emperors and lords paramount of India; and Colonel Wilford, who has recorded all that he could ascertain regarding those kings,[17] states nothing that can countenance a belief in a greater extent or earlier commencement of their supremacy. During the war of the "Mahá Bhárata," it has been shown that they formed one of six little monarchies within the basin of the Ganges, and that they were among the unsuccessful opponents of one of those petty states, that of Hastinápura.

Alexander found no lord paramount in the part of India which he visited; and the nations which he heard of beyond the Hyphasis were under aristocratic governments. Arrian[18] and Strabo[19] say that the Prasii were the most distinguished of all the Indian nations; but neither hints of their supremacy over the others. Arrian, indeed, in giving this preference to the Prasii, and their king, Sandracottus, adds that Porus was greater than he. Megasthenes[20] says that there were 118 nations in India, but mentions none of them as subordinate to the Prasii. It is impossible to suppose that Megasthenes, who resided at the court of Sandracottus, and seems so well disposed to exalt his greatness, should have failed to mention his being emperor of India, or indeed his having any decided ascendancy over states beyond his own immediate limits.

The Hindú accounts[21] represent Chandragupta as all but overwhelmed by foreign invasion, and indebted for his preservation to the arts of his minister more than to the force of his kingdom. It is probable, however, that he laid the foundation of that influence which was so much extended under his grandson. His accepting the cession of the Macedonian garrisons on the Indus, from Seleucus, is a proof how far he himself had carried his views; and Asóca, in his youth, was governor of Ujein or Málwa, which must, therefore, have been a possession of his father.

The claim to universal monarchy in India has been advanced by princes of other dynasties in their inscriptions; and has been conceded, by different European authors, to Porus, to the kings of Cashmír, of Delhi, Canouj, Bengal, Málwa, Guzerát, and other places; but all apparently on very insufficient grounds.

The family of Maurya, to which Sandracottus belonged,

[17] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix.
[18] Ch. v.
[19] Book xv. p. 483.
[20] Quoted by Arrian, ch. vii.
[21] See Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. iii.

retained possession of the throne for ten generations, and were succeeded by three other Súdra dynasties, the last and longest of which bore the name of Andhra.[22]

This dynasty ended in A.D. 436, and is succeeded in the Puránas by a confused assemblage of dynasties seemingly not Hindús; from which, and the interruption at all attempts at historical order, we may infer a foreign invasion, followed by a long period of disorder. At the end of several centuries, a gleam of light breaks in, and discovers Magadha[23] subject to the Gupta kings of Canouj. From this period it is no longer distinctly mentioned.

The fame of Magadha has been preserved from its being the birthplace of Buddha, and from its language (Mágadhí or Pálí) being now employed in the sacred writings of his most extensively-diffused religion, as well as in those of the Jains.

A king of what we now call Bengal is mentioned among the allies of the King of Magadha in the war of the "Mahá Bhárata." From him, the Áyíni Akberí continues the succession, through five dynasties, till the Mahometan conquest. These lists, being only known to us by the translations of Abúlazl, might be looked on with more suspicion than the Hindú ones already noticed. But that one of them, at least (the fourth), is founded in truth, is proved by inscriptions; and from them, a series of princes, with names ending in Pála, may be made out, who probably reigned from the ninth to the latter part of the eleventh century.[24] The inscriptions relating to this family were found at distant places, and in circumstances that leave no room to question their authenticity: yet they advance statements which are surprising in themselves, and difficult to reconcile to what we know, from other sources, of the history of India. They represent the kings of Bengal as ruling over the whole of India; from Himálaya to Cape Comorin, and from the Brahmaputra to the Indus. They even assert that the same kings subdued Tibet on the east, and Cambója (which some suppose to be beyond the Indus) on the west.[25]

Bengal.

[22] See "Chronology," p. 157.

[23] [See note, p. 158.—Ed.]

[24] See Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 442, and the various inscriptions in the preceding volumes there mentioned.

[25] The earliest, a copper tablet containing a grant of land, and found at Monghir, appears to be written in the ninth century. (See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 446, above quoted.) It says, in explicit terms, that the reigning Rája, Déb Pál Déb (or Déva Pála Déva), possessed the whole of India from the source of the Ganges to Adam's Bridge (reaching to Ceylon), and from the river Megná, or Brahmaputra, to the western sea. It specifies the inhabitants of Bengal, the Carnatic, and Tibet among his subjects, and alludes to his army marching through Cambója,—a country generally supposed to be beyond the Indus, and if not so, certainly in the

These conquests are rendered impossible, to anything like their full extent, by the simultaneous existence of independent governments in Canouj, Delhi, Ajmír, Mewár, and Guzerát, if not in other places; but they could scarcely have been claimed in contemporary inscriptions, if the princes to whom they are ascribed had not affected some supremacy over the other states, and had not sent expeditions far into the west of India, and even into the heart of the Deckan. On the whole, this dynasty seems to have at least as good a claim as any other in the Hindú times to the dignity of general dominion, and affords a fresh reason for distrusting all such pretensions. The dynasty of Pála was succeeded by one whose names ended in Séna,[26] and this last was subverted by the Mahometans about A.D. 1203.

Though the kingdom of Málwa does not pretend to equal in antiquity those already mentioned, it is of it that we possess the first authentic date. The era still current through all the countries north of the Nerbadda is that of Vicramáditya, who reigned at Ujein at the date of its commencement, which was fifty-six years before Christ. Málwa. Vicramáditya.

Vicramáditya is the Hárún al Rashíd of Hindú tales; and by drawing freely from such sources, Colonel Wilford collected such a mass of transactions as required the supposition of no less than eight Vicramádityas to reconcile the dates of them; but all that is now admitted is, that Vicramáditya was a powerful monarch, ruled a civilized and prosperous country, and was a distinguished patron of letters.

The next epoch is that of Rája Bhója, whose name is one of the most renowned in India, but of whose exploits no record has been preserved.[27] His long reign terminated about the end of the eleventh century. Bhója.

extreme west of India. The next inscription is on a broken column in the district of Sáran, north of the Ganges. It was erected by a prince who professes himself tributary to Gour or Bengal, yet claims for his immediate territory the tract from Rewa Jhanak (not exactly known) to the Himálaya mountains, and from the eastern to the western sea. It states the Rája of Bengal (probably the son of the Déb Pál of the last inscription) to have conquered Orissa, a tribe or people called Huns (also mentioned in the former inscription), the southern part of the coast of Coromandel, and Guzerát. The third merely records that a magnificent monument in honour of Buddha, near Benáres, was erected in 1026 by a Rája of Bengal of the same family as the above, who, from the earlier inscriptions, also appear to have been Buddhists.

[26] [About 900, A.D., a king reigned in Bengal named Adiswara, who is said to have invited from Kanouj five distinguished Brahmans, the ancestors of 156 families now dispersed through Bengal. They were accompanied by five Káyasthas, who similarly became the progenitors of eighty-three families. The precedence of the various families was settled by Ballála Sena, who reigned in the eleventh century. See Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 188, and *Journ. A.S.B.*, 1864, p. 325.—ED.]

[27] [Dr. Hall has shown (*Journ. B. A. S.*, 1862, and *Vásavadattá*, Pref.) how little foundation there is for this prince's fame as a patron of letters.—ED.]

The intermediate six centuries are filled up by lists of kings in the "Áyíni Akberí," and in the Hindú books: among them is one named Chandrapála, who is said to have conquered all Hindostan; but the information is too vague to be made much use of. The princes of Málwa certainly extended their authority over a large portion of the centre and west of India; and it is of Vicramáditya that the traditions of universal empire are most common in India.

The grandson of Bhója was taken prisoner, and his country conquered, by the Rája of Guzerát; but Málwa appears soon to have recovered its independence under a new dynasty, and was finally subdued by the Mahometans, A.D. 1231.[28]

Guzerát.

The residence of Crishna, and other events of those times, impress us with the belief of an early principality in Guzerát; and the whole is spoken of as under one dominion, by a Greek writer of the second century.[29] The Rájpút traditions, quoted by Colonel Tod,[30] inform us of another principality, founded at Balabhi, in the peninsula of Guzerát, in the middle of the second century of our era, by Kanak Séna, an emigrant of the solar race, which reigned in Oudh.[31] They were driven out of their capital in A.D. 524, by an army of barbarians, who, Colonel Tod thinks, were Parthians. The princes of that family emigrated again from Guzerát, and at length founded the kingdom of Méwár, which still subsists. Grants of land, inscribed on copper tablets, which have been translated by Mr. Wathen,[32] fully confirm the fact that a race whose names often ended in Séna reigned at Balabhi from A.D. 144 to A.D. 524. The barbarians, whom Colonel Tod thinks Parthians, Mr. Wathen suggests may have been Indo-Bactrians. They are certainly too late to be Parthians, but it is not impossible they may have been Persians of the next race (Sassanians). Noushírwán reigned from A.D. 531 to A.D. 579. Various Persian authors quoted by Sir John Malcolm,[33] assert that this monarch carried his arms into Ferghána on the north and India on the east; and as they are supported in the first assertion by Chinese records,[34] there seems no reason to distrust them in the second. Sir Henry Pottinger (though without

[28] Colonel Tod, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 201, and Mr Colebrooke, p. 230 of the same volume. See also Gladwin's *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 48.

[29] Vincent's *Periplus*, p. 111 (Note on Manbarus).

[30] Vol. ii. p. 469.

[31] [His successors are supposed to have instituted an era, called the Balabhi Samvat, the first year of which was the 375th of Vikramáditya, or A.D. 319.—Ed.]

[32] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. iv. p. 480, etc. [Prinsep's *Essays*, Thomas' ed. vol. i. pp. 253—262.—Ed.]

[33] *Persia*, vol. i. p. 141.

[34] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 469.

stating his authority) gives a minute and probable account of Noushírwán's march along the seacoast of Mekrán to Sind;[35] and as Balabhi was close to Sind, we may easily believe him to have destroyed that city. Perhaps the current story of the descent of the Ránas of Méwár from Noushírwán may have some connexion with their being driven into their present seats by that monarch.

The difference of seven years, by which the taking of Balabhi precedes Noushírwán's accession, is but a trifling matter in Hindú chronology.

The Balabhi princes were succeeded in the rule of Guzerát by the Chauras, another Rájpút tribe, who finally established their capital, in A.D. 746, at Anhalwára, now Pattan, and became one of the greatest dynasties of India.

The last rája dying in A.D. 931 without male issue, was succeeded by his son-in-law as prince of the Rájpút tribe of Sakónka, or Chálukya, whose family were chiefs of Kalián in the Deckan, above the Ghâts.[36]

It was a rája of this dynasty that conquered Málwa; and it is to them, I suppose, that Colonel Wilford applies the title of emperors of India.[37] Though overrun and rendered tributary by Mahmúd of Ghazní, the Salónkas remained on the throne till A.D. 1228, when they were deposed by another dynasty, which in A.D. 1297[38] sank in its turn before the Mussulman conquerors.

Few of the ancient Hindú states have attracted more notice than Canyácubja or Canouj. It is one of the most ancient places in India: it gave rise, and gives a name, to one of the greatest divisions of the Bramin class; its capital was, perhaps, the wealthiest visited by the first Mahometan invaders; and its wars with the neighbouring state of Delhi contributed to accelerate the ruin of Hindú independence. Canouj.

This kingdom appears in early times to have been called Panchála. It seems to have been a long but narrow territory, extending on the east to Nepál (which it included), and on the west, along the Chambal[39] and Ránas, as far as Ajmír. We

[35] *Travels*, etc., p. 386.

[36] Colonel Tod, vol. i. pp. 83, 97, 101, 206. From the comparative nearness of Kalián in the Concan, Colonel Tod has naturally been led to suppose the Salonka prince to have come from thence; but further information is unfavourable to that opinion. Of the Salonka princes of Kalián in the Deckan more will be said hereafter.

[37] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. pp. 169, 179, 181, etc.

[38] Briggs' *Ferishta*.

[39] The identity of Canouj and Panchála is assumed in Menu, II. 19. Its limits, as assigned in the "Mahá Bharata," are made out by connecting the following notes in the *Oriental Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 65, vol. iv. p. 142. It is remarkable that these boundaries, enlarged a little on the south and on the west, are the same as those assigned by Colonel Tod to the same kingdom at the time of the Mussulman invasion. *Rajasthan*, vol. ii. p. 9.

know little else of its early history, except the Rájpút writings and traditions collected by Colonel Tod,[40] and the inscriptions examined by Professor Wilson,[41] with those translated and discussed by Principal Mill.[42] The former relate that it was taken from another Hindú dynasty, A.D. 470, by the Rathórs, who retained it until its conquest by the Mussulmans, in A.D. 1193; when they withdrew to their present seats in Márwár.

In this interval they represent its conquests as including, at one period, Bengal and Orissa, and as extending on the west as far as the river Indus.

The inscriptions lead us to think that the dynasty subverted by the Mussulmans was of more recent origin, being established by a Rájpút adventurer in the eleventh century, and throw doubt on the accuracy of Colonel Tod's information in other respects.

The Rájpúts, as well as the Mahometan writers, who describe the conquest of India, dwell in terms of the highest admiration on the extent and magnificence of the capital of this kingdom, the ruins of which are still to be seen on the Ganges.

Other principalities.

It would be tedious to go through the names of the various petty Hindú states that existed at various periods in Hindostan: the annexed table gives a notion of the dates of some of them, though it must often be erroneous as well as incomplete.

The mention of Cashmír is confined to the table for a different reason from the rest. Its history is too full and complete to mix with such sketches as the above, and it enters little into the affairs of the other parts of India, except when it describes the invasion, and almost conquest, of that great continent, on more than one occasion, by its own rájas; the accuracy of which accounts appears to admit of question.[43]

It is not easy to decide what states to include in the list, even of those which have come to my knowledge. The Panjáb seems better entitled than Benáres; but although a state, called Trigorta, was formed out of it in ancient times, and it was again nearly united, when attacked by the Mahometans, yet it is not noticed in the intermediate Indian history, and when visited by the Greeks it was broken into very small principalities: Porus, one of the greatest chiefs, had not, with all his friends and dependents, one-eighth part of the whole.[44]

[40] Vol. ii. p. 2.

[41] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

[42] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii. for 1834. [A sketch of all that is known of the history of Kanouj is given by Dr. Hall, *Journ. B. A. S.*, 1862.—Ed.]

[43] This solitary specimen of Hindú history will be found most satisfactorily analyzed and explained in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv.

[44] [See this discussed in Appendix III. note.—Ed.]

In the following table, the mark * indicates that a state is mentioned in the "Mahá Bhárata." The date in that case refers to the next time it is heard of in history. The authority for the last mention of states is seldom given. The year is generally that mentioned by Ferishta as the one in which they were conquered by the Mahometans.

Name.	When first mentioned.	When last mentioned.	Authority.	
MAGADHA	* By the Greeks, 300 B. C.	About the 5th century, A. D.	Vishnu Purana, pp. 473, 474 (note).	
GOUR	* 9th century, A. D.	A. D. 1203	Monghir inscription.	
MÁLWA	Eleven generations before 56 B. C.	A. D. 1231	Áyini Akberí, vol. ii. p. 44.	
GUZERÁT	* A. D. 144	A. D. 1297	Col. Tod, vol. i. p. 216; Mr. Wathen, Journal Royal As. Soc. vol. iv. p. 480.	
CANOUJ	* A. D. 470	A. D. 1193	Tod, vol. ii. p. 2.	
MITHILÁ	Ráma's time	A. D. 1325		Mithilá was the capital of the father of Sita, Ráma's wife. Though famous for a school of law, and though giving its name to one of the ten Indian languages, it is little mentioned in history.
BENÁRES	*	A. D. 1192		Benáres seems to have been independent at the time of the "Mahá Bhárata;" it was probably afterwards subject to Magadha, as it certainly was, at a later period, to Gour. It was independent when conquered by the Mahometans.
DELHI	* About 56 B. C.	A. D. 1192	Tod, vol. i. p. 51.	The next mention of Delhi in a probable form, after the "Mahá Bhárata," is its occupation by a tribe of Rajpúta, twenty of whom had reigned in succession, when they were dethroned, in A.D. 1050, by an ancestor of Prithwí Rajá, who was conquered by the Mussulmans.
AJMÍR	Seven generations before A. D. 695	A. D. 1192	Tod, Trans. Royal As. Soc. vol. i. p. 40, and Orient. Mag. vol. viii. p. 20	The eighth prince, Mánik Ráí, reigned in A. D. 695. His descendant, Visal, was the prince who conquered Delhi in A. D. 1050. The two states fell together.
MÉWÁR	A. D. 720	Still existing.	Tod, vol. i. p. 281	It seems to have been before this in the hands of the Malwa kings. It was conquered by a race of Rájpúts from Oudh, the same who founded the state of Guzerát.
JESSELMÉR	A. D. 731	Still existing.	Tod, vol. ii. p. 283	Jesselmér was founded by a tribe of the family of Crishna, who came from the north-west of India, and who still possess it.
JEIPÚR	A. D. 967	Still existing.	Tod, vol. ii. p. 346	Founded by a Rájpút prince, of a family of descendants of Ráma, who had, some generations before, obtained the petty principality of Narwar.
SIND	* Independent in Alexander's time, 325 B.C.	A. D. 711.		Sindhu is mentioned as one principality in the "Mahá Bhárata." It was divided into four in Alexander's time, but united in A. D. 711, when invaded by the Arabs. It was afterwards recovered by the Rájpút tribe of Sumera, A. D. 750, and not finally conquered by the Mahometans until after the house of Ghór.
CASHMIR	1400 B. C.	A. D. 1015	Professor Wilson, As. Res. vol. xv.	The historians of Cashmir claim about 1200 years earlier, but give no names of kings and no events. After five dynasties, they were conquered by Mahmúd of Ghazní, in A. D. 1015, according to Ferishta.

CHAPTER II.

THE DECKAN.

Early state and divisions of the Deckan.

The history of the Deckan, as it has no pretensions to equal antiquity, is less obscure than that of Hindostan, but it is less interesting. We know little of the early inhabitants; and the Hindús do not attract so much attention where they are colonists as they did in their native seats.[1] "All the traditions and records of the peninsula (says Professor Wilson) recognise, in every part of it, a period when the natives were not Hindús;" and the aborigines are described, before their civilization by the latter people, as foresters and mountaineers, or goblins and demons. Some circumstances, however, give rise to doubts whether the early inhabitants of the Deckan could have been in so rude a state as this account of them would lead us to suppose.

The Tamil language must have been formed and perfected before the introduction of the Sanscrit; and though this fact may not be conclusive (since the North American Indians also possess a polished language), yet, if Mr. Ellis's opinion be well founded, and there is an original Tamil literature as well as language, it will be impossible to class the founders of it with foresters and mountaineers.[2] If any credit could be given to the Hindú legends, Rávana, who reigned over Ceylon and the southern part of the peninsula at the time of Ráma's invasion, was the head of a civilized and powerful state; but, by the same accounts, he was a Hindú, and a follower of Siva; which would lead us to infer that the story is much more recent than the times to which it refers, and that part of it at least is founded on the state of things when it was written, rather than when Ráma and Rávana lived.

It is probable that, after repeated invasions had opened the communication between the two countries, the first colonies

[1] The whole of the following information, down to the account of Orissa, is derived from Professor Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Papers; though it may be sometimes modified by opinions for which that gentleman ought not to be answerable.

[2] It is, perhaps, a proof of the establishment of Tamil literature before the arrival of the Brahmins, that some of its most esteemed authors are of the lowest cast, or what we call Pariars. These authors lived in comparatively modern times; but such a career would never have been thrown open to their class if the knowledge which led to it had been first imparted by the Brahmins. [There are some Tamil books ascribed to Agastya himself, but they are undoubtedly modern. The oldest works are those written by Jainas; the earliest is not later than the ninth century, A.D. See Dr. Caldwell, *Dravidian Comp. Gram.*—Ed.]

from Hindostan would settle on the fruitful plains of the Carnatic and Tanjore, rather than in the bleak downs of the upper Deckan; and although the sea might not at first have influenced their choice of an abode, its neighbourhood would in time give access to traders from other nations, and would create a rapid increase of the towns along the coast. Such seems to have been the case about the beginning of our era, when Pliny and the author of the "Periplus" describe that part of India.

Even the interior must, however, have received a considerable portion of refinement at a still earlier period; for the companions of Alexander, quoted in Strabo and Arrian, while they remark the points of difference which still subsist between the inhabitants of the south and north of India, take no notice of any contrast in their manners.

Professor Wilson surmises that the civilization of the south may possibly be extended even to ten centuries before Christ.[3]

It has been mentioned that there are five languages spoken in the Deckan; and as they doubtless mark an equal number of early national divisions, it is proper here to describe their limits.

Tamil is spoken in the country called Drávida, which occupies the extreme south of the peninsula, and is bounded on the north by a line drawn from Pulicat (near Madras) to the Ghâts between that and Bangalór, and so along the curve of those mountains westward to the boundary-line between Malabar and Canara, which it follows to the sea so as to include Malabar.[4] Drávida or Tamil country.

Part of the northern limit of Drávida forms the southern one of Carnáta, which is bounded on the west by the sea, nearly as far as Goa, and then by the western Ghâts up to the neighbourhood of Cólapúr. Carnáta or Canarese country

The northern limit will be very roughly marked by a line from Cólapúr to Bídar, and the eastern by a line from Bídar, through Adóni, Anantpúr, and Nandidrúg, to the point in the Ghâts formerly mentioned between Pulicat and Bangalór.

This last line forms part of the western limit of the Télugu language; which, however, must be prolonged in the same rough way to Chanda, on the river Warda. From Telingána or Telugu country

[3] [Dr Caldwell (*Ibid.* pp. 77–80) shows that the Drávidians had acquired at least the elements of civilization previous to the arrival amongst them of the Brahmans, but they were still in a rude state. Tradition names Agastya as the first teacher of science and literature in the south; he is identified with the star Canopus. Of course his date is utterly uncertain; Dr. Caldwell would fix it in the sixth or seventh century B.C. ED.]

[4] [These limits thus include the district of the Malayálam.—ED.]

this the northern boundary runs still more indistinctly east to Sohnpúr on the Mahánadí. The eastern limit runs from Sohnpúr to Cicacole, and thence along the sea to Pulicat, where it meets the boundary of the Tamil language.

Maháráshtra or the Maratta country.

The southern limit of the Maratta language and nation has already been described in fixing the boundaries of Carnáta and Telingána. It runs from Goa through Cólapúr and Bídar to Chanda. Its eastern line follows the Warda to the chain of hills south of the Nerbadda, called Injádri or Sátpúra.

Those hills are its northern limit, as far west as Nandód, near the Nerbadda, and its western will be shown by a line from Nandód to Damán, continued along the sea to Goa.[5]

Orissa or Urya country.

The Uriya language is bounded on the south by that of Telingána, and on the east by the sea. On the west and north, a line drawn from Sohnpúr to Midnapúr, in Bengal, would in some measure mark the boundary.

The large space left between Maháráshtra and Orissa is in a great part the forest tract inhabited by the Gónds. Their language, though quite distinct from the rest, being reckoned a jargon of savage mountaineers, is not counted among the five languages of the Deckan.[6]

Kingdoms and principalities of the Deckan.

The most ancient kingdoms are those in the extreme south, in all of which the Tamil language prevailed.

Kingdom of Pándya.

Two persons of the agricultural class founded the kingdoms of Pándya and Chola. The first of these derives its name from its founder. It is uncertain when he flourished, but there seem good grounds for thinking it was in the fifth century before Christ.

Strabo mentions an ambassador from King Pandion to Augustus; and this appears from the "Periplus" and Ptolemy to have been the hereditary appellation of the descendants of Pándya.

The Pandion of the time of the "Periplus" had possession of a part of the Malabar coast, but this must have been of short duration; the Ghâts in general formed the western limit of the kingdom, which was of small extent, only occupying what we now call the districts of Madura and Tinivelly.

The seat of the government, after being twice changed, was

[5] The establishment of a Maratta government at Nágpúr has drawn many of the nation into that part of Góndwána, and made their language general for a considerable distance round the capital.

[6] In the plains towards the north of Góndwána the language is a dialect of Hindostáni.

fixed at Madura, where it was in Ptolemy's time, and where it remained till within a century of the present day.

The wars and rivalries of all the Pándyan princes were with the adjoining kingdom of Chola; with which they seem, in the first ages of the Christian era, to have formed a union which lasted for a long time. They, however, resumed their separate sovereignty, and were a considerable state until the ninth century, when they lost their consequence, and were often tributary, though sometimes quite independent, till the last of the Náyacs (the dynasty with which the line closed) was conquered by the Nabob of Arcot in A.D. 1736.

Chola.

The history of Chola takes a wider range. Its proper limits were those of the Tamil language, and Mr. Ellis thinks that it had attained to this extent at the beginning of the Christian era; but the same gentleman is of opinion, that in the eighth century, its princes had occupied large portions of Carnáta and Telingána, and ruled over as much of the country up to the Godáverí as lay east of the hills at Nandidrúg.

They seem, however, to have been first checked, and ultimately driven back, in the twelfth century, within their ancient frontiers. In this state they continued to subsist, either as independent princes or feudatories of Vijayanagar, until the end of the seventeenth century, when a brother of the founder of the Maratta state, who was at that time an officer under the Mussulman king of Bijápúr, being detached to aid the last rája, supplanted him in his government, and was first of the present family of Tanjore.

The capital, for most part of their rule, was at Cánchi, or Conjeveram, west of Madras.

Chéra.

Chéra was a small state, between the territory of the Pándyas and the western sea. It comprehended Travancore, part of Malabar, and Coimbatúr. It is mentioned in Ptolemy, and may have existed at the commencement of our era. It spread, at one time, over the greater part of Carnáta, but was subverted in the tenth century, and its lands partitioned among the surrounding states.

Kerala.

According to the mythologists, the country of Kerala, which includes Malabar and Canara, was (together with the Concan) miraculously gained from the sea by Parasu Ráma (the conqueror of the Cshatriyas), and as miraculously peopled by him with Bramins. A more rational account states that, about the first or second century of our era, a prince of the northern

division of Kerala introduced a colony of Bramins from Hindostan; and as the numerous Bramins of Malabar and Canara are mostly of the five northern nations, the story seems to be founded in fact.

However the population may have been introduced, all accounts agree that Kerala was, from the first, entirely separate from the Concans, and was possessed by Bramins, who divided it into sixty-four districts, and governed it by means of a general assembly of their cast, renting the lands to men of the inferior classes. The executive government was held by a Bramin elected every three years, and assisted by a council of four of the same tribe. In time, however, they appointed a chief of the military class, and afterwards were, perhaps, under the protection of the Pándyan kings. But though the language of Kerala is a dialect of Tamil, it does not appear ever to have been subject to the kingdom of Chola.

It is not exactly known when the northern and southern divisions separated; but in the course of the ninth century, the southern one (Malabar) revolted from its prince, who had become a Mahometan, and broke up into many petty principalities; among the chief of which was that of the Zamorins, whom Vasco di Gama found in possession of Calicut in the end of the fifteenth century.

The northern division (Canara) seems to have established a dynasty of its own soon after the commencement of our era, which lasted till the twelfth century, when it was overturned by the Belál rájas, and subsequently became subject to the rájas of Vijayanagar.

Concan

The Concan, in early times, seems to have been a thinly inhabited forest, from which character it has even now but partially escaped. I suppose the inhabitants were always Marattas.

Carnáta and Telingána.

Belála Rájas.

From there being the same language and manners through all Carnáta, it seems probable that the whole was once united under a native government; but the first historical accounts describe it as divided between the Pándya and Chéra princes, and those of Canara (or the northern half of Kerala). It was afterwards partitioned among many petty princes, until the middle of the eleventh century, when one considerable dynasty appears to have arisen.

This was the family of Ballála or Belál, who were, or pretended to be, Rájpúts of the Yadu branch, and whose power at one time extended over the whole of Carnáta, together with

Malabar, the Tamil country, and part of Telingána. They were subverted by the Mussulmans about A.D. 1310 or 1311.

The eastern part of Telingána seems to have been, from the beginning of the ninth to near the end of the eleventh century, in the hands of an obscure dynasty known by the name of Yádava. The Yádavas.

A Rájpút family of the Chálukya tribe reigned at Calián, west of Bídar, on the borders of Carnáta and Mahárashtra. They are traced with certainty, by inscriptions, from the end of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century. Those inscriptions show that they possessed territory as far to the south-west as Banawási in Sunda, near the western Ghats, and in one of them they are styled subjugators of Chola and Guzerát. Mr. Walter Elliot, who has published a large collection of their inscriptions,[7] is of opinion that they possessed the whole of Mahárashtra to the Nerbadda.[8] Professor Wilson thinks that they were also superior lords of the west of Telingána, a prince of which (probably their feudatory) defeated the Chola king:[9] and this is, probably, the conquest alluded to in the inscription. The same pretensions with respect to Guzerát probably originated in the acquisition (already mentioned) of that country by a prince of this house, through his marriage with the heiress of the Chaura family. The last king of the race was deposed by his minister, who, in his turn, was assassinated by some fanatics of the Lingáyet sect, which was then rising into Chálukyas of Carnáta.

[7] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 1.

[8] [Mr. Elliott (in *Madras Journ. Lit. and Sc.* 1838) has given a summary of their history as far as it is known. He shows that before the arrival of the Chálukyas in the Deckan the Pallavas were the dominant race. Jayasinha was the founder of the Chálukya dynasty, which fixed its seat at Kalyán, about 100 miles west of Hyderabad. Subsequently a younger branch established itself in Telingana about the end of the sixth century: "The two families ruled over the whole of the table-land between the Nerbudda and Krishna, together with the coast of the Bay of Bengal from Ganjam to Nellore, for about five centuries. The power of the Kalyán dynasty was subverted for a time in the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, and the emigrant prince or his son succeeded by marriage, in A.D. 931, to the throne of Anhalwara Pattan in Guzerat, which his descendants occupied with great glory till A.D. 1145. But in A.D. 973 the dynasty of Kalyán was restored in the person of Tailapa Deva, and ruled with greater splendour than before till its extinction, in A.D. 1189, by Bijjala Deva, the founder of the Kalabhuriya dynasty. The junior branch extended their territories northwards from Vengi to the frontiers of Cuttack, and ultimately fixed their capital at Rájamahendri, the modern Rajahmundry. More than one revolution appears to have occurred in the course of their history, but the old family always contrived to regain its power, until the kingdom passed by marriage to Rájendra Chola, the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas had reached its zenith." In the twelfth century a partial restoration of the Chálukya line appears to have taken place, "and they maintained a feeble and divided influence until the latter part of the twelfth century, when the country fell under the sway of the Kakatiya dynasty of Warangal."—ED.]

[9] Introduction to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxix.

notice. The kingdom fell into the hands of the Yadus of Deogiri.[10]

Chálukyas of Calinga.

Another branch of the tribe of Chálukya, perhaps connected with those of Calián, ruled over Calinga, which is the eastern portion of Telingána, extending along the sea from Drávida to Orissa.

Their dynasty certainly lasted through the whole of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and perhaps began two centuries earlier. It was greatly reduced by the Ganapati kings of Andhra, and finally subverted by the rájas of Cattac.

Kings of Andhra.

The kings of Andhra, whose capital was Warangal (about 80 miles north-east of Heiderábád,) are alleged to have been connected with the Andhra race in Magadha; but it must have been by country only, for Andhra is not the name of a family, but of all the inland part of Telingána.[11]

The records of the inhabitânts mention Vicrama and Sálivâhana among the earliest monarchs: after these they place the Chola rájas, who were succeeded, they think, about 515 A.D., by a race called Yavans; who were nine in number, and reigned, as they say, for 458 years, till A.D. 953. About this time, the same records make the family of Ganapati rájas begin; but the first authentic mention of them, and probably their first rise to consequence, was in the end of the eleventh century, under Kakati,[12] from whom the whole dynasty is sometimes named. He has been mentioned as an officer or feudatory of the Chálukyas, and as having gained victories over the Chola kings. Their greatest power was about the end of the thirteenth century, when the local traditions represent them as possessed of the whole of the peninsula south of the Godáveri. Professor Wilson, however, limits them to the portion between the fifteenth and eighteenth degrees of latitude.

In 1332 their capital was taken, and their importance, if not their independence, destroyed by a Mahometan army from Delhi. At one time, subsequent to this, they seem to have been tributary to Orissa. They merged, at last, in the Mussulman kingdom of Golconda.

Orissa.

The history of Orissa, like all others in the Deckan, begins with princes connected with the "Mahá Bhárata." It then goes on with a confused history (much resembling that of the commencement of the Andhra kings), in which Vicra-

[10] Mr. Elliot, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 17.

[11] Introduction to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxii.

[12] [He is said to have founded Warangal about A.D. 1088.—Ed.]

máditya and Sáliváhana are made to occupy the country in succession; and in which repeated invasions of Yavans from Delhi, from a country called Bábul (supposed to mean Persia), from Cashmír, and from Sind, are represented as having taken place between the sixth century before Christ and the fourth century after Christ.

The last invasion was from the sea, and in it the Yavans were successful, and kept possession of Orissa for 146 years.

The natives suppose these Yavans to be Mussulmans; and, with similar absurdity, describe two invasions of troops of that persuasion, under Imárat Khán and another Khán, as taking place about five centuries before Christ. Some will prefer applying the story to Seleucus, or the Bactrian Greeks; but it is evident that the whole is a jumble of such history and mythology as the author was acquainted with, put together without the slightest knowledge of geography or chronology.[13]

The Yavans were expelled by Yayáti Kesari, in A.D. 473.

This Mr. Stirling justly considers as the first glimmering of authentic history. Thirty-five rájas of the Kesari family follow in a period of 650 years, until A.D. 1131, when their capital was taken by a prince of the house of Ganga Vansa, whose dynasty occupied the throne till near the Mahometan conquest. Mr. Stirling supposes this family to have come from Telingána; but Professor Wilson[14] proves, from an inscription, that they were rájas of a country on the Ganges, answering to what is now Tamlúk and Midnapúr; and that their first invasion was at the end of the eleventh century of our era, some years before the final conquest just mentioned.

Their greatest internal prosperity and improvement seems to have been towards the end of the twelfth century; and for several reigns on each side of that epoch they claim extensive conquests, especially to the south.

These are rendered highly improbable by the flourishing state of the Chálukya and Andhra governments during that period. In the middle of the fifteenth century, however, the government of Orissa had sent armies as far as Conjeveram, near Madras, and about the same time their rája, according to Ferishta,

[13] The same remark applies to the Yavans of Telingána, who, by-the-bye, have all Sanscrit names. Dr. Buchanan (vol. iii. pp. 97, 112) is surprised to find a dynasty of Yavans at Anagundi on the Tumbadra in the eighth and ninth centuries; this, however, is not physically impossible, like the others, for the first Arab invasion was in the seventh century after Christ.

[14] Preface to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxxviii. Their name means "race of the Ganges."

advanced to the neighbourhood of Bídar, to assist the Hindú princes of those parts against the Mussulmans.

Before these last events, the Ganga Vansa had been succeeded by a Rájpút family, of the race of the sun; and after performing some other brilliant exploits, and suffering invasions from the Mussulmans, both in Bengal and the Deckan, the government fell into confusion, was seized on by a Telinga chief in A.D. 1550, and ultimately was annexed to the Mogul Empire, by Akber, in A.D. 1578.[15]

Maháráshtra or Maratta country.

From the great extent of the country through which the Maratta language is spoken, and from its situation on the frontier of the Deckan, one would expect it to be the first noticed and the most distinguished of the divisions of the peninsula; yet we only possess two historical facts regarding it until the time of the Mussulmans, and in those the name of Maháráshtra is never once mentioned.[16]

Tagara.

After the fables regarding Ráma, whose retreat was near the source of the Godáverí, the first fact we hear of is the existence of Tagara, which was a great emporium in the second century, is mentioned in inscriptions as a celebrated place in the twelfth century, and is still well known by name, though its position is forgotten.

It is mentioned by the author of the "Periplus," but its site is fixed with so little precision, that we can only guess it to have lain within something more than 100 miles in a direction to the east of Paitan on the Godáverí. It is said to have been a very great city, and to have been one of the two principal marts of Dachanabades,[17] a country so called from Dachan, which (says the author) is the word for south in the native language. The other mart is Plithana. Neither is mentioned as a capital.[18]

[15] The whole of the account of Orissa, where not otherwise specified, is taken from a paper of Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 254.

[16] [It is remarkable, however, that the principal dialect in the oldest Prákrit grammar (that by Vararuchi) is called Mahárashtr. Ed.]

[17] Dakshinápatha is the Sanscrit name for the Deckan. [Dakkhinápadha would be its Prákrit form. Ed.]

[18] We have scarcely any ground to go on in fixing these places. The following are the words of the *Periplus* — "Of these in Dachanabades itself, two very distinguished marts attract notice, lying twenty days' journey to the south from Barygaza. About ten days' journey towards the east from this is the other, Tagara, a very great city. [Goods] are brought down from them on carts, and over very great ascents, to Barygaza; from Plithana many onyx-stones, and from Tagara ordinary linen, etc." It is evident from this, that the two towns are Plithana and Tagara; and as Tagara is *the other*, there must have been one first mentioned, or intended to be mentioned, and that one must have been Plithana: the mode of expression, no doubt, is inaccurate and confused. If this interpretation be correct, the first step to be taken is to ascertain the position of Plithana, which must be somewhere to the southward of Barygaza, distant twenty days' journey, and above the Ghâts.

Wherever Tagara was situated, it afterwards became the capital of a line of kings of the Rájpút family of Silár, with whom the ruler of Calián near Bombay, in the eleventh century, and of Parnála near Cólapúr, in the twelfth, were proud to boast of their connexion.[19]

The next fact relating to the Maratta country is the reign of Sáliváhana, whose era begins from A.D. 77. Sálivá-hana seems to have been a powerful monarch, yet scarcely one circumstance of his history has been preserved in an authentic or even credible form. He is said to have been the son of a potter—to have headed an insurrection, overturned a dynasty, and to have established his capital at Paitan, on the Godáverí. He is said also to have conquered the famous Vicramáditya, king of Málwa, and to have founded an extensive empire.[20] The first of these assertions, in reference to Vicramáditya himself, is impossible, as there are 135 years between the eras of the two princes, and no war with any subsequent king of Málwa is mentioned. His empire was probably in the Deckan, where

Sáliváhana.

Barygaza is admitted to be Baróch. A day's journey has been taken by Colonel Wilford at eleven miles, which (after allowing for horizontal distance) does not differ greatly from that allowed by Rennell to armies with all their encumbrances. 220 miles to the southward of Baróch is therefore the point to be sought for; and the first step will naturally be, to look for some place within that circuit the name of which resembles Plithana. None such is to be found. Colonel Wilford, indeed, mentions a place called Pultanah, on the Godáverí; but nobody else has heard of it, and the probability is, that he meant Phultámba. If so, the resemblance ceases at once; for Phultámba would be written in Greek Φουλταμβα, instead of Πλιθανα; and the supposition is otherwise untenable, as Phultámba, by a circuitous road, is only seventeen days' journey from Baróch. We are therefore left to seek for a Plithana; but Colonel Wilford, I conceive, has brought us into the right neighbourhood, and has assisted us by an ingenious conjecture, though intended for another purpose. He says that Ptolemy has mistaken Plithana (ΠΛΙΘΑΝΑ) for Paithana (ΠΑΙΘΑΝΑ); and I would contend that, on the contrary, the copyist of the *Periplus* has changed Paithana into Plithana (the more likely as the name only occurs once), and that the real name of the first emporium is Paitan, a city on the Godáverí, between twenty and twenty-one days' journey (230 miles) from Baróch, and distinguished as the capital of the great monarch Sáliváhana. As this king flourished towards the end of the first century (A.D. 77), it would be strange if his royal residence had become obscure by the middle of the second; and even if the distance did not agree so well, we should be tempted to fix on *it* as one of the great marts of the Deckan. With regard to Tagara, we remain in total uncertainty. It cannot possibly be Deogiri (Doulatábád); because, even if we allow Phultámba to be Plithana, Doulatábád is within three days and a half or four days' journey instead of ten; nor is there any situation to be found for Plithana so as to be twenty days' journey from Baróch and ten from Doulatábád, except Púna, which, being within seventy miles of the sea, would never have sent its produce twenty days' journey to Baróch. We need have the less reluctance in giving up Deogiri, as that place is never spoken of as a city until more than 1000 years after the date generally assigned to the *Periplus*. If Plithana be Paitan, Tagara must have lain ten days farther east, and probably on the Godáverí; but that Plithana *is* Paitan rests on the above conjecture alone.

[19] See inscriptions, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. p. 357; and *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 391.

[20] Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*, vol. i. p. 26.

his name is still well known, and his era still that in ordinary use. After this the history of Maháráshtra breaks off, and (except by the inscriptions of the petty princes of Calián and Pernála) we hear no more of that country till the beginning of the twelfth century, when a family of Yadus, perhaps a branch of that of Ballál, became rájas of Deogiri.[21] In A.D. 1294, Maháráshtra was invaded by the Mussulmans from Delhi. A rája of the race of Yadu still reigned at Deogiri. He was rendered tributary either then or in A.D. 1306, and his capital was taken and his kingdom subverted in A.D. 1317.

Deogiri.

About this time the Mussulman writers begin to mention the Marattas by name.[22] It is probable that strangers, on entering the Deckan, called the first country they came to by that general designation, and did not distinguish the different nations by name till they had met with more than one. It is probable, also, that there was little in the Marattas to attract notice. If they had been for any time under one great monarchy, we should have heard of it, as of the other Deckan states; and they would probably, like the others so circumstanced, have had a peculiar literature and civilization of their own. But they are still remarkably deficient both in native authors and in refinement; and what polish they have seems borrowed from the Mussulmans, rather than formed by Hindús.

On the other hand, their cave-temples argue a great and long-continued application of skill and power; and those of Ellóra attracted the attention of the Mussulmans in their very first invasions.

The celebrity of the Marattas was reserved for recent times, when they were destined to act a greater part than all other Hindú nations, and to make a nearer approach to universal sovereignty than any of those to whom modern writers have ascribed the enjoyment of the empire of India.

[21] Wilson's Preface to the Mackenzie Papers, p. cxxx. [Vopadeva, the grammarian and reputed author of the Bhágavata Purána, is believed to have been a contemporary of Hemádri, the minister of Ráma-chandra, Rája of Deogiri, and to have flourished in the thirteenth century. See Burnouf, *Bhág. Purána*, Prel.—Ed.]

[22] [The name *Marhaṭ* occurs several times in Zíá ud dín Barní's account of Muhammad Tughlak's reign.—Ed.].

APPENDICES

TO

THE PRECEDING FOUR BOOKS.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE AGE OF MENU AND OF THE VÉDAS.

THE value of Menu's Code, as a picture of the state of society, depends entirely on its having been written in ancient times, as it pretends.

Before settling its date, it is necessary to endeavour to fix that of the Védas, to which it so constantly refers. From the manner in which it speaks of those sacred poems, we may conclude that they had long existed in such a form as to render them of undisputed authority, and binding on the conscience of all Hindûs. Age of the Védas.

Most of the hymns composing the Védas are in a language so rugged as to prove that they were written before that of the other sacred writings was completely formed; while some, though antiquated, are within the pale of the polished Sanscrit. There must, therefore, have been a considerable interval between the composition of the greater part and the compilation of the whole. It is of the compilation alone that we can hope to ascertain the age.

Sir William Jones attempts to fix the date of the composition of the Yajur Véda by counting the lives of forty sages, through whom its doctrines were transmitted, from the time of Parásara; whose epoch, again, is fixed by a celestial observation: but his reasoning is not convincing. He supposes the Yajur Véda to have been written in 1580 before Christ. The completion of the compilation he fixes in the twelfth century before Christ; and all the other European writers who have examined the question fix the age of the compiler, Vyása, between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries before Christ. The Hindûs themselves unanimously declare him to have lived at least 3001 years before Christ.

The superior accuracy of the opinion held by the Europeans appears to be put out of all doubt by a passage discovered by Mr. Colebrooke. In every Véda there is a sort of astronomical treatise, the object of which is to explain the adjustment of the calendar, for the purpose of fixing the proper periods for the performance of religious duties. There can be little doubt that the last editor of these treatises would avail himself of the observations which were most relied on when he wrote, and would explain them by means of the computation of time most intelligible to his readers. Now the measure of time employed in those treatises is itself a proof of their antiquity, for it is a cycle of five years of lunar months, with awkward divisions, intercalations, and other corrections which show it to contain the rudiments of the calendar which now, after successive corrections, is received by the Hindûs throughout India: but the decisive argument is, that the place assigned to the solstitial points in the treatises (which

is given in detail by Mr. Colebrooke) is that in which those points were situated in the fourteenth century before Christ.[1] Mr. Colebrooke's interpretation of this passage has never, I believe, been called in question; and it would be difficult to find any grounds for suspecting the genuineness of the text itself. The ancient form of the calendar is beyond the invention of the Hindú forger, and there could be no motive to coin a passage, fixing in the fourteenth century before Christ a work which all Hindús assign to the thirty-first century of the same era.

In an essay previously written,[2] Mr. Colebrooke had shown, from another passage in the Védas, that the correspondence of seasons with months, as there stated, indicated a position of the cardinal points similar to that which has just been mentioned; and, on that ground, he had fixed the compilation of the Védas at the same period which he afterwards ascertained by more direct proof.

From the age of the Védas, thus fixed, we must endeavour to discover that of Menu's Code. Sir William Jones[3] examines the difference in the dialect of those two compositions; and from the time occupied by a corresponding change in the Latin language, he infers that the Code of Menu must have been written 300 years after the compilation of the Védas. This reasoning is not satisfactory, because there is no ground for believing that all languages proceed at the same uniform rate in the progress of refinement. All that can be assumed is, that a considerable period must have elapsed between the epochs at which the ruder and the more refined idioms were in use. The next ground for conjecturing the date of Menu's Code rests on the difference between the law and manners there recorded and those of modern times. This will be shewn to be considerable; and from the proportion of the changes which will also be shown to have taken place before the invasion of Alexander, we may infer that a long time had passed between the promulgation of the Code and the latter period. On a combination of these data, we may perhaps be allowed to fix the age of the supposed Menu, very loosely, at some time about halfway between Alexander (in the fourth century before Christ) and the Védas (in the fourteenth).

Age of the Institutes.

This would make the author of the Code live about 900 years before Christ.

That the Code is very ancient is proved by the difference of religion and manners from those of present times, no less than by the obsolete style.

That these are not disguises, assumed to conceal a modern forgery, appears from the difficulty with which consistency could be kept up, especially when we have the means of checking it by the accounts of the Greeks, and from the absence of all motive for forgery, which of itself is perhaps conclusive.

A Bramin, forging a code, would make it support the system established in his time, unless he were a reformer, in which case he would introduce texts favourable to his new doctrines; but neither would pass over the most popular innovations in absolute silence, nor yet inculcate practices repugnant to modern notions.

Yet the religion of Menu is that of the Védas. Ráma, Crishna, and other favourite gods of more recent times, are not mentioned either with reverence or with disapprobation, nor are the controversies hinted at to which those and other new doctrines gave rise. There is no mention of regular orders, or of the self-immolation of widows. Bramins eat beef and flesh of all kinds, and intermarry with women of

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, vol. viii. p. 469. [Archdeacon Pratt (*J. A. S. Bengal*, 1861, p. 51), has re-examined the astronomical question, and fixes the date as 1181 B.C., but the truth is, that these ancient observations must have been too loose to allow of our drawing conclusions from them without allowing a margin of several centuries. See Prof. Whitney's paper in *J. A. O. S.*, 1865.—ED.]

[2] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 283.

[3] Preface to Menu, p. 6

inferior casts, besides various other practices repulsive to modern Hindús, which are the less suspicious because they are minute.

These are all the grounds on which we can guess at the age of this Code. That of Menu himself is of no consequence, since his appearance is merely dramatic, like that of Crishna in the "Bhagavad Gítá," or of the speakers in Plato's or Cicero's dialogues. No hint is given as to the real compiler, nor is there any clue to the date of the ancient commentator Cullúca. From his endeavouring to gloss over and to explain away some doctrines of Menu, it is evident that opinion had already begun to change in his time; but as many commentators, and some of very ancient date,[1] speak of the rules of Menu as applicable to the good ages only, and not extending to their time, and as such a limitation never once occurs to Cullúca, we must conclude that commentator, though a good deal later than the original author, to have lived long before the other jurists whose opinions have just been alluded to.

On a careful perusal of the Code, there appears nothing inconsistent with the age attributed to it. It may, perhaps, be said that the very formation of a code, especially in so methodical a manner, is unlike ancient times; and it is certain that a people must have subsisted for some time, and must have established laws and customs before it could frame a code. But the Greeks, and other nations whose history we know, formed codes at a comparatively earlier period of their national existence; and although the arrangement as well as the subject of Menu's Code show considerable civilization, yet this is no proof of recent origin, more than rudeness is of antiquity. The Romans were more polished 2000 years ago than the Esquimaux are now, or perhaps may be 2000 years hence.

[The Institutes of Menu are only one of the many Smritis or Dharmaśástras; a list of which was given in p. 89 supra. The very form in which they are composed, the epic śloka, proves their comparatively modern origin. The latest productions of the Vaidik period were the Sútras, or the ceremonial rules current in different families. These, when complete, are divided into three portions,—the Śrauta, which treats of the great sacrifices; the Grihya, which treats of the domestic purifications, &c.; and the Sámayáchárika, which treats of temporal duties and customs. The last seems to have been mainly the source of these Dharmaśástras. The Mánavas are a subdivision of the Taittiríyakas, or followers of the Black Yajur Véda, and the Śrauta portion of the Mánava Kalpa-sútras still exists, but the other portions seem to be lost. But in the Sútras of the Ápastambas (another subdivision of the Taittiríyakas), in which the three portions are extant complete, we find that "the Sútras contain generally almost the same words which have been brought into verse by the compiler of the Mánava-dharma-śástra." The so-called "Institutes of Manu" may therefore be considered as the last redaction of the traditional laws of the Mánavas. That ours is only one of many, probably successive, redactions, seems evident by the frequent quotations in old authors from lost works, called the Vrihat or great Manu, and Vriddha or old Manu. As for the date of the compilation in its present form, we have no data to rest upon, since it is a *rifacimento* of older materials; but the third century before Christ, is certainly nearer to the truth than the ninth or tenth. We must not, however, forget, in estimating its historical value, that it was undoubtedly composed from older documents, and, although some parts may be comparatively modern, the great mass of the work does faithfully represent the spirit and character of the old Hindú world, after the cast system had become thoroughly established. See this subject more fully treated in Prof. Max Müller's *Ancient Sanskrit Lit.* pp. 61, 132—134; and his letter in *Morley's Digest*, Introd. p. cxcvii.—ED.]

[1] See note at the end of Sir W. Jones' translation.

APPENDIX II.

ON CHANGES IN CAST.

Doubts regarding the foreign descent of any of the Rajpút tribes.

AMONG the changes in cast, I have not noticed one which, if proved, is of much greater importance than all the rest: I allude to the admission of a body of Scythians into the Cshatriya class, which is asserted by Colonel Tod,[1] and in part acceded to by a very able writer in the "Oriental Magazine."[2] Colonel Tod is entitled to every respect, on account of his zeal for Oriental knowledge, and the light he has thrown on a most interesting country, almost unknown till his time; and the anonymous writer is so evidently a master of his subject, that it is possible he may be familiar with instances unknown to me of the admission of foreigners into Hindú casts. Unless this be the case, however, I am obliged to differ from the opinion advanced, and can only show my estimation of those who maintain it, by assigning my reasons at length. If the supposition be, that the whole Hindú people sprang from the same root with the Scythians, before those nations had assumed their distinctive peculiarities, I shall not conceive myself called on to discuss the question; but if such a union is said to have taken place within the historic period, I shall be inclined to doubt the fact. The admission of strangers into any of the twice-born classes was a thing never contemplated by Menu, and could not have taken place within the period to which the records of his time extended. No trace of the alleged amalgamation remained in Alexander's time; for though he and his followers visited India after having spent two years in Scythia, they discovered no resemblance between any parts of those nations. The union must therefore have taken place within a century or two before our era, or at some later period. This is the supposition on which Colonel Tod has gone in some places, though in others he mentions Scythian immigrations in the sixth century before Christ, and others at more remote periods.

That there were Scythian irruptions into India before those of the Moguls under Chengís Khán, is so probable, that the slightest evidence would induce us to believe them to have occurred; and we may be satisfied with the proofs afforded us that the Scythians, after conquering Bactria, brought part of India under their dominion; but the admission of a body of foreigners into the proudest of the Hindú classes, and that after the line had been as completely drawn as it was in the Code of Menu, is so difficult to imagine, that the most direct and clear proofs are necessary to substantiate it. Now, what are the proofs?—

1. That four of the Rájpút tribes have a fable about their descent, from which, if all Hindú fables had a meaning, we might deduce that they came from the west, and that they did not know their real origin.

2. That some of the Rájpúts certainly did come from the west of the Indus.

3. That the religion and manners of the Rájpúts resemble those of the Scythians.

4. That the names of some of the Rájpút tribes are Scythian.

5. That there were, by ancient authorities, Indo-Scythians on the Lower Indus in the second century.

6. That there were white Huns in Upper India in the time of Cosmas Indico-Pleustes (sixth century).

[1] *History of Rájasthán*, vol. i.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 33, and vol. viii. p. 19.

7. That De Guignes mentions, on Chinese authorities, the conquest of the country on the Indus by a body of Yue-chi or Getæ, and that there are still Jits on both sides of that river.

1. The first of these arguments is not given as conclusive; and it is obvious that native tribes, as well as foreign, might be ignorant of their pedigree, or might wish to improve it by a fable, even if known. The scene of the fable carries us no nearer to Scythia than A'bu, in the north of Guzerát; and few, if any, of the tribes which Colonel Tod describes as Scythians belong to the *four* to whom only it applies.

2. The great tribe of Yadu, which is the principal, perhaps the only one, which came from beyond the Indus, is the tribe of Crishna, and of the purest Hindú descent. There is a story of their having crossed to the west of the Indus after the death of Crishna. One division (the Sama) certainly came from the west, in the seventh or eighth century, but they were Hindús before they crossed the Indus; and many of those who still remain on the west, though now Mahometans, are allowed to be of Hindú descent.[8] Alexander found two bodies of Indians west of the Indus,—one in Paropamisus, and one near the sea; and, though both were small and unconnected, yet the last-mentioned alone is sufficient to account for all the immigrations of Rájpúts into India, without supposing aid from Scythia.

3. If the religion and manners of any of the Rájpúts resemble those of the Scythians, they incomparably more closely resemble those of the Hindús. Their language also is Hindú, without a Scythian word (as far as has yet been ascertained). I have not heard of any part of their religion, either, that is not purely Hindú. In fact, all the points in which they are said to resemble the Scythians are common to all the Rájpúts without exception, and most of them to the whole Hindú race. On the other hand, the points selected as specimens of Scythian manners are for the most part common to all rude nations. Many, indeed, are expressly brought forward as Scandinavian or German; although an identity of manners between those nations and the eastern Scythians is still to be proved, even supposing their common origin.

If, instead of searching for minute points of resemblance, we compare the general character of the two nations, it is impossible to imagine any two things less alike.

The Scythian is short, square-built, and sinewy, with a broad face, high cheekbones, and long narrow eyes, the outer angles of which point upwards. His home is a tent; his occupation, pasturage; his food, flesh, cheese, and other productions of his flocks; his dress is of skins or wool; his habits are active, hardy, roving, and restless. The Rájpút, again, is tall, comely, loosely built, and, when not excited, languid and lazy. He is lodged in a house, and clad in thin showy fluttering garments; he lives on grain, is devoted to the possession of land, never moves but from necessity; and though often in or near the desert, he never engages in the care of flocks and herds, which is left to inferior classes.

4. Resemblances of name, unless numerous and supported by other circumstances, are the very lowest sort of evidence; yet in this case, we have hardly even them. Except Jit, which will be adverted to, the strongest resemblance is in the name of a now obscure tribe called Hun to that of the horde which the Romans called Huns; or to that of the great nation of the Turks, once called by the Chinese Hien-yun or Hiong-nou. The Huns, though now almost extinct, were once of some consequence, being mentioned in some ancient inscriptions; but there is nothing besides their name to connect them either with the Huns or the Hiong-

[8] Tod, vol. i. p. 86; Pottinger, pp. 392, 393; Ayeen Ackery, vol. ii. p. 132.

nou. It might seem an argument against the Hindú origin of the Rájpúts, that the names of few of their tribes are explainable in Sanscrit. But are they explainable in any Tartar language? and are all names confessedly Hindú capable of explanation?

Scythian settlers in India.

5. We may admit, without hesitation, that there were Scythians on the Indus in the second century, but it is not apparent how this advances us a single step towards their transformation into Rájpúts: these have long been Persians and Afgháns and English in India, but none of them have found a place among the native tribes.

6. Cosmas, a mere mariner, was not likely to be accurate in information about the upper parts of India; and the White Huns (according to De Guignes[4]) were Turks, whose capital was 'Organj or Khíva: it does not seem improbable, therefore, that he confounded the Getæ with the Huns; but his evidence, even if taken literally, only goes to prove that the name of Hun was known in Upper India; and, along with that, it proves that up to the sixth century the people who bore it had not merged in the Rájpúts.

7. The account of De Guignes has every appearance of truth. It not only explains the origin of the Scythians on the Indus, but shows us what became of them, and affords the best proof that they were not swallowed up in any of the Hindú classes.[5] The people called the Yue-chi by the Chinese, Jits by the Tartars, and Getes or Getæ by some of our writers, were a considerable nation in the centre of Tartary as late as the time of Tamerlane. In the second century before Christ they were driven from their original seats on the borders of China by the Hiongnou, with whom they had always been in enmity. About 126 B.C. a division of them conquered Khorásán in Persia; and about the same time the Sú, another tribe whom they had dislodged in an early part of their advance, took Bactria from the Greeks. In the first years of the Christian era, the Yue-chi came from some of their conquests in Persia into the country on the Indus, which is correctly described by the Chinese historians. This portion of them is represented to have settled there; and accordingly, when Tamerlane (who was accustomed to fight the Jits in Tartary) arrived at the Indus, he recognised his old antagonists in their distant colony.[6] They still bear the name of Jits or Jats,[7] and are still numerous on both sides of the Indus, forming the peasantry of the Panjáb, the Rájpút country, Sind, and the east of Beloóchistán; and, in most places, professing the Mussulman religion.

The only objection that has been brought forward to the Getic origin of the Jats is, that they are included in some lists of the Rájpút tribes, and so enrolled among pure Hindús; but Colonel Tod, from whom we learn the fact, destroys the effect of it, by stating[8] that, though their name is in the list, they are never considered as Rájpúts, and that no Rájpút would intermarry with them. In another place,[9] he observes that (except for one very ambiguous rite) they were "utter aliens to the Hindú theocracy," and he himself maintains that they are descended from the Getæ. Their language, however, if it proves to be unmixed Hindú, will furnish a strong though not insuperable objection.

It is a more natural way of connecting the immigration of Rájpúts from the west with the invasion of the Getæ, to suppose that part of the tribes who are recorded to have crossed the Indus at an early period, and who probably were those found in the south by Alexander, were dislodged by the irruption from Scythia, and

[4] Vol. ii. p. 325.

[5] De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, vol. ii. p. 41; but still more, *Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxv., with the annexed paper by D'Anville.

[6] Sherf ud-d n, quoted by De Guignes, *Académie des Inscriptions*, vol. xxv. p. 82.

[7] Not *Jats*, which is the name of a tribe near Agra, not now under discussion. [Sir H. Elliot in his Supplement to the *Indian Glossary*, maintains that the Jats of the Indus and the Jats of Bhurtpore are of the same origin.—ED.]

[8] Vol. i. p. 100.

[9] Vol. ii. p. 160.

driven back to their ancient seats to join their brethren, from whom, in religion and cast, they had never separated.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the Jats may be of Scythian descent, but that the Rájpúts are all pure Hindús.

APPENDIX III.

ON THE GREEK ACCOUNTS OF INDIA.

BEFORE we examine the account of India given by the Greeks, it is necessary to ascertain of what country they speak when they make use of that name.

Most of the writers about Alexander call the inhabitants of the hilly region to the south of the main ridge of Caucasus, and near the Indus, Indians; and also mention another Indian tribe or nation, who inhabited the sea-shore on the western side of the Indus. Each of those two tribes occupied a territory stretching for 150 miles west from the river, but narrow from north to south. A great tract of country lay between their territories, and was inhabited by a people foreign to their race. Close to the Indus, however, especially on the lower part of its course, there were other Indian tribes, though less considerable than those two.

India bounded on the west by the River Indus

The Indians on the sea-shore were named Oritæ and Arabitæ, and are recognised by Major Rennell as the people called Asiatic Ethiopians by Herodotus. Their country was the narrow tract between the mountains of Belóchistán and the sea, separated from Mékrán on the west by the range of hills which form Cape Arboo, and on which still stands the famous Hindú temple of Hingléz.

The Indians whom Herodotus includes within the satrapies of Darius, are, probably, the more northern ones under Caucasus, for he expressly declares, that those on the south were independent of the Persian monarchy.[1] It is proved by Major Rennell that his knowledge of India did not reach beyond the desert east of the Indus;[2] and he seems to have had no conception of the extent of the country, and no clear notion of the portion of it which had been subjected to Persia.[3] The other Greek writers, though they speak of Indians beyond the Indus, strictly limit *India* to the eastern side of that river. Arrian, who has called the mountaineers Indians, from the place where Alexander entered Paropamisus, yet when he comes to the Indus says, "This river Alexander crossed at daybreak with his army into the land of the Indians," and immediately begins a description of the people of that country.[4]

In the course of this description he again explicitly declares that the Indus is the western boundary of India from the mountains to the sea.[5]

In his "Indica," also, he desires his reader to consider *that* only as India which

[1] *Thalia*, 101, 102.

[2] *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 309.

[3] The Indians east of the Indus constantly maintained to the followers of Alexander that they had never before been invaded (by human conquerors at least), an assertion which they could not have ventured if they had just been delivered from the yoke of Persia. Arrian, also, in discussing the alleged invasions of Bacchus, Hercules, Semiramis, Sesostris, and Cyrus, denies them all except the mythological ones, and Strabo denies even those, adding that the Persians hired mercenaries from India, but never invaded it. (Arrian, *Indica*, 8, 9; Strabo, lib. xv., near the beginning. See also Diodorus, lib. ii. p. 123, edition of 1604.)

I have not been able to discover the grounds on which it is sometimes said that the Persians were in possession of India as far as the Jumna or Ganges. The weighty opinion of Major Rennell, (which, however, applies only to the Panjáb) rests on the single argument of the great tribute said to have been paid by the Indians, which he himself proves to have been overstated. (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 305.)

[4] *Expeditio Alexandri*, lib. v. cap. 4.

[5] Ibid. lib. v. cap. 6.

lies east of the Indus, and those who inhabit that country as the Indians of whom he is about to speak.[6]

Strabo, the most critical and judicious of all the writers on India, is as decided in pronouncing the Indus to be the western limit of India from the mountains to the sea; and quotes Eratosthenes as supporting his opinion.[7]

Pliny, indeed, states that some consider the four satrapies of Gedrosia, Arachosia, Aria, and Paropamisus to belong to India; but this would include about two-thirds of Persia.

The Sanscrit writers confirm the opinion of the Greeks, regarding the Indus as the western boundary of their country, and classing the nations beyond it with the Yavanas and other barbarians. There is, indeed, a universally acknowledged tradition, that no Hindú ought to cross that river;[8] and its inconsistency with the practice even of early times is a proof of its great antiquity.

Indians to the west of the Indus.

It is clear, therefore, that the Indians beyond the Indus were few and detached; and we will now see what account is given of them by the ancients, beginning our survey from the north.

Arrian, in the commencement of his "Indica," mentions the Assaceni and the Astaceni, as Indian nations in the mountains between the Indus and the Cophenes, but he distinguishes them from the other Indians as being less in size and fairer in complexion. He excludes them (as has been shown) from his general description of the Indians; and neither in his "Expedition of Alexander," nor in his "Indica," does he allude to Bramins among them, or mention anything in their customs of a marked Hindú character. He says that they had been subject to the Assyrians, afterwards to the Medes, and finally to the Persians. It does not appear from Arrian that there were any Indians to the south of the Cophenes (or river of Cabul), and it might be inferred from Strabo that there were none between the Paropamisadæ and the Oritæ until after Alexander's time;[9] but as Arrian mentions other tribes on the Lower Indus, it is probable that Strabo spoke generally of the two territories, and did not mean entirely to deny the residence of Indians on the Persian bank.

The Oritæ, according to Arrian,[10] were an Indian nation, who extended for about 150 miles parallel to the sea. They wore the dress and arms of the other Indians, but differed from them in language and manners.

They (those near the Indus at least) must have been essentially Indian; for Sambus, the chief of the branch of hills which run down to the river in the north of Sind, is represented as being much under the influence of the Bramins.

It will throw some light on the tribes that occupied the west bank of the Indus in former times, to point out its present inhabitants.

The mountains under Caucasus, between the point where it is crossed by the continuation of Mount Imaus, which forms the range of Soliman, and the Indus, are inhabited by a people of Indian descent, now subject to Afghán tribes, who have

[6] *Indica*, cap. ii.—"But the part from the Indus towards the east, let that be India, and let those (who inhabit it) be the Indians."

[7] Strabo, lib. xv. pp. 673, 674, ed. 1587. In lib. xv. p. 697, he again mentions the Indus as the eastern boundary of Persia.

[8] See a verse on this subject quoted in Colonel Wilford's Essay on Caucasus (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. vi. p. 585). The Colonel, who is anxious to extend the early possessions of the Hindús, endeavours to prove that the Indus meant in this verse is the river of Kábul (one of its tributary streams), that the main Indus may have changed its bed; that the prohibition was only against *crossing* the Indus, and not against passing to the other side by going round its source, and finally, that, in modern times, the prohibition is disregarded: but he never denies the existence of the restriction, or asserts that it was not at one time attended to.

[9] Lib. xv. p. 674. The passage states, from Eratosthenes, that at the time of Alexander's invasion, the Indus was the boundary of India and Ariana, and that the Persians possessed all the country to the west of the river; but that, afterwards, the Indians received a considerable part of Persia from the Macedonians. He explains the transfer more particularly in page 698, where he says that Alexander took this country from the Persians, and kept it to himself, but that Seleucus subsequently ceded it to Sandrocottus.

[10] *Exped. Alexandri*, lib. vi. c. xxi.; *Indica*, cap. xxv.

conquered the territory in comparatively recent times.[11] The upper part of the mountains farther north is possessed by the Cáfirs, another nation who, from the close connexion between their language and Sanscrit, appear to be of the Indian race. Their religion, however, though idolatrous, has no resemblance whatever to that of the Hindús.

Throughout the whole of *the plain* to the west of the Indus, from the range of Caucasus to the sea, the greater part of the original population are Jats, whose descent from the Getæ has been discussed in Appendix II., but who speak an Indian language, and are now classed with the Indians by their western neighbours. The hills which bound that plain on the west are everywhere held by tribes of a different origin. Some of the so-called Indians are Hindús, but the greater part are converts to the Mahometan religion. The above description comprehends the whole of the country of the ancient Oritæ.

If from a general view of these accounts, ancient and modern, we were to speculate on the first settlement of the people to whom they relate, it might, perhaps, appear not improbable that the Indians in the northern mountains were of the same race as the Hindús, but never converted to the Braminical religion, and that they may have occupied their present seats before the period at which the first light breaks on the history of their brethren in the plains: but it is enough to allude to so vague a conjecture.[12] The Indian races in the plains probably crossed from India at different periods. Notwithstanding the religious prohibition and the testimony of Strabo, it is difficult to believe that the easy communication afforded by a navigable river would not lead the inhabitants of whichever neighbouring country was first peopled and civilized to spread over both banks. I am therefore led to think the occupation of the western bank by the Indians began very early, the neighbouring countries on that side being scarcely peopled even now. The emigration towards the mouth of the Indus, which seems to have been more extensive than elsewhere, may possibly be that alluded to in the ancient legends about the flight of Crishna's family. A branch of this tribe certainly came from the west into Sind ten centuries ago; and other divisions, still retaining their religion and cast, have passed over into Guzerát in later times.[13]

To remove some doubts about the limits of the Indian nations on the west of the Indus, it is desirable to advert to a part of Alexander's route through the adjoining countries.

Alexander set out from Artachoana (which seems to be admitted to be Herát), and proceeded in pursuit of one of the murderers of Darius to the royal city of the Zarangæi, which is recognised in Zarang, an ancient name for the capital of Sistan. He thence directed his march towards Bactria, and on his way received the submission of the Drangæ, the Gedrosians, and the Arachotians. He then came to the Indians bordering on the Arachotians. Through *all* these nations he suffered much from snow and want of provisions. He next proceeded to Caucasus, at the foot of which he founded Alexandria, and afterwards crossed the mountains into Bactria.[14]

The Drangæ are probably the same as the Zarangæ; Arachotia is explained by Strabo[15] to extend to the Indus; and Gedrosia certainly lay along the sea.

[11] This is somewhat less than was occupied by the Indians described by Arrian, who extended west to the Cophenes, probably the river of Panjshír, north of Cábul.

[12] [This subject is discussed in Mr Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. ii. pp. 367–370. Hindú writers recognised many of the tribes to the west of the Indus as degraded Kshatriyas, and they considered some of them, as e.g. the Kambojas, to speak a dialect of Sanscrit. ED.]

[13] Colonel Tod, vol. i. pp. 85, 86; vol. ii. pp. 220 (note) 312. Captain M'Murdo, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 219.

In speaking of the Hindús above, I do not allude to the modern emigrants now found scattered through the countries on the west of the Indus as far as Moscow, neither do I discuss what other settlements of that people may have been effected between the time of Alexander and the present day.

[14] Arrian, lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

[15] Lib. xi. p. 355, edition of 1587.

There are two ways from Sístán to Bactria—one by Herát, and the other by the pass of Hindú Cush, north of Cábul, the mountains between those points being impassable, especially in winter, when this march took place.[16] Alexander took the eastern road; and if he had marched direct to Bactria, as might be supposed from the preceding passage, he could have met with no snow at any time of the year, until he got a good deal to the east of Candahar, and he must have left Gedrosia very far to his right. It is possible, therefore (especially as the murderer of whom he was in pursuit was made over to him *by the Indians*[17]), that he continued his pursuit through Shorábak and the valley of Bolán (the route adopted by Mr. Conolly[18]); and that the Indians near the Arachotians may have been about Dáder, which, although at a distance from the Indus, is on the plain of that river, and may not improbably have been inhabited by an Indian race. From this place, his journey to Mount Caucasus would have lain through a country as sterile, and at that season as cold, as Caucasus itself. It is equally probable, however, that Alexander did not extend his journey so far to the south; and, in that case, the Indians would be (as they are assumed to be by Curtius[19]) those called Paropamisadæ immediately under Mount Caucasus, within or near whose boundary Alexandria certainly was built.[20] The vicinity of this people shows that Alexandria could not have been farther west than Cábul, which, indeed, is also proved by the fact of Alexander's returning to it on his way from Bactria *to India*.[21] He took seventeen days to cross Caucasus, according to Curtius; fifteen according to Strabo, from Alexandria to Adraspa, a city in Bactriana; and ten to cross the mountains in returning, according to Arrian. Captain Burnes, with none of the encumbrances of an army, took twelve days to cross the mountains on the road from Cábul to Balkh, which is comparatively shorter and easier than any more western pass. As far as this site for Alexandria, rather than one farther west, we are borne out by the high authority of Major Rennell; but that author (the greatest of English geographers), from the imperfect information then possessed about the stream that runs from Ghazni to Cábul, the Gómal, and the Kurram, has framed out of those three an imaginary river, which he supposes to run from near Bámián to the Indus, thirty or forty miles south of Attoc. This he calls the Cophenes, and, in consequence, places the scene of Alexander's operations and the seat of the Indian mountaineers to the south of the Cábul river, and at a distance from the range of Caucasus or Paropamisus. Strabo, however, expressly says that Alexander kept as near as he could to the northern mountains, that he might cross the Choaspes (which falls into the Cophenes) and the other rivers as high up as possible. Arrian makes him cross the Cophenes, and then proceed through a mountainous country, and over three other rivers which fell into the Cophenes, before he reaches the Indus. In his "Indica," also, he mentions the Cophenes as bringing those three rivers with it, and joining the Indus in Peucaliotis. It is only on the *north* bank of the Cábul river that three such rivers can be found; and even there will be great difficulty in fixing their names, for in Arrian's own two lists he completely changes the names of two. Nor is this at all surprising, for most rivers in that part of the country have no name, but are called after some town or country on their banks, and not always after the same. Thus the river called by some the Káshkár river is the Kámeh with Lieutenant Macartney, the Cheghánserái in Baber's Commentaries, and is often called the River of Cunner by the inhabitants of the neighbouring country.

[16] See Clinton's *Fasti*, B.C. 330. Darius was killed in July, and Alexander reached Bactria in spring.

[17] Arrian, ubi supra.

[18] Since made familiar by the march of Lord Keane's army.

[19] Quintus Curtius lib. viii. cap. iii.

[20] Arrian, lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

[21] Alexander was probably at Begrám, 25 miles N. 15 E. from Cabul, the ruins of which are described in a memoir by Mr. Mason, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*, vol. v. p. 1.

The Soastes would seem to be the river of Swát; but then there is no river left for the Guræus, which is between the Soastes and Indus. Major Rennell, on a different theory, supposes the Guræus to be the Cábul river itself; but both of Arrian's accounts make the Guræus fall into the Cophenes, which afterwards falls into the Indus.

The Cábul river, therefore, must be the Cophenes, and the Indians are under the mountains between it, its upper branch (the Punjshír river), and the Indus.

Alexander's proceedings in India are so well known that they cannot be too slightly touched on. After an advance to the Hyphasis, he turned to the south-west, and passed off between the desert and the Indus, having scarcely seen the skirts of India. He made no attempt to establish provinces; but, as he intended to return, he adopted exactly the same policy as that employed by the Duráni Shah in after times. He made a party in the country by dispossessing some chiefs and transferring their territory to their rivals; thus leaving all power in the hands of persons whose interest induced them to uphold his name and conciliate his favour.

The few garrisons he left reminded people of his intended return; and his troops in the nearest parts of Persia would always add to the influence of his partisans.

The adherence of Porus and other princes, who were in a manner set up by the Macedonians, ought therefore to be no matter of surprise.

We now understand the people to whom the Greek descriptions were intended to apply; but we must still be cautious how we form any further opinions regarding that people, on Greek authority alone. Description of India.

The ancients themselves have set us an example of this caution. Arrian says that he shall place implicit confidence in the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristobulus alone; and in them only when they agree;[32] and Strabo, in a very judicious dissertation on the value of the information existing in his time, observes that the accounts of the Macedonians are contradictory and inaccurate, and that those of later travellers are of still less value from the character of the authors, who were ignorant merchants, careless of everything except gain.[33] We may, however, give full credit to the Greek writers when they describe manners and institutions which are still in being, or which are recorded in ancient Hindú books. We may admit, with due allowance for incorrectness, such other accounts as are consistent with these two sources of information; but we must pass by all statements which are not supported by those tests or borne out by their own appearance of truth. Authorities.

If, however, we discard the fables derived from the Grecian mythology, and those which are contrary to the course of nature, we shall find more reason to admire the accuracy of the early authors, than to wonder at the mistakes into which they fell in a country so new and so different from their own, and where they had everything to learn by means of interpreters, generally through the medium of more languages than one.[34] Their accounts, as far as they go, of the manners and habits of the people, do in fact agree with our own accurate knowledge almost as well as those of most modern travellers prior to the institution of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.

An example both of the general truth and partial inaccuracy of the Greeks presents itself in the first subject which is to be noticed, agreeably to the order hitherto adopted.

[32] Preface to the *Expedition of Alexander*.

[33] Beginning of lib. xv. See also lib. ii. p. 68, edition of 1587.

[34] Onesicritus conversed through three interpreters. Strabo, lib. xv. p. 693, ed. of 1587. From Greek into Persian, and from Persian into Indian, are two that obviously suggest themselves; it is not so easy to conjecture for what languages the third interpreter was required. [Probably a connecting link would be required between Persian and Indian. Ed.]

They are well aware of the division into classes, and of the functions of most of them; but, by confounding some distinctions occasioned by civil employment with those arising from that division, they have increased the number from five (including the handicraftsmen, or mixed class) to seven. This number is produced by their supposing the king's councillors and assessors to form a distinct class from the Bramins; by splitting the class of Veisya into two, consisting of shepherds and husbandmen; by introducing a cast of spies; and by omitting the servile class altogether. With these exceptions, the classes are in the state described by Menu, which is the groundwork of that still subsisting.

Division into classes.

Their first cast is that of the Sophists, or religious and literary class, of whose peculiar occupations they give a correct view.[25] But they do not clearly understand the extent of the Bramin cast, and have, perhaps, confounded the Bramins[26] with the monastic orders.

The first mistake originates in their ignorance of the fourfold division of a Bramin's life. Thus they speak of men who had been for many years Sophists, marrying and returning to common life; (alluding probably to a student who, having completed the austerities of the first period, becomes a householder;) and they suppose, as has been mentioned, that those who were the king's councillors and judges formed a separate class. It is evident, also, that they classed the Bramins who exercised civil and military functions with the casts to whom those employments properly belonged. They describe the Sophists as the most honoured class, exempt from all burdens, and only contributing their prayers to the support of the state. They inform us that their assistance is necessary at all private sacrifices; and correctly describe them as having ceremonies performed for them while yet in the womb,[27] as undergoing a strict education, and as passing a moderate and abstinent life in groves, on beds of rushes (cusa grass), or skins (deer skins); during which time they listen to their instructors in silence and with respect.

They erroneously prolong this period in all cases to thirty-seven, which is the greatest age to which Menu (Chap. III. 1) permits it in any case to extend.

The language ascribed to the Sophists regarding the present and future state is in a perfectly Bramin spirit. They place their idea of perfection in independence on everything external, and indifference to death or life, pain or pleasure. They consider this life as that of a child just conceived, and that *real* life does not begin until what we call death. Their only care, therefore, is about their future state. They deny the reality of good and evil, and say that men are not gratified or afflicted by external objects, but by notions of their own, as in a dream.[28]

They appear to have possessed separate villages as early as the time of Alexander; to have already assumed the military character on occasions, and to have defended themselves with that fury and desperation which sometimes still characterizes Hindus.[29] Their interference in politics, likewise, is exhibited by their instigating Sambus to fly from Alexander, and Musicanus to break the peace he had concluded with that conqueror.[30] Strabo mentions a sect called Pramnæ, who were remarkable for being disputatious, and who derided the Bramins for their attention to physics and astronomy. He considers them as a separate class,

[25] Arrian (lib. vi. cap. xvi.) explains that the *Bramins* are the Sophists of the Indians; and the two terms are used indiscriminately both by him and Strabo.

[26] From this charge I must except Nearchus, who seems to have had a clear conception of the division of the Bramins into religious and secular, Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493, ed. 1587.

[27] See p. 43; and Menu, ii. 26, 27.

[28] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 490, ed. 1587.

[29] Arrian's *Exped. Alexand.*, lib. vi. cap. vii. Similar instances of the voluntary conflagration of cities, and the devotion of their lives by the inhabitants, are furnished in Indian history down to modern times.

[30] Arrian, lib. vi. cap. xvi.

but they were probably Bramins themselves, only attached to a particular school of philosophy.[31]

Religious ascetics are often spoken of, under the different names of Brachmanes, Germanes, and Sophists; but it does not very clearly appear whether they were merely Bramins in the two last stages of their life, or whether they were members of regular monastic establishments. Many of their austerities might be reconciled to the third portion of a Bramin's life, when he becomes an anchoret; but their ostentatious mortifications, their living in bodies, and several other circumstances, lead rather to a conclusion that they belonged to the monastic orders. The best description of these ascetics is given by Onesicritus,[32] who was sent by Alexander to converse with them, in consequence of their refusing to come to him. He found fifteen persons about two miles from the city, naked, and exposed to a burning sun; some sitting, some standing, and some lying, but all remaining immovable from morning till evening, in the attitudes they had adopted. Ascetics.

He happened first to address himself to Calanus,[33] whom he found lying on stones. Calanus received him with that affectation of independence which religious mendicants still often assume, laughed at his foreign habit, and told him that if he wished to converse with him, he must throw off his clothes, and sit down naked on the stones. While Onesicritus was hesitating, Mandanis, the oldest and most holy of the party, came up. He reproved Calanus for his arrogance, and spoke mildly to Onesicritus, whom he promised to instruct in the Indian philosophy, as far as their imperfect means of communication would admit.[34] Arrian relates[35] that Alexander endeavoured to prevail on Mandanis (whom he calls Dandamis) to attach himself to him as a companion; but that Mandanis refused, replying that India afforded him all he wanted while he remained in his earthly body, and that, when he left it, he should get rid of a troublesome companion.

Calanus had his ambition less under control; he joined Alexander in spite of the remonstrances of his fraternity, who reproached him for entering any other service but that of God.[36] He was treated with respect by the Greeks; but, falling sick in Persia, refused, probably from scruples of cast, to observe the regimen prescribed to him, and determined to put an end to his existence by the flames. Alexander, after in vain opposing his intention, ordered him to be attended to the last scene with all honours, and loaded him with gifts, which he distributed among his friends before he mounted the pile. He was carried thither wearing a garland on his head in the Indian manner, and singing hymns in the Indian language, as he passed along. When he had ascended the heap of wood and other combustibles, which had been prepared for him, he ordered it to be set on fire, and met his fate with a serenity that made a great impression on the Greeks.[37]

Aristobulus[38] gives an account of two Sophists, one young and one old, both Brachmanes, whom he met with at Taxila. The elder shaved, the younger wore his hair, and both were followed by disciples. As they passed through the streets they were received with reverence, people pouring oil of sesamum upon them, and offering them cakes of sesamum and honey. Even when they came to Alexander's table to sup in his company, they gave a lesson of reso-

[31] See Wilson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol xvii p 279), who derives their name from Pramanika, a term applied to the followers of the logical school.

[32] Strabo, lib xv p 491

[33] [Probably Kalyana, as the Greeks gave him the name from his first salutation to them.—ED.]

[34] Strabo, lib xv p 492

[35] *Exped. Alexand.* lib. vii. cap. ii.

[36] See Menu, iv 68, quoted before, p 14

[37] A similar instance of self immolation is related by Strabo (lib xv p 495, ed of 1587), of Zarmanochegus (Sramanāchārya?) an Indian of Bargosa, who had accompanied an embassy from his own country to Augustus, and burned himself alive at Athens.

[38] Strabo, lib xv p 491

lution, withdrawing to a neighbouring spot, where the elder lay down exposed to the sun and rain, and the younger stood all day on one foot, leaning on a staff.

Other accounts[*] describe the ascetics as going about the streets, helping themselves to figs and grapes, and to oil for anointing themselves, entering the houses of the rich, sitting down at their meals, and joining in their discourse; in short, conducting themselves with the same freedom which some persons of that description affect at the present day. They are also spoken of as going naked in winter and summer, and passing their time under banyan trees, some of which, it is said, cover five acres, and are sufficient to shelter 10,000 men.

The practice of twisting up the hair so as to form a turban, which is now confined to one of the monastic orders, is mentioned by Strabo, without any limitation to its use.

It is asserted of the ascetics that they reckoned it disgraceful to be sick,[*] and put an end to themselves when they fell into that calamity. Megasthenes, however, asserts that the philosophers had no particular approbation of suicide, but rather considered it as a proof of levity; both the opinions of the learned, and the occasional practice of the people in that respect, seeming to be much the same as they are now.

It is Megasthenes who mentions a class called Germanes, of whom he treats as forming a distinct body from the Brachmanes. It has been thought that by this separate class he meant the monastic orders; but the name he gives them appears to be corrupted from Sramana, the appellation of the Bauddha and Jaina ascetics, which was written Sarmanes by later Greek authors. This is the more probable as Megasthenes's experience was chiefly gained in Magadha, the cradle of Buddhism, and at the court of Sandracottus, whose grandson Asóca was a convert to that religion, and was the means of establishing its supremacy not only in his own territories, but in a great portion of India. But although the name seems borrowed from the Bauddhas, there is nothing in the description of the class which is not at least as applicable to the Bramins in the third and fourth periods of their life, or to the monastic orders.

The most honoured of the Germanes, he says, are a class called Hylobii, from living in the woods; who feed on wild fruits and leaves, are clothed in the bark of trees, abstain from all pleasure, and stand motionless for whole days in one posture. The king sends messengers to them to consult them, and to request their intercession with the gods.[*] The next class in honour among the Germanes he states to be the physicians, whose habits seem to correspond with those of the Bramins of the fourth stage. They live in houses with great abstinence, but without the extreme austerity of the Hylobii. They however exercise themselves in labour and endurance, and sit whole days without the least change in their position. Some of them admit women to share in their meditations, but on a condition of strict chastity; a practice which, though known to the Hindú monastic orders, seems to suit best with those of the Bauddhas. As physicians, their practice resembles that of their modern successors. They rely most on diet and regimen, and next on external applications, having a great distrust of more powerful modes of treatment. Like their successors, also, they employ charms in aid of their medicines. He says that the Germanes perform magical rites and divination, and likewise conduct the ceremonies connected with the dead; some wandering about the towns and villages, and others leading a more refined and settled life.

[*] Strabo, lib xv p 702

[*] Probably as being a proof of guilt in a former state of existence. Strabo, lib xv p 703

[*] Compare this with the description of the third portion of a Bramin's life in Menu, quoted in p. 15 Hylobius is a literal translation of Vánaprastha, "dweller in the woods," which is the usual designation of a Bramin in the third stage. (*Calcutta Oriental Mag.* March, 1827.)

There is nothing in all this that appears to be peculiar to the Bauddhas. It is probable that Megasthenes, although aware of the distinction between that sect, the Bramins, and the monastic orders, had no accurate notion of the points on which they differed; and it is not unlikely that the other early Greek writers may have fallen into a similar confusion. It is, indeed, a remarkable circumstance that the religion of Buddha should never have been expressly noticed by those authors, though it had existed for two centuries before Alexander, and was destined in a century more to be the dominant religion of India. The only explanation is, that the appearance and manners of its followers were not so peculiar as to enable a foreigner to distinguish them from the mass of the people.

It is declared by more authors than one, that different casts cannot intermarry, and that it was not permitted for men of one cast to exercise the employment of another, but that all might become Sophists in whatever class they were born.

Such is the present state of the monastic orders; but whether they had so early assumed that form, or whether the ancients (being ignorant that Bramins could be householders, counsellors, and judges, might on occasion carry arms, or practise other professions) confounded the assumption of ascetic habits by Bramins previously so employed, with the admission of all casts, must remain a doubtful question.[*]

There is nothing to remark on the other classes, except that the Súdras seem already to have lost their character of a servile class. Súdras.

Arrian[**] mentions with admiration that every Indian is free. With them, as with the Lacedemonians, he says, no native can be a slave; but, unlike the Lacedemonians, they keep no other people in servitude. Strabo, who doubts the absence of slavery, as applying to all India, confines his examples of the contrary to domestic slaves, and appears to have no suspicion of the existence of a servile class. It is possible that the mild form in which slavery appeared among the Súdras may have deceived the Greeks, accustomed to so different a system at home; but it is still more probable that the remains of the servile condition of the Súdras, which subsisted in Menu's time, may have disappeared entirely before that of Alexander. Absence of slavery.

The number of independent governments seems to have been as great as at other times. Alexander, in his partial invasion, met with many; and Megasthenes heard that in all India there were 118. Many of these may have been very inconsiderable; but some (the Prasii for instance) possessed great kingdoms. Most of them seem to have been under rájas, as in Menu's time, and the circumstances of those which the Greeks called republics and aristocracies can easily be explained without supposing anything different from what now exists. There have always been extensive tracts without any common head, some under petty chiefs, and some formed of independent villages; in troubled times, also, *towns* have often for a long period carried on their own government.[†] All these would be called republics by the Greeks, who would naturally fancy their constitutions similar to what they had seen at home. But Number and extent of the different states.

[*] Before quitting the subject of the confusion made by the ancients between the Bramins and monastic orders, it may be observed that some modern writers, even of those best acquainted with the distinction, have not marked it in their works; so that it is often difficult to ascertain from their expressions which they allude to in each case. For much information relating to the ancient accounts of the Hindu priesthood and religion, see Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ix. p. 290.

[**] *Indica*, cap. x. See also Diodorus, lib. ii. p. 124, ed. 1604, where he adds many extravagances about their equality and republican institutions.

[†] Among those of the first description were the Sikhs (before Ranjit Sing's ascendency), whom Mr Foster, though familiar with Indian governments, describes as being under a democracy, the chiefs of Sikhánwet, and various other petty confederacies of chiefs of single villages, the Sondis and Grásias mentioned by Sir John Malcolm (*Account of Malwa*, vol. i. p. 508) furnish examples. The same author alludes to *towns* in a state such as has been mentioned.

what their authors had particularly in view were the independent villages, which were in reality republics, and which would seem aristocratic or democratic as the village community was great or small in proportion to the other inhabitants.[45] A more perfect example of such villages could not be found than existed but lately in Hariána, a country contiguous to those occupied by the Cathæi and Malli in Alexander's time. One of these (Biwáni) required, in 1809, a regular siege by a large British force, and would probably have opposed to the Macedonians as obstinate a resistance as Sangala or any of the villages in the adjoining districts, which make so great a figure in the operations of Alexander.

The force ascribed to the Indian kings is probably exaggerated. Porus, one of several who occupied the Panjáb, is said to have had 200 elephants, 300 chariots, 4,000 horse, and 30,000 efficient infantry, which, as observed by Sir A. Burnes, is (substituting guns for chariots) exactly the establishment of Ranjít Sing, who is master of the whole Panjáb, and several other territories.[46]

The most that we can concede to Arrian would be, that the armies which he speaks of as permanent were the whole of the tumultuary forces which any of those princes could, in case of necessity, bring into the field. The numbers alleged by Pliny are beyond probability, even on that or any other supposition. The fourfold division of the army (horse, foot, chariots, and elephants) was the same as that of Menu; but Strabo makes a sextuple division, by adding the commissariat and naval department. The soldiers were all of the military class, were in constant pay during war and peace, and had servants to perform all duties not strictly military. Their horses and arms were supplied by the state (an arrangement very unlike that usually adopted now). It is stated, repeatedly, that they never ravaged

[45] See the account of townships in the chapter on revenue, p. 67. [I extract the following interesting remarks from Mr. E. Thomas's paper on the Sah kings of Saurashtra: "There is evidence sufficient to the fact of the existence of republics in India in early times, though but few distinct details are extant as to their exact forms of constitution. The republic of which most frequent mention is made is that of Vaiśáli, which is repeatedly referred to in the Dulva, and casual indications are afforded of the powers possessed by the citizens in the time of Sakya. (Csoma de Koros, *As. Res.* xx. 66, 72.) Some curious information on the general subject is also conveyed in the following passage from Csoma de Koros' Analysis of this work, *As. Res.* xx. 69.

"'The story of Dumbu, a minister (of state) and his King Hphags-skyes-po, in Lus Hphags (Sans. Videha). Dumbu escapes to Yangs-pa-chan (Vaiśáli), and settles there. He first declines to give his advice in the assembly of the people there, but afterwards renders them great service by his prudent counsel.

"'The above-mentioned Dumbu is made chief tribune there, and after his death his second son. His elder son retires to Rajagriha in Magadha.'

"Further notices of the republic of Vaiśáli are to be found in 'Foe Koue Ki,' from which the following may be cited as throwing light on the interesting question of the government of these bodies. 'Il s'agit ici des habitans de la ville de Phi che li (Vaiśáli), lesquels formaient une république et s'appelaient en Sanscrit Litchtchiwi, ou Litchhe dans la transcription Chinoise. Tchu li tchhe signifie donc tous les Litchtchiwi ou la réunion des Litchhe' (Klaproth, p. 240.) Again (Klaproth, note viii. *Les Deux Rois*, p. 251). 'Il paraît que quoique les habitans de Vaiśáli eussent une forme de gouvernement républicaine, ils avaient pourtant aussi un roi. Les deux rois de notre texte sont donc *A tche chi* de Magadha, et celui qui était chef de l'état des Litchhe ou Litchtchiwi de Vaiśáli.'"—ED.]

[46] As an exaggerated opinion appears to be sometimes entertained of the extent of the territories and dependencies of Porus, it may be worth while to state the limits assigned to them by Arrian and Strabo. His western boundary was the Hydaspes. Beyond that river, in the centre, was his mortal enemy Taxiles; on the north of whose dominions was Abissares, an independent prince whom Arrian calls king of the mountain Indians;[1] and on the south, Sopithes, another independent sovereign, in whose territories the Salt range lay;[2] so that Porus could possess nothing to the west of the Hydaspes. On the north, his territory extended to the woods under the mountains;[3] but it did not include the whole country between the Hydaspes and Acesines, for, besides other tribes who might by possibility be dependent on Porus, there were the Glaucanicæ or Glausæ, who had thirty-seven large cities, and whom Alexander put under Porus;[4] thereby adding much country to what he had before possessed.[5] On the east, between the Acesines and Hydraotes, he had another Porus, who was his bitter enemy.[6] To the south-east of him were the Cathæi, and other independent nations, against whom he assisted Alexander.[7] To the south were the Malli, against whom Porus and Abissares had once led their combined forces, with those of many others, and had been defeated.[8]

From this it appears that the dominions of Porus were all situated between the Hydaspes and Acesines, and that his immediate neighbours on every side were independent of him, and most of them at war with him. If he had any dependents, they must have been between the rivers already mentioned, where there were certainly different tribes; but of those we know that the Glaucanicæ were independent of him, and we have no reason to think the others were dependent.

[1] Arrian, lib. v. c. p. 8. [2] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 481. [3] Ibid. p. 480. [4] Arrian, lib. v. cap. 20. [5] Ibid. cap. 21. [6] Ibid. cap. 21. [7] Ibid. cap. 22, 24. [8] Ibid. cap. 22.

the country, and that the husbandmen pursued their occupations undisturbed while hostile armies were engaged in battle. This, though evidently an exaggeration, is probably derived from the Hindú laws of war recorded in Menu, which must have made a strong impression on the Greeks, unaccustomed as they were to so mild and humane a system.

The bravery of the armies opposed to the Greeks is always spoken of as superior to that of the other nations with whom they had contended in Asia; and the loss acknowledged, though incredibly small, is much greater in the Indian battles than in those with Darius. Their arms, with the exception of fire-arms, were the same as at present. The peculiar Indian bow, now only used in mountainous countries, which is drawn with the assistance of the feet, and shoots an arrow more than six feet long, is particularly described by Arrian, as are the long swords and iron spears, both of which are still occasionally in use. Their powerful bits, and great management of their horses, were remarkable even then.

The presents made by the Indian princes indicate wealth; and all the descriptions of the parts visited by the Greeks, give the idea of a country teeming with population, and enjoying the highest degree of prosperity. Manners and customs similar to the present.

Apollodorus[47] states that there were, between the Hydaspes and Hypanis (Hyphasis), 1,500 cities, none of which was less than Cos; which, with every allowance for exaggeration, supposes a most flourishing territory. Palibothra was eight miles long and one and a half broad, defended by a deep ditch and a high rampart, with 570 towers and 64 gates.

The numerous commercial cities and ports for foreign trade, which are mentioned at a later period (in the "Periplus"), attest the progress of the Indians in a department which more than any other shows the advanced state of a nation.

The police is spoken of as excellent. Megasthenes relates that in the camp of Sandracottus, which he estimates to have contained 400,000 men, the sums stolen daily did not amount to more than 200 drachms (about 3*l.*).

Justice seems to have been administered by the king and his assessors; and the few laws mentioned are in the spirit of those of Menu. On this subject, however, the Greeks are as ill informed as might have been expected. They all believe the laws to have been unwritten; some even maintain that the Indians were ignorant of letters, while others praise the beauty of their writing.[48]

The revenue was derived from the land, the workmen, and the traders.[49] The land revenue is stated by Strabo to amount (as in Menu) to one fourth of the produce; but he declares, in plain terms, that "the whole land is the King's," and is farmed to the cultivators on the above terms.[50] He mentions, in another place, that the inhabitants of some villages cultivate the land in common, according to a system still much in use. The portion of the revenue paid in work by handicraftsmen (as stated by Menu, quoted in page 22) is also noticed by Strabo. His account of the heads of markets (αγορανομοι); their measurement of fields and distribution of water for irrigation; their administration of justice; and their being the channels for payment of the revenue; together with their general superintendence of the trades, roads, and all affairs within their limits, agrees exactly with the functions of the present patels, or heads of villages; and that of the heads of towns, though less distinct, bears a strong resemblance to the duties of similar officers at the present day.

Little is said about the religion of the Indians. Strabo mentions that they worship Jupiter Pluvius (which may mean Indra), the Ganges, and other local gods; that they wear no crowns at sacrifices; and that they stifle the victim instead of

[47] Strabo, lib. xv
[48] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493, ed. 1587.
[49] Arrian's *Indica*, p. 11
[50] Strabo, lib. xv p. 484, ed. 1587.

stabbing it,—a curious coincidence with some of the mystical sacrifices of the Brámins, which are supposed to be of modern date.

Various other ancients are quoted by Mr. Colebrooke,[81] to show that they likewise worshipped the sun.

Much is said by the Greeks of the Indian worship of Bacchus and Hercules; but obviously in consequence of their forcibly adapting the Hindú legends to their own, as they have done in so many other cases.[82]

The learning of the Hindús was, of course, inaccessible to the Greeks. They had, however, a great impression of their wisdom; and some particulars of their philosophy, which have been handed down, are not unimportant. Megasthenes asserts that they agreed in many things with the Greeks; that they thought the world had a beginning and will have an end, is round, and is pervaded by the God who made and governs it; that all things rise from different origins, and the world from water; that, besides the four elements, there is one of which the heavens and stars are made; and that the world is the centre of the universe. He says they also agreed with the Greeks about the soul, and many other matters; and composed many tales (μυθοι) like Plato, about the immortality of the soul, the judgment after death, and similar subjects.[83]

It is evident, from these early accounts, that if the Bramins learned their philosophy from the Greeks, it must have been before the time of Alexander; and Onesicritus, whose conversations with them on philosophy have been already mentioned, expressly says that they inquired whether the Greeks ever held similar discourses, and makes it manifest that they were entirely uninformed regarding the sciences and opinions of his countrymen.

From the silence of the Greeks respecting Indian architecture we may infer that the part of the country which they visited was as destitute of fine temples as it is now. Their account of Indian music is as unfavourable as would be given by a modern European; for although it is said that they were fond of singing and dancing, it is alleged, in another place, that they had no instruments but drums, cymbals, and castanets.

The other arts of life seem to have been in the same state as at present. The kinds of grain reaped at each of their two harvests were the same as now; sugar, cotton, spices, and perfumes were produced as at present; and the mode of forming the fields into small beds to retain the water used in irrigation is described as similar.[84] Chariots were drawn in war by horses, but on a march by oxen; they were sometimes drawn by camels (which are now seldom applied to draught but in the desert). Elephant chariots were also kept as a piece of great magnificence. I have only heard of two in the present age.

The modern mode of catching and training elephants, with all its ingenious contrivances, may be learned from Arrian[85] almost as exactly as from the account of the modern practice in "the Asiatic Researches."[86]

The brilliancy of their dyes is remarked on, as well as their skill in manufactures and imitations of foreign objects.[87]

The use of copper vessels for all purposes was as general as it is now; but brazen ones, which are now even more common, were avoided on account of their supposed brittleness. Royal roads are spoken of by Strabo[88] in one place, and milestones in another.[89]

Strabo expatiates on the magnificence of the Indian festivals. Elephants, adorned with gold and silver, moved forth in procession with chariots of four horses and

[81] *Asiatic Researches*, vol ix p. 298 [This practice of stifling the victim was a Vedic custom, cf Weber, *Indische Stud* ix 223 Ed.]

[82] The mention of the worship of Hercules at Methora may possibly refer to that of Crishna at Mattra.

[83] Strabo, lib. xv p. 494, ed. 1587.

[84] Ibid lib xv pp. 476, 477.

[85] *Indica*, chap. xiii. [86] Vol. iii. p. 229.

[87] Strabo, lib xv p. 493.

[88] Ibid lib xv p. 474, ed. 1587.

[89] Lib. xv. p. 487.

carriages drawn by oxen; well-appointed troops marched in their allotted place; gilded vases, and basins of great size, were borne in state, with tables, thrones, goblets, and lavers, almost all set with emeralds, beryls, carbuncles, and other precious stones; garments of various colours, and embroidered with gold, added to the richness of the spectacle. Tame lions and panthers formed part of the show, to which singing birds, and others remarkable for their plumage, were also made to contribute, sitting on trees which were transported on large waggons, and increased the variety of the scene. This last custom survived in part, and perhaps still survives, in Bengal, where artificial trees and gardens, as they were called, not long ago formed part of the nuptial processions.[59] They are said to honour the memories of the dead, and to compose songs in their praise, but not to erect expensive tombs to them;[61] a peculiarity which still prevails, notwithstanding the reverence paid to ancestors. The peculiar custom of building wooden houses near the rivers, which is noticed by Arrian,[62] probably refers to the practice which still obtains on the Indus, where the floors are platforms raised twelve or fifteen feet from the ground, as well as on the Irawaddy, where almost all the houses of Rangoon seem to be similarly constructed.

They never gave or took money in marriage;[63] conforming, in that respect, both to the precepts of Menu and to the practice of modern times.[64]

The women were chaste, and the practice of self-immolation by widows was already introduced, but perhaps only partially; as Aristobulus speaks of it as one of the extraordinary local peculiarities which he heard of at Taxila.[65] The practice of giving their daughters to the victor in prescribed trials of force and skill, which gives rise to several adventures in the Hindú heroic poems, is spoken of by Arrian[66] as usual in common life. Their kings are represented as surrounded by numbers of female slaves, who not only attend them in their retired apartments, as in Menu, but accompany them on hunting parties, and are guarded from view by jealous precautions for keeping the public at a distance, like those well known among the Mahometans, and them only, by the name of kuruk. The ceremonial of the kings, however, had not the servility since introduced by the Mussulmans. It was the custom of the Indians to pray for the King, but not to prostrate themselves before him like the Persians.[67]

The dress of the Indians, as described by Arrian,[68] is precisely that composed of two sheets of cotton cloth, which is still worn by the people of Bengal, and by strict Bramins everywhere. Earrings and ornamented slippers were also used, according to the fashion of the present day. Their clothes were generally white cotton, though often of a variety of bright colours and flowered patterns (chintz). They wore gold and jewels, and were very expensive in their dresses, though frugal in most other things.[69] Pearls and precious stones were in common use among them. The great had umbrellas carried over them, as now.

They dyed their beards, as they do now, with henna and indigo; and mistakes in their mixture or time of application seem then, as now, to have occasionally made their beards green, blue, or purple. At present, no colours are ever purposely produced but black and sometimes red. They dined separately, according to their present unsocial practice, each man cooking his own dinner apart when he required it. They drank little fermented liquor, and what they did use was made from rice (arrack).

[59] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 493.
[61] Arrian's *Indica*, cap. x. [62] Ibid. cap. x.
[63] Ibid. cap. xvii.
[64] Megasthenes alone contradicts this account, and says they bought their wives for a yoke of oxen. (Strabo, cap. xv. p. 488.)
[65] Strabo, lib. xv. p. 491, ed. 1587
[66] *Indica*, cap. xvii.
[67] It is remarkable that in the Hindú dramas there is not a trace of servility in the behaviour of other characters to the king even now. Hindú courts that have had little communication with Mussulmans are comparatively unassuming in their etiquette.
[68] *Indica*, cap. xvi
[69] Strabo, lib. xv. pp. 481, 488.

The appearance of the Indians is well described, and (what is surprising, considering the limited knowledge of the Macedonians) the distinction between the inhabitants of the north and south is always adverted to. The southern Indians are said to be black, and not unlike Ethiopians, except for the absence of flat noses and curly hair; the northern ones are fairer, and like Egyptians,[70]—a resemblance which must strike every traveller from India on seeing the pictures in the tombs on the Nile.

The Indians are described as swarthy, but very tall, handsome, light, and active.[71] Their bravery is always spoken of as characteristic; their superiority in war to other Asiatics is repeatedly asserted, and appears in more ways than one.[72] They are said to be sober, moderate, peaceable; good soldiers; good farmers;[73] remarkable for simplicity and integrity; so reasonable as never to have recourse to a lawsuit; and so honest as neither to require locks to their doors nor writings to bind their agreements.[74] Above all, it is said that no Indian was ever known to tell an untruth.[75]

Favourable opinion entertained by the Greeks of the Indian character.

We know, from the ancient writings of the Hindús themselves, that the alleged proofs of their confidence in each other are erroneous. The account of their veracity may safely be regarded as equally incorrect; but the statement is still of great importance, since it shows what were the qualities of the Indians that made most impression on the Macedonians, and proves that their character must, since then, have undergone a total change. Strangers are now struck with the litigiousness and falsehood of the natives; and, when they are incorrect in their accounts, it is always by exaggerating those defects.

APPENDIX IV.

ON THE GREEK KINGDOM OF BACTRIA.

THE Greek kingdom of Bactria, as formerly known to us, had so little influence on India, that it would scarcely have deserved mention in the history of that country.

Accounts of the ancients.

Late discoveries have shown a more permanent connexion between it and India, and may throw light on relations as yet but little understood. But these discoveries still require the examination of antiquarians; and a slight sketch of the results hitherto ascertained will be sufficient in this place.

When Alexander retired from India, he left a detachment from his army in Bactria.

After the first contest for the partition of his empire, that province fell to the lot
B.C. 312 of Seleucus, king of Syria. He marched in person to reduce the local governors into obedience, and afterwards went on to India, and made his treaty with Sandracottus.[1] Bactria remained subject to his descendants, until their own
B.C. 250 civil wars and the impending revolt of the Parthians induced the governor of the province to assert his independence. Theodotus was the first king. He was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was deposed by Euthydemus, a native of Magnesia, in Asia Minor. By this time, the Seleucidæ had consoli-

[70] Arrian, *Indica*, cap vi.; Strabo, lib. xv p. 475, ed. 1587.
[71] Arrian, *Indica*, cap xvii.
[72] Arrian, *Exped. Alexand.*, lib. v, cap. iv.
[73] Ibid. lib. v cap xxv
[74] Strabo, lib xv p. 488, ed. 1587.
[75] Arrian, *Indica*, cap. xii.
[1] See p. 152.

dated their power; and Antiochus the Great came with a large army to restore order in the eastern part of his dominions. He defeated Euthydemus, but admitted him to terms; and confirmed him in possession of the throne he had usurped. It does not seem probable that Euthydemus carried his arms to the south of the eastern Caucasus; but his son, Demetrius, obtained possession of Arachosia and a large portion of Persia. He also made conquests in India, and was in possession, not only of Lower Sind, but of the coast of India further to the East. He seems, however, to have been excluded from Bactria, of which Eucratidas remained master. After the death of Euthydemus, Demetrius made an unsuccessful attempt to dispossess his rival; and, in the end, lost all his Indian conquests, which were seized by Eucratidas.

In the time of Eucratidas the Bactrian power was at its height. In the midst of his greatness he was assassinated by his own son, Eucratidas II.;[3] and, during the reign of this prince, some of his western dominions were seized on by the Parthians, and Bactria itself by the Scythians;[4] and nothing remained in his possession but the country on the south of the eastern Caucasus. The period of the reigns of Menander and Apollodotus, and the relation in which they stood to the Eucratidæ, cannot be made out from the ancients. Menander made conquests in the north-west of India, and carried the Greek arms farther in that direction than any other monarch of the nation. The position of his conquests is shown in a passage of Strabo, that likewise contains all we know of the extent of the Bactrian kingdom. According to an ancient author there quoted, the Bactrians possessed the most conspicuous part of Ariana, and conquered more nations in India than even Alexander. In this last achievement, the principal actor was Menander, who crossed the Hypanis towards the east, and went on as far as the Isamus. Between him and Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus (continues the same author), the Bactrians occupied not only Pattalene, but that part of the other coast which is called the kingdom of Tessariostus and the kingdom of Sigertes. The Hypanis mentioned in the beginning of the passage referred to is admitted to mean the Hyphasis; but the Isamus is thought by some to be the Jumna river, by others the Himálaya mountains (sometimes called Imaus), and by others, again, a small river called Isa, which runs into the Ganges on the western side. Whichever is correct, the territory to the east of the Panjáb must have been a narrow strip. No mention is made of acquisitions towards the south; and if any had been made in that direction as far as Delhi, or even Hastinápur, they would not have entirely escaped the notice even of Hindú authors. The south-western conquests extended to the Delta of the Indus (Pattalene being the country about Tatta); but whether the kingdom of Sigertes, on the other coast, was Cach or the peninsula of Guzerat, we have no means of conjecturing. The author of the "Periplus" says that coins of Menander and Apollodotus were met with in his time at Baróch, which in the state of circulation of those days makes it probable that some of their territories were not very distant. On the west, "the most conspicuous part of Ariana," would certainly be Khorásán; but they had probably lost some portion of that province before the Indian conquests attained the utmost limit.[5]

The above is the information we derive from ancient authors. It has been confirmed and greatly augmented by recent discoveries from coins. These increase the

[3] [The name of the parricide is uncertain; some suppose that he is the Heliocles of the coins. On one of the coins of Eucratidas, we find Heliocles' head without a fillet on the reverse, which seems to indicate that he was associated in the government. Ed.]

[4] About 130 B.C. (Clinton's *Fasti*); 125 B.C. (De Guignes.)

[5] The information to be found in ancient authors is collected in Bayer's *Bactria*. There is a clear, concise sketch of Bactrian history from the same sources in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 315, note x. [For Hindú notices, see Dr Lassen's *Pentapotamia*, p. 240, and Dr Kern's Preface to *Brihatsanhitá*, pp. 35–39, cf. also *supra*, p. 107. —Ed.]

number of Greek kings from the eight above mentioned to eighteen; and disclose new dynasties of other nations who succeeded each other on the extinction of the Greek monarchy.

The subject first attracted notice in consequence of some coins obtained by Colonel Tod, and an interesting paper which he published regarding them in the first volume of the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society." It excited great attention on the Continent, and was zealously followed up in India by Professor Wilson and Mr. Prinsep.

Professor Wilson has published an account of the coins of the Greek kings, and arranged them as far as our present knowledge permits; but as they bear no dates either of time or place, the arrangement is necessarily incomplete.[1] The coins of the kings already mentioned, down to Eucratidas I., are found on the north of the eastern Caucasus. The inscriptions, the figures, the reverses, and the workmanship are pure Greek. From Eucratidas II., no coins are found on the northern side of the mountains; and those found on the southern side assume a new form. They are often square, a shape of which there is no example in any other Grecian coinage, either European or Asiatic: they frequently bear two inscriptions, one in Greek and another in a barbaric character; and, from the reign of Menander, they have occasionally an elephant or a bull with a hump; both animals peculiar to India, and indicative of an Indian dominion.

The barbaric character has been but imperfectly deciphered, and has given rise to a good deal of discussion. It is certainly written from right to left; a mode, as far as we know, peculiar to the languages of the Arab family: it may be assumed that it represents the language of the country, which it is natural to suppose would be Persian; and these circumstances suggest Pehlevi as the language. This opinion, accordingly, has been maintained by some of those who have written on the subject; but a close examination by Professor Wilson leads him to doubt the conclusion, though he has no theory of his own to support. Others, thinking that they discover words of Sanscrit origin in the inscriptions, believe the language to be Zend, or else some of the dialects of India.[2]

Of this series of coins the first that attract notice are those of Menander. As they exhibit the title of *Soter*, which was adopted by the two Eucratidæ, and as the devices on the reverses are the same as on the coins of these princes, it is a legitimate deduction that the king who struck them belonged to the same dynasty. The same argument extends to the coins of Apollodotus, who was perhaps the son of Menander. Two more kings, Diomedes and Hermæus, have also the title of *Soter*, and may be presumed to belong to the same dynasty. The inferior execution of the coins of Hermæus points him out as the latest of the series; and it is his coins, also, that furnish the model for another description which it may be inferred came immediately after his time.

These are of much ruder workmanship, and the inscriptions are an almost illegible Greek; the names, also, are barbarous and uncouth,—Kadphises, Kanerkes, &c. These are conjectured, on very probable grounds, to be Scythians, and to

[1] [In 1841, Professor Wilson published his *Ariana Antiqua*, which contains a full account of the Bactrian coins. See also Mr. H. T. Prinsep's *Note on Recent Discoveries in Afghanistan*. Ed.]

[2] Besides the immense number of bilingual coins, there are also some inscriptions in a similar character on vases, etc., found in Topes. These latter have been hitherto but imperfectly deciphered, but the earlier series of coins presents few difficulties, and the value of the letters has been clearly determined. "The language of the coins during the existence of the Greek princes and their immediate successors, was a vernacular dialect of Sanskrit, to all the varieties of which the appellation Prákrit is applicable. With the Indo-Scythian kings, words borrowed from Turk or other Asiatic dialects may possibly have been intermixed with those of Indian currency; and we have in the inscriptions on the vases possibly a different dialect, sparingly intermingled with words of Sanskrit origin." (*Ariana Ant.* p. 360.) Ed.]

have subjected the southern kingdom of the Bactrian Greeks about the beginning of the Christian era.[7]

Other coins are also found resembling the last series, but perhaps connected with the Parthians rather than the Scythians.

To complete the chronology, there are coins not yet examined, but obviously belonging to the Sassanians, who were in possession of Persia at the time of the Mahometan invasion.

There is another class of coins, resembling, in many respects, those of the Eucratidæ, and probably belonging to a series collateral with that of the *Soters*, but extending beyond the duration of that dynasty. Many of the names they bear are accompanied by epithets derived from Niké (victory); from which, and other points of resemblance, they are regarded as belonging to one dynasty.

There is one more class, consisting of only two princes, Agathocles and Pantaleon. They are thought to be the latest of all the Greek coins, but are chiefly remarkable because they alone have their second inscriptions in the ancient character found on the caves and columns of India, and not in the one written from right to left.

Some conclusions may be drawn from the situations in which the coins have been discovered. Those of Menander are numerous in the country about Cábul, and also at Peshâwer. One has been found as far east as Mattra on the Jumna. We may perhaps infer that his capital was situated in the tract first mentioned, and this would give ground for conjecturing the residence of the *Soter* dynasty. I do not know that there is any clue to that of the *Niké* kings. Professor Wilson conjectures Agathocles and Pantaleon to have reigned in the mountains about Chitrál; which, being the country of the Paropamisian Indians, may perhaps afford some explanation of the Indian character on their coins. The situation in which the Scythian coins are found is itself very remarkable; and there are other circumstances which hold out a prospect of their throwing great light on Indian history. All the former coins, with the exception of some of those of Hermæus, have been purchased in the bázárs, or picked up on or near the surface of the earth on the sites of old cities. But the Scythian coins are found in great numbers in a succession of monuments which are scattered over a tract extending eastward from the neighbourhood of Cábul, through the whole basin of the Cábul river, and across the northern part of the Panjáb. These huge structures are the sort of solid cupola so common among the votaries of Buddha; and, like the rest, contain each a relic of some holy person. No Greek coins are ever found in them, except those of Hermæus; but there are other coins, a few from remote countries, and the earliest yet discovered is one belonging to the second triumvirate. This coin must have been struck as late as the forty-third year before Christ; but might easily have found its way to the frontiers of India before the final overthrow of the Greek kingdom, which all agree to have taken place about the beginning of the Christian era.

These facts corroborate the conjectures of De Guignes, drawn from Chinese annals, that the Greeks were driven out of Bactria, by the Tartar tribe of Su from the north of Transoxiana, 126 years before Christ; and that their Indian kingdom was subverted about twenty-six years before Christ by the Yuechi,[8] who

[7] [The coins of the Greek princes are, with two exceptions, of silver or copper, those of the Indo-Scythian princes are exclusively of copper and gold. Gen. Cunningham has identified Kaneṛki with the Kanishka of Cashmirian history and the Kia-ni-se-kia of the Chinese traveller, in whose reign the third Buddhist council is said to have been held. Ed.]

[8] De Guignes's account of the first conquest is, that the Su came from Ferghâna, on the Jaxartes, and conquered a civilized nation, whose coin bore a man on one side, and horsemen on the other. The coins of the Eucratidæ have the king's head on one side, and Castor and Pollux, mounted, on the other. [These Chinese dates are somewhat uncertain, see *Ariana Ant.* pp. 300–305. Strabo says that the Greeks in Bactria were overthrown by the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari, and Sakarauli. Ed.]

came from Persia, and spead themselves along a large portion of the course of the Indus.

The Su have left no coins; but it is natural to suppose that the Yue-chi, who came from Persia, would follow the example set by the Parthians, and would imitate the coinage of their Greek predecessors. This practice of the Indo-Scythians (whoever they were) was taken up by some dynasty of the Hindús; for coins of the latter nation have been found bearing nearly the same relation to those of the Indo-Scythians that *theirs* did to the coins of the Greeks.

We must not suppose that the Bactrian kingdom was composed of a great body of Greek colonists, such as existed in the west of Asia, or in the south of Italy. A very large proportion of Alexander's army latterly was composed of barbarians, disciplined and undisciplined. These would not be anxious to accompany him on his retreat; and, on the other hand, we know that he was constrained to retrace his steps by the impatience of the Greeks and Macedonians to return to their own country.

From this we may conclude that a small part of those left behind were of the latter nations; and, as Alexander encouraged his soldiers to take Persian wives, (a course in itself indispensable to the settlers, from the absence of Greek women,) it is evident that the second generation of Bactrians must have been much more Persian than Greek. Fresh importations of Greek adventurers would take place during the ascendency of the Seleucidæ; but, after the establishment of the Parthian power, all communication must necessarily have been cut off; which explains the total silence of Greek authors regarding the later days of the Bactrian kingdom; the degeneracy of the latter coinage is consistent with these facts, which also remove the difficulty of accounting for the disappearance of the Greeks after the overthrow of their southern kingdom.

APPENDIX V.

NOTES ON THE REVENUE SYSTEM.

(A) Traces of the lord *of a thousand villages* are found in different parts of the country, where particular families retain the name and part of the emoluments of their stations, but seldom or never exercise any of the powers.[1]

The next division is still universally recognised throughout India under the name of *perganneh*, although in many places the officers employed in it are only known by their enjoyment of hereditary lands or fees; or, at most, by their being the depositaries of all registers and records connected with land. These districts are no longer uniformly composed of one hundred villages, if they ever were so in practice; but, for the most part, are rather under that number, although in rare cases they depart from it very widely both in deficiency and excess.

The duties of a chief of a perganneh, even in pure Hindú times, were probably confined to the management of the police and revenue. He had under him an accountant or registrar, whose office, as well as his own, was hereditary, and who has retained his functions more extensively than his principal.[2]

[1] These are called sirdésmuks in the Deckan, in which and other southern parts of India the territorial division of Menu is most entire. Their districts are called sircars or pránts, and these are constantly recognised, even when the office is quite extinct. Their hereditary registrar, also, is still to be found under the name of sir déspándi.

[2] The head perganneh officer was called désmuk or désai in the Deckan, and the registrar, despandi. In the north of India they are called choudri and cánongó.

Next below the perganneh is a division now only subsisting in name, and corresponding to Menu's lordship of ten or twenty towns;[3] and the chain ends in individual villages.[4]

(B) Called patél in the Deckan and the west and centre of Hindostan; mandel in Bengal; and mokaddam in many other places, especially where there are or have lately been hereditary village landholders.

(C) Paṭwári in Hindostan; culcarni and carnam in the Deckan and south of India; talláti in Guzerát.

(D) Pásbán, goráyet, peik, douráha, &c., in Hindostan; mhár in the Deckan; tillári in the south of India; paggi in Guzerát.

(E) Village landholders are distinctly recognised throughout the whole of the Bengal presidency, except in Bengal proper, and perhaps Rohilcand.[5] They appear to subsist in part of Rájputána; and perhaps did so, at no remote period, over the whole of it.[6] They are very numerous in Guzerát, include more than half the cultivators of the Maratta country, and a very large portion of those of the Tamil country. There is good reason to think they were once general in those countries where they are now only partially in existence, and perhaps in others where they are not now to be found. They are almost extinct in the country south of the Nerbadda, except in the parts just mentioned. In all the Madras presidency north of Madras itself; in the Nizam's country, and most of that of Nágpúr; in great part of Khandésh and the east of the Maratta country, there is no class resembling them. This tract comprehends the greater part of the old divisions of Telingána, Orissa, and Cánara; but does not so closely coincide with their boundaries, as to give much reason for ascribing the absence of village landholders to any peculiarity in the ancient system of those countries. In Málwa, though so close to countries where the village landholders are common, they do not seem now to be known. They are not mentioned in Sir John Malcolm's "Central India."

(F) In Hindostan they are most commonly called village zemíndárs or biswadárs; in Behár, máliks; in Guzerát, patéls; and in the Deckan and south of India, mírassis or mírásdárs.

"The right of property in the land is unequivocally recognised in the present agricultural inhabitants by descent, purchase or gift."[7]

The right of the village landholders, to the extent stated in the text, is repeatedly alluded to in the published records of the Bengal government relating to the western provinces. Sir C. Metcalfe, though he contests the opinion that the right of property is full and absolute as in England, has no doubt about the persons in whom that right is vested. "The only proprietors, generally speaking, are the village zemindars or biswahdars. The pretensions of all others are *primâ facie* doubtful."[8] For portions of the territory under the Madras presidency see the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue,[9] and Mr. Ellis.[10] Sir T. Munro,[11] though he considers the advantages of mírásdárs to have been greatly exaggerated and their land to be of little value, admits it to be saleable.[12] For the Maratta country see Mr. Chaplin and the Reports of the Collectors.[13] Captain Robertson, one of the

[3] Called náikwári, tarraf, etc., etc.

[4] For the accounts of these divisions and officers, see Malcolm's *Malwa*, (vol. ii. p. 4); Sterling's *Orissa* (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 220); Report from the Commissioner in the Deckan and its enclosures (*Selections*, vol. iv. p. 161).

[5] Sir E. Colebrooke's Minute (*Selections*, vol. iii. p. 165).

[6] Col. Tod, vol. i. p. 495, and vol. ii. p. 540.

[7] Fortescue, *Selections*, viii. p. 403.

[8] Minute of Sir C. Metcalfe, in the Report of the Select Committee of August, 1832, iii. p. 345.

[9] Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1812, iii. p. 402.

[10] Ibid. p. 382. [11] Minute of Dec. 31, 1824.

[12] Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, p. 457.

[13] *Selections*, vol. iv. p. 474.

collectors, among other deeds of sale, gives one from some private villagers transferring their mírássi rights to the Péshwa himself. He also gives a grant from a village community conferring the lands of an extinct family on the same prince for a sum of money, and guaranteeing him against the claims of the former proprietors. A very complete account of all the different tenures in the Maratta country, as well as of the district and village officers, with illustrations from personal inquiries, is given by Lieutenant Colonel Sykes in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society."[14]

Care must be taken to distinguish mírás in the sense now adverted to from lands held on other tenures; for the word means *hereditary* property, and is, therefore, applied to rights of all descriptions which come under that denomination.

(G) Mr. Fortescue ("Selections," vol. iii. pp. 403, 405, 408); Captain Robertson (Ibid. vol. iv. p. 153); Madras Board of Revenue ("Report of Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832," vol. iii. p. 393); Governor of Bombay's Minute (Ibid. vol. iii. p. 637).

(G[a]) In making a partition of the land the landholders are taken by families, as has been explained of the village government; but in the case of land the principal family divisions are subdivided, and the subdivisions divided again according to the Hindú mode of dealing with inheritances.[15] The lands of the village and other profits of the community are likewise formed into shares, sometimes corresponding exactly to the divisions, subdivisions, &c., of the families; but more frequently reduced to small fractions, a proportionate number of which is assigned to each division, &c., so as ultimately to be distributed in due proportion to each individual.[16]

The public burdens are portioned exactly in the same manner, so that each division, subdivision, and individual knows its quota; each, therefore, might manage its own agricultural and pecuniary affairs independently of the rest, and such is not unfrequently the case.

In the Maratta country, for instance, although there are divisions with a joint responsibility among the members, yet they have no longer heads; each individual manages his own concerns, and the headman of the village does all the rest.

I do not advert to changes made in other parts of India which are departures from the Hindú practice.

(H) The following are the rights possessed in the immediate stages between a fixed rent and an honorary acknowledgment. The landholders are entitled to a deduction from the gross produce of the fields before dividing it with the government, and to fees on all the produce raised by persons not of their own class. This is called tunduwárum or swámibhogam (owner's share) in the Tamil country; and málikána or zemindárí rasúm in Hindostan. In the latter country it usually forms part of a consolidated payment of 10 per cent. to the zemindárs, which seems intended as a compensation for all general demands; but not interfering with the rent of a landholder's lands where any such could

[14] *Selections*, vol. ii. p. 205, and vol. iii. p. 350.

[15] "To explain the divisions of a village and inheritable shares of it, suppose the ancient first proprietor or incumbent to have left, on his death, four sons; each would inherit equally, and four panes would thus be erected; on the demise of each of these persons with four sons also, each would be entitled to a quarter of his father's pane, which would give rise to four thoks in each pane, and so on." (Mr. Fortescue, *Selections*, vol. iii. p. 40[illegible]). About Delhi, the great division seems to be called pane, as above; but the commonest name in Hindostan is patti, subdivided into thócks, and they again into bhéris. There are many other names, and even these vary in the application; a great division being in some places called a thock, and a subdivision a patti. In Guzerát the great divisions are called bagh, and the subdivisions patti; another, and the commonest subdivision there, is into annas, again subdivided into cháwils. In the Deckan the great divisions are called jattas, and there are no subdivisions.

[16] See Table by Sir Edward Colebrooke, *Selections*, vol. iii. p. 160.

be obtained. In some places,[17] they have also fees from the non-agricultural inhabitants; and, as they are everywhere proprietors of the site of the village, they can levy rent in money or service from any person who lives within their bounds.

Where they have lost some of those rights by the encroachments of the government, they frequently have some consideration shown them in assessing their payment to the state, so as in some cases to admit of their getting rent for their land. In some places they are left their fees;[18] and, where they are at the lowest, they have an exemption from certain taxes which are paid by all the rest of the inhabitants. The rights and immunities of the village landholders, as such, must not be confounded with those applied to mokaddams, and other officers for the performance of certain duties. Though the same persons may hold both, they are in their nature quite distinct; one being a proprietary right arising from an interest in the soil, and the other a mere remuneration for service, transferable along with the service from one person to another, at the pleasure of the employer.

(I) The Arabic word ryot (pronounced reiat) means a subject, and is so employed in all Mahometan countries; but in some of them it is also used in a more restricted sense. In India its secondary senses are,—1. A person paying revenue. 2. A cultivator in general. 3. A tenant as explained in the text. In reference to the person of whom they hold their lands, ryots are called his assámis.

(K) This class is called in the territory under Bengal khudkásht ryots, which name (as "khud" means "own," and "káshtan" to "cultivate") has been considered a proof that they are proprietors of the land. Rám Móhan Rái, however, (an unexceptionable authority,) explains it to mean "cultivators of the lands of their own village,"[19] which seems the correct interpretation, as the term is always used in contradistinction to páikásht, or cultivators of another village.

(L) It is in the Tamil country and in Guzerát that their rights seem best established.

In the Tamil country they have an hereditary right of occupancy, subject to the payment of the demand of government and of the usual fees to the village landholder, which are fixed, and sometimes at no more than a peppercorn; but the tenant cannot sell, give away, or mortgage his rights, although in the circumstances described they must be nearly as valuable as those of the landholder himself.[20] In Guzerát their tenure is nearly similar, except that it is clearly understood that their rent is to be raised in proportion to any increase to the government demand on the village landholder; and it is probable that this understanding prevails in the Tamil country also, though not mentioned in the printed reports. In Hindostan there appears to be a feeling that they are entitled to hereditary occupancy, and that their rents ought not to be raised above those usual in the neighbourhood: but the following summary will show how imperfect this right is thought to be.

In 1818, a call was made by the Bengal government on the collectors of all its provinces not under the permanent settlement, for information respecting the rights of the permanent ryots. Of fourteen collectors, eleven considered the landholder to be entitled to raise his rent at pleasure, and to oust his tenant when-

[17] In Guzerát and in Hindostan. Also, see an account of the village of Burlah, by Mr Cavendish (*Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, iii. p. 240)

[18] In part of Tamil, and in Hindostan, when not superseded by the allowance of 10 per cent. (See *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1832, iii. p. 247.)

[19] Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, October 11, 1831, p. 716

[20] Mr Ellis, *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, August 10, 1832, vol iii. p. 377; Board of Revenue, Minute of January 5, 1818, p. 421.

ever he could get better terms elsewhere; two collectors (those of Etawa and Seharunpúr) seem to have thought that the landlord's rent should not be raised unless there was an increase in the demand of government: the collector of Bundélcand alone declared the khudkásht ryot's right to be as good as his of whom he holds. The members of the Revenue Commission, in forwarding these reports, gave their opinion that landholders conceive themselves to possess the power of ousting their tenants, although from the demand for ryots it is not frequently exercised.

The government at that time doubted the correctness of these opinions, and called for further information; which, although it threw much light on the question, did not materially alter the above conclusion.

Mr. Fortescue, reporting on Delhi (where the rights of the permanent tenant seem better preserved than in any place under Bengal except Bundélcand), says that the ancient and hereditary occupants cannot be dispossessed "as long as they discharge their portion of the public assessment."

The minute reports on various villages in different collectorships, abstracted by Mr. Holt Mackenzie,[m] do not lead to a belief that the rents cannot be raised. Mr. Colebrooke states in a minute, which seems to have been written in 1812,[n] "that no rule of adjustment could be described (query, discovered?) after the most patient inquiry by a very intelligent public officer; and that the proceedings of the courts of justice in numerous other cases led to the same conclusion respecting the relative situation of ryots and zemíndárs."

Mr. Ross, a judge of the Chief Court, likewise, in a very judicious minute of 22nd March, 1827,[o] states that a fixed rate never was claimed by mere ryots, whether resident or non-resident, in the upper provinces; inquires when such a fixed rent was in force; and whether it was intended to remain fixed, however the value of the land might alter? and concludes as follows:—"As to the custom of the country, it has always been opposed to such a privilege, it being notorious that the zemíndárs and other superior landholders have at all times been in the practice of extorting from their ryots as much as the latter can afford to pay."

(M) Called in Hindostan, páikásht; in Guzerát, ganwatti (leaseholder); in the Maratta country, upri; and under Madras, páikári and páracudi.

(N) They are called ashráf (well-born) in Hindostan, and pánder pésha in some parts of the Deckan.

(O) There is an acknowledged restriction on all permanent tenants, which prevents their cultivating any land within the village that does not belong to the landlord of whom they rent their fixed portion and their house; but not only permanent tenants, but village landholders themselves, occasionally hold land as temporary tenants in *other* villages. In some parts of India the government levies a tax on the permanent tenants of land paying revenue who farm other lands from persons exempt from payment; and in some, the government officer endeavours to prevent their withdrawing from their assessed lands in any circumstances. This last, however, is reckoned mere violence and oppression.

(P) This system may be illustrated by the example of the petty state of Cach, which being of recent formation retains its original form unimpaired. "The whole revenue of this territory is under fifty lacs of cories (about sixteen lacs of rupees), and of this less than thirty lacs of cories belongs to the Ráo; the country which yields the remaining twenty lacs being assigned to the collateral branches of his

[m] Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1832, vol. iii. p. 243.

[n] See vol. i. p. 272.

[o] Appendix to Report of 1832, p. 128.

highness's family, each of whom received a certain appanage on the death of the Ráo, from whom it is immediately descended.

"The family of these chiefs is derived at a recent period from Tatta in Sind, and they all sprung from a common ancestor, Humeerjee, whose son, Ráo Khengar, acquired the sovereignty of Cutch before the middle of the sixteenth century of our era.

"The number of these chiefs is at present about 200, and the whole number of their tribe in Cutch is guessed at 10,000 or 12,000 persons. This tribe is called Jhareja. It is a branch of the Rájpúts. The Ráo's ordinary jurisdiction is confined to his own demesne, each Jhareja chief exercising unlimited authority within his lands. The Ráo can call on the Jharejas to serve him in war; but must furnish them with pay at a fixed rate while they are with his army. He is the guardian of the public peace, and as such chastises all robbers and other general enemies. It would seem that he ought likewise to repress private war, and to decide all disputes between chiefs; but this prerogative, though constantly exerted, is not admitted without dispute. Each chief has a similar body of kinsmen, who possess shares of the original appanage of the family, and stand in the same relation of nominal dependence to him that he bears to the Ráo. These kinsmen form what is called the bhyaud or brotherhood of the chiefs, and the chiefs themselves compose the bhyaud of the Ráo."[24]

The same practice, with some modifications, prevails through the whole of the Rájpút country.

The territories allotted to feudatories in Méwár (the first in rank of these states) was at one time more than three-fourths of the whole,[25] and was increased by the improvidence of a more recent prince.

(Q) It must have been some check on the spirit of independence, that until within less than two centuries of the present time it was usual for all the chiefs, in Méwár at least, periodically to interchange their lands; a practice which must have tended to prevent their strengthening themselves in their possessions, either by forming connexions or erecting fortifications.[26]

The rapid increase of these appanages appears to have suggested to the governments the necessity of putting a limit to their encroachments on the remaining demesne. In Márwár, a few generations after the conquest, so little land was left for partition that some of the rája's sons were obliged to look to foreign conquests for an establishment:[27] and in Méwár, one set of descendants of early ránas seem to have been superseded, and probably in part dispossessed, by a more recent progeny.[28]

(R) The following remarks apply to both descriptions of military jágírs.

Lands held for military service are subject to reliefs in the event of hereditary succession, and to still heavier fines when the heir is adoptive. They are subject to occasional contributions in cases of emergency. They cannot be sold or mortgaged for a longer period than that for which the assignment is made. Subinfeudations are uncommon except among the Rájpúts, where they are universal.

There was no limitation of service, and no extra payments for service, in the original scheme of these grants.

Pecuniary payments at fixed rates in lieu of service, or rather on failure of service when called on, were common among the Marattas; and arbitrary fines were levied on similar occasions by the Rájpúts.

[24] Minute on Cach, by the Governor of Bombay, dated January 20th, 1821.
[25] Colonel Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. i. p. 141.
[26] Ibid. vol. i. p. 164, and note on 165.
[27] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 20
[28] Ibid. vol. i. p. 168.

APPENDIX VI.

AREA AND POPULATION OF INDIA. (P. 3.)

[THORNTON (*Gazetteer*, 1862,) gives the area and population of India as follows (excluding Arracan, the Tenasserim provinces, and Pegu):—

	Area, sq. miles.	Population.
Bengal (including Assam)	188,782	40,549,569
N.W. Provinces	85,651	30,872,766
Saugor and Nerbadda territory	17,543	2,143,599
Panjab	78,447	9,153,209
Cis-Sutlej territory	4,559	2,311,969
Nagpore	76,432	4,650,000
Madras	132,090	22,301,697
Bombay	120,065	11,109,067
Native States	616,760	48,130,226
	1,320,329	171,222,102

Elphinstone's statistics for Europe also need correction. Keith Johnston (in his Dict. of Geography, 1864) gives the estimated area of Europe as 3,768,000 square miles, (of which the islands form one-twentieth), and the population as about 255 millions. He also gives the area of the Russian empire (including Poland and Finland), Sweden and Norway, as 2,351,266 square miles, with a population of 71,266,889.—ED.]

APPENDIX VII.

ON THE VEDAS AND THE VAIDIK LITERATURE.

[THE Vedas are usually considered to be four; but of these the fourth, or Atharva, is easily distinguished from the rest, as of later origin, not merely by the tradition of the Hindús themselves, but also by internal evidence, one of the principal proofs being found in the fact that whereas the Rig Veda hymns continually refer to legendary characters of an earlier age, the *seers* or authors of these very hymns appear themselves to be the objects of this retrospective reverence in the Atharva.[1] In the same way a careful analysis of the remaining three discloses a somewhat similar relation between the Rig Veda on the one hand and the Yajur and Sáma Vedas on the other. The Rig consists entirely of hymns, but in the other two these hymns are found continually quoted, as parts of a complicated liturgical ceremonial; in fact, the Yajur[2] and Sáma[3] presuppose the Rig as much as Manu's Institutes presuppose the entire Vaidik literature.

[1] Dr Roth, *Zur Lit und Geschichte des Weda*.

[2] There are two recensions of the Yajur Veda, the older one, called the "black," from its containing the hymns and liturgical portions mixed, and the later, called the "white," where the two are separated, the hymns being arranged together in a Sanhitá, and the rubrics and explanations forming the Satapatha Brahmana. The Brahmana of the Black Yajur or Taittiriya Veda, is only a continuation of the Sanhitá—there is no real difference between the two; while in the White Yajur they are quite different works. Hindú tradition points to Yájnavalkya as the "seer" of the White Yajur Veda, i e the sage to whom it was revealed. The Black Yajur is especially read in the Telegu country.

[3] A very large portion of the contents of the Sáma hymns are mere quotations from various hymns of the Rig Veda, arranged in a different order, and adapted for chanting.

Beside the *Mantra* portion, consisting properly of hymns, each Veda has another portion called *Bráhmaṇa*, which contains a mass of legends and traditional explanations and glosses which were required to illustrate and enforce the various ceremonies and sacrifices. This portion is considered by Hindús as an equally eternal and essential part of the Veda with the Mantra portion; both were "heard" by the fortunate sages to whom they were revealed, and who taught them to their disciples; but it is easy to see, by the continual references in the Bráhmaṇas to the hymns and the frequent bare hints and allusions to their words and phrases, that the Mantras of the Ṛig Veda must have existed in an accepted arrangement before any one of the Bráhmaṇas could have been composed. The same remark applies with still greater force to the so-called third portion of the Veda, the Upanishads. We are thus left to the Mantra portion of the Ṛig Veda as our earliest authority for the social and religious institutions of the Hindús.

The Mantra portion of the Ṛig Veda consists of 1,017 hymns (beside eleven spurious ones, called *vâlakhilyas*). These are divided into eight Ashṭakas or ten Maṇḍalas, the latter being the preferable division, as it arranges the hymns of the different families together. There is no doubt a difference in age between the various hymns which are now united in their present form as the Sanhitá of the Ṛig Veda; but we have no data to determine their relative antiquity, and purely subjective criticism, apart from solid data, has so often failed in other instances, that we can trust but little to any of its inferences in such a recently opened field of research as Sanskrit literature.[1] The still unsettled controversies about the Homeric poems may well warn us of being too confident in our judgments regarding the yet earlier hymns of the Ṛig Veda, so far removed as these latter are from all modern sentiment and sympathy.

It is important to remember that the Yajur and Sáma Vedas are liturgical,—they are expressly arranged so as to contain the hymns and invocations respectively of the Adhwaryu and Udgátṛi priests, the former of whom had to perform the more servile functions in the sacrifice, and might only mutter their invocations, while the latter chanted as a kind of chorus. Beside these priests were the Hotṛis, whose duty was to recite certain hymns in a loud voice, and they were required to know the whole Ṛig Veda, and therefore had not, as the others, a special collection of their own hymns. The Ṛig Veda is, in fact, the Sanhitá or collection for the Hotṛis.[2]

When we examine these hymns of the Ṛig Veda, we at once find that they represent an early stage of the worship of the great powers of Nature personified; and as such they are deeply interesting for the history of the human mind, belonging as they do to a much older phase than the poems of Homer or Hesiod. Their religion can in no sense be called monotheistic; they consist of hymns addressed to different deities, more especially to Indra and Agni, with the subordinate deities, the Maruts, or the winds, and the Ádityas, who in later times were the various manifestations of the sun, but in the Veda wear a very obscure character.

In a few places we find more mystical allusions, identifying all as ultimately one; but this is by no means the general tone. Most of the hymns express the same partiality to their special deity and the same tendency to magnify his glory and power over the others which we find in other systems of polytheism.

[1] We are too apt to forget that the study of Sanskrit is only coeval with this century. Not a fourth part of the Vaidik literature is as yet in print, and very little of it has been translated into English. The present year (1869) is only the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of that work by Professor Bopp which raised the study of comparative philology into a science.

[2] Beside these three classes of Priests, there was a fourth, called the Bráhmaṇa, whose duty was to follow the whole sacrifice in their mind, and to remedy any mistakes which might arise during its performance.

In the same way, though some of the hymns express moral ideas and spiritual hopes and desires, and occasionally rise to a high religious tone, the general strain is purely earthly,—the only evils which are usually deprecated are sickness and outward enemies, and the only blessings sought are children and cattle. To compare them with the Psalms is, even from a purely literary point of view, impossible.

The poetry of the Rig Veda is remarkably deficient in that simplicity and natural pathos or sublimity which we usually look for in the songs of an early period of civilization. The language and style of most of the hymns is singularly artificial; and indeed it has been made a question whether some of them were even meant to be intelligible to their first audience without an oral explanation of the obscure constructions and startling ellipses with which they abound. Occasionally we meet with fine outbursts of poetry, especially in the hymns addressed to the dawn, but these are never long sustained; and as a rule we find few grand similes or metaphors. The peculiar characteristics of the later Hindû poetry are its intense love and appreciation of all the varieties of natural scenery, and its delicate delineation of human character; but these are almost entirely wanting in the Rig Veda.

But though it cannot claim a high place among the relics of the poetical genius of early times, the Rig Veda possesses an undying interest as the oldest monument of Gentile thought; and we can undoubtedly trace there the first outlines of speculations and conceptions which afterwards branched out in widely different directions in the ancient world.

But the especial object of the present Appendix is to treat of the Vedas as they throw light on ancient India, and for this purpose we may take the three Vedas and their Brâhmanas as one body of Vaidik tradition, leaving the Upanishads, etc. to be discussed afterwards.

In attempting to give any account of the Vaidik gods, we are continually baffled by the contradictory details in the different hymns, arising no doubt in part from the earlier or later date of their composition, but partly from the constant tendency of polytheism to magnify the deity of the moment at the expense of all the rest.

Passing over the tempting speculations suggested by the division of the gods in one hymn (R. V. i. 27, 13) into "young" and "old,"—if we confine ourselves to the facts presented by the hymns themselves, we find Indra and Agni the most prominent. The former is the deity of the visible firmament,—the god of lightning and rain. The phenomena of a tropical rainstorm are continually allegorised as a literal conflict between Indra and the Asura Vritra; and the same thing seems intended by the legends which represent him as recovering the cows which had been stolen by the Asura *Pani*. The offerings of soma juice are supposed to give him strength and courage for the encounter. Agni is generally represented as the priest who summons the gods to the sacrifice and bears the oblation to them; he is also viewed as threefold—terrestrial, as vital warmth and culinary fire; atmospherical, as lightning; and celestial, as the sun and stars. The Sun is frequently addressed as a preeminent deity, and an early Hindû authority (Yâska) declares that these three are the only Vaidik deities, and he locates them respectively in the sky, earth, and heaven. This, however, is not the natural inference from the hymns themselves. The Âdityas are in the later mythology twelve, corresponding to the twelve months, but in the Rig Veda they appear to be seven,—Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuna, Daksha, Ansa, and Surya or Savitri, and their mother Aditi seems to represent Earth or Nature. Mitra and Varuna are the most important, not only from their greater prominence in the hymns, but also from the identification of the former with the

Mithra of the Zendavesta, and of the latter with the Οὐρανός of the Greeks. Mitra seems more connected with the day, and Varuṇa with the night; and it is remarkable that it is in the hymns addressed to the latter that the moral element in the Veda is most usually found.[6] Varuṇa is continually addressed as the remover of sickness and sin. Váyu, the Wind, is hardly to be distinguished from Indra, but the Maruts are very commonly represented as the latter's attendants.

The two Aṣwins are frequently celebrated as precursors of the dawn, and as possessing the power of healing diseases. Rudra (who in the later mythology appears to be a form of Śiva) in the Veda appears to be identified with Agni; and Vishṇu (far from being one of the supreme triad) seems only a form of the Sun, and his three steps (which, in the epic and Paurâṇik mythology, are connected with the Dwarf Avatár) are explained in the Veda by the oldest commentaries, as either referring to Agni as terrestrial fire, lightning in the firmament, and the sun in heaven; or to the position of the sun on the eastern mountain, in the meridian sky, and the western mountain, i.e. at his rising, culmination, and setting. Other deities are Twashṭṛi, who is the architect of the gods and the former of all things; Ushas, the Dawn (the name is probably akin to ἠώς and Aurora); and the Viśwe devâh or the various deities in their collective capacity.

Mr. Elphinstone in his second book has shown the difference which exists between the religion of Manu's Institutes and that of the Puráṇas; and the same remarks of course apply with still greater force to the Veda on which Manu is based. "The great feature of difference is the total absence of the divinities, both nomina and numina, who have for ages engaged, and, to a great degree engrossed, the adoration of the Hindús. We have no indications of a Triad, the creative, preserving, and destroying power; Brahmá does not appear as a deity, and Vishṇu, although named, has nothing in common with the Vishṇu of the Puráṇas; no allusion occurs to his avatáras. His manifestation as Krishṇa, the favourite deity of the lower classes, for some centuries at least, does not appear. As a divinity Siva is not named; nor is his type, the Linga, ever adverted to. Durgá and her triumphs, and Káli, 'whom the blood of man delights a thousand years,' have no place whatever in the hymns of the Vedas."[7] We find, indeed, occasional hints, out of which the later legends may have grown; thus the Dwarf Avatár of Vishṇu, as mentioned above, has probably arisen from his "three steps;" and Rudra, a form of fire, has easily developed into the later Śiva. Perhaps the most curious instance of these mythological changes is that of the legend of Vṛitra. In the nature-worship of the Veda the phenomena of tropical storms are described as a conflict between Indra and the clouds, which are pierced by the thunderbolt and forced to yield up their stores of rain. The clouds are personified as a demon called Vṛitra or Ahi, and though the language is often hyperbolical, the original meaning of the myth is seldom completely lost sight of. But in the later poems, as the Mahábhárata and Puráṇas, the natural phenomenon is entirely forgotten, and Vṛitra is a literal king of the Asuras or Titans, who wages war against the gods. It is singular that even in the Bráhmaṇas we find the myth becoming exaggerated; and various legends are given, how Indra incurred the guilt of murder, etc.[8] There are many similar instances of the misinterpretation of Vaidik legends and hymns, by the authors of the Bráhmaṇas—a fact which proves that

[6] Thus the most deeply religious hymn in the whole Veda (Atharva V iv 16), is addressed to him. See Muir, *Journ. R. A. S.*, 1865, p. 81 May we here compare the εὐφρονη and ὑφ' ἑνὸς of the Greeks?

[7] Wilson's works, vol. v p. 342.

[8] The most curious is that which relates how Twashṭṛi, when Indra slew his son Viśwarupa, performed a sacrifice to obtain a son who should avenge his death. In uttering the mantra, in his haste he made a mistake in the accentuation of the word *indraśatrú*, and made it mean "one whose slayer is Indra," instead of "one who is the slayer of Indra." Vṛitra was the son born by virtue of the rite, but unfortunately he was thus doomed to be the victim instead of the avenger.

a considerable interval must have elapsed between the dates of their respective composition.

The original worship described in the hymns of the Rig Veda seems to have been of a simple and patriarchal character. Sacrifices were occasionally offered, but the oblations are chiefly clarified butter poured on the fire, and the expressed juice of the soma plant. The ceremony takes place in the worshipper's house, in a chamber appropriated to the purpose. There is no mention of temples, and images are not alluded to. A purohita or domestic priest appears in the courts of several of the Vaidik kings, and perhaps every rich family may have similarly had its priest. But in some of the hymns we find traces of a much more elaborate ceremonial; and sometimes as many as sixteen priests are mentioned as assisting in the rites. Now in the Bráhmaṇas and the later Sútra works, we see this development in its full details; and most of the rites described there are public sacrifices which would require the wealth of a chieftain to supply the requisite expense. It is quite true that these later rites are sometimes directly named in the Rig Veda itself, and there are many hymns which are called *dánastutis*, and contain the praises of certain kings for their munificent gifts to the priests, which no doubt point to such public occasions. If criticism is ever able to settle the relative antiquity of the different parts of the Rig Veda, these scattered hints will no doubt be one of the most useful criteria.[9]

The sacrifice of the horse, which plays such an important part in later legend, is found in the Rig Veda; two hymns of the second Ashṭaka being addressed to the horse; and full details are given in the Bráhmaṇas and Sútras. "As the solemnity appears in the Rig Veda, it bears a less poetical, a more barbarous character, and it may have been a relic of an ante-Vaidik period, imported from some foreign region, possibly from Scythia, where animal victims, and especially horses, were commonly sacrificed; the latter were also offered by the Massagetæ to the sun; and in the second Aśwamedhik hymn there are several indications that the victim was especially consecrated to the solar deity; however this may be, the rite as it appears in the Rig Veda can scarcely be considered as constituting an integral element of the archaic system of Hindú worship, although its recognition at all is significant of extant barbarism."[10]

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But the Bráhmanical intellect, however debased for a time by a meaningless ritualism, was still capable of a higher life, and in the Áraṇyakas and Upanishads we find it awaking from its dream of endless ceremonies to grapple with the deepest problems of life and eternity. Childish and fantastic as these books appear, they are full of fine thoughts, and sometimes they show deep feeling; and no Hindú works have probably exercised a wider influence on the world. It is from these forlorn "guesses at truth," as from a fountain, that all those various rills of Pantheistic speculation have diverged, which, under different names, are so continually characterised as "Eastern philosophy." Thus the reader of the Upanishads soon recognises familiar ideas in the speculations of the Phædrus as well as in Empedocles or Pythagoras,—in the Neo-platonism of the Alexandrian, as well as in the Gnostic, schools, although Plotinus aimed to emancipate Greek philosophy from the influence of the Oriental mind; and the Cabala of the Jews and the Sufeyism of the Muhammadans seem to be derived from the same source. We are too apt to look on the ancient world as a scene of stagnation where men's thoughts were as confined as their bodies; as if the few who travelled in foreign countries could not bring home and circulate there the ideas which they had learned abroad, and as if the few thinkers, groping in the darkness of Gentile speculation, were not eager to embrace any light which presented itself.[13] The spread of such a religion as Buddhism shows how men's minds were awake to new ideas, even though they came from foreign countries; and why should the tradition of the Eastern origin of much of early Greek philosophy be incredible or even improbable?

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order to purify the mind and to prepare it for the proper reception of the sublime truths to be imparted; and the other systems of philosophy may be relatively true, in regard to the student's degree of intellectual capacity; but the only absolute truth is the Vedántic interpretation of the Upanishads.

When we examine the older Upanishads, however, we are struck by one remarkable peculiarity—the total absence of any Bráhmanical exclusiveness in their doctrine. They are evidently later than the older Sanhitás[18] and Bráhmaṇas; but they breathe an entirely different spirit, a freedom of thought unknown in any earlier work except the Ṛig Veda hymns themselves. The great teachers of this highest knowledge are not Brahmans but Kshatriyas, and Brahmans are continually represented as going to the great Kshatriya kings (especially Janaka of Videha), to become their pupils. The most remarkable of these passages is the following, in the Chhándogya Upanishad (v. 3). The Ṛishi Gautama sends his son to visit King Pravâhaṇa, who propounds certain hard questions relative to the future life. The son cannot answer them, and returns to ask his father, who is equally at a loss. Gautama then goes himself to the king, and begs to be instructed by him. The king complies with his wish, after first premising as follows: "This knowledge before thee never came to the Brahmans; therefore, hitherto, in all worlds the right of teaching it has belonged exclusively to the Kshatriya cast." When we couple with this the remarkable fact that the Gâyatrí itself, the most sacred symbol in the universe, is a verse in a hymn by an author, not a Brahman by birth, but a Kshatriya, who is represented in later legend as extorting his admission into the Brahman cast, we can hardly escape the inference that it was the Kshatriya mind which first followed out these bold speculations. The Brahmans, as far as we can see by the Bráhmaṇas, became immersed in the trivialities of an unmeaning ritual,—their philosophy, if such they had, was only the Púrva Mímánsá, where the grave problems of life and death are forgotten for elaborate discussions as to the number of jars of the baked flour cake, or the exact order of the verses to be repeated at an offering; and such laborious and aimless trifling could not coexist with earnestness or deep speculation. Kshatriya thinkers arose to initiate a new movement in philosophy, just as a Kshatriya thinker initiated Buddhism, as a protest against the system of cast; and the Brahmans were wise enough to adopt the new ideas and eventually to secure the monopoly of instruction therein to themselves. That the Brahmans and Kshatriyas were not always so harmonious in the social world as they appear in the Institutes, seems shown by such legends as those which describe the Brahman Ráma Jámadagnya as having cleared the earth thrice seven times of the Kshatriya race and filled five large lakes with their blood, and then again as himself worsted in the contest by the Kshatriya Ráma, the son of Daśaratha; and these vague hints in the Upanishads seem to show us that they were sometimes rivals in literature as well. The Upanishads are usually in the form of dialogue; they are generally written in prose with occasional snatches of verse, but sometimes they are in verse altogether. They have no system or method; the authors are poets, who throw out their unconnected and often contradictory rhapsodies on the impulse of the moment, and have no thought of harmonizing to-day's feelings with those of yesterday or to-morrow. The poet's imagination is ever at work, tracing out new resemblances on all sides; and the ritual ceremonial as well as the order of nature is ransacked to supply analogies to the past and future history of the soul. Through them all runs an unmistakable spirit of Pantheism, often in its most offensive form, as avowedly overriding all moral considerations; and it is this which has produced the general impression that the religion of the Vedas is monotheistic. Men have judged from the Upanishads and the few hymns of the Ṛig Veda which breathe a similar spirit. Of course these early

[18] The White Yajur Veda is acknowledged on all hands to be much more modern than the rest. See Muller's *Ancient Sanst. Lit.*, pp. 349—354.

speculations have no system, although later writers have strained their ingenuity to invent one. The Upanishads stand to the later Vedánta as the oracular denunciations of Heraclitus *ὁ σκοτεινός* stand to the fully developed system of the Platonic philosophy.

We have reserved the Atharva Veda to the end, because it is evidently dissociated from the other three in its matter and style as well as by the tradition of the Hindús themselves. Whether it belongs to the Bráhmaṇa or to the Upanishad period cannot be determined; but probably much of the tenth maṇḍala of the Ṛig Veda was composed about the same time. It consists of the magic songs of the Atharvans or the Atharvángirasas; and is therefore chiefly composed of imprecations and deprecatory formulæ. Mixed with these are occasional hymns of great beauty and even moral feeling; thus one of its imprecations contains imbedded in it the grand verses to Varuṇa, describing his omnipresence, already alluded to. Like the Ṛig Veda, it is a collection of hymns, and not a body of liturgical forms; and next to the Ṛig Veda and the Upanishads it is much the most interesting part of Vaidik literature. Its Bráhmaṇa, the Gopatha, is exactly like other Bráhmaṇas; but it is peculiarly rich in Upanishads, as no less than 52 Upanishads (and among these, several, as the Máṇḍukya and Praśna, which are considered of the highest importance by the Vedánta school,) bear the name of the Atharva Veda.[16]

Connected with Vaidik literature are the Kalpa-Sútras, which are practical manuals of the sacrificial and other rites, drawn up for the convenience of the priests, who would otherwise have had to search through the liturgical Saṅhitás and Bráhmaṇas for the *disjecta membra* of the different ceremonies. Thus there are the Kalpa-sútras for the Hotri priests by Áśwaláyana and Śáṅkháyana,—for the Adhwaryus by Ápastamba, Baudháyana and Kátyáyana,—and the Udgátris by Látyáyana and Dráhyáyaṇa. These Kalpa-sútras form the most important of the six Vedángas or "members of the Veda," i.e. the six subjects whose study was necessary for the reading or proper sacrificial employment of the Veda. The other five are Śikshá (pronunciation), Chhandas (metre), Vyákaraṇa (grammar), Nirukta (explanation of words), and Jyotisha (astronomy)."—ED.]

[16] There is an interesting paper by Mr. Muir in the *Journ. R. A. S.*, vol. i., new series, on the doctrine of a future life according to the Vedas. In the earlier books of the Ṛig Veda there is little reference to a future state, but in the ninth and tenth it is frequently mentioned. A state of blessedness is distinctly promised to the virtuous; and these allusions are more full and frequent in the Atharva. In some passages of the latter, the family ties of earth are represented as renewed in heaven. In the Ṛig Veda we have no traces of the doctrine of transmigration, but a passage in the Śatapatha Br describes how the various animals and plants in a future state would devour those who had eaten them in the present life, unless they were secured by the regular performance of sacrifices during life. The allusions to a future state of punishment in the Vaidik writings are few and obscure. There are very few passages in the Bráhmaṇas which speak of anything like absorption in the deity, an idea which we find in so many of the Upanishad, in fact the older works display nothing of that discontent with existence which afterwards became such a prominent feature of Hindu thought.

" The reader desirous of pursuing the subject of the Vedas further, is referred to Professor Max Muller's *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, which contains a mine of most valuable information, and is at the same time as interesting as a novel. Professor Wilson's translation of the Ṛig Veda, and Mr Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vols. iii. iv., are also very important works.

APPENDIX VIII.

(PP. 53, 54.)

ON THE BRAHMANICAL TRIBES AND THE ABORIGINES.

[ELPHINSTONE's remarks on the relation of the original Hindú tribes to the other Indo-European nations and the aboriginal inhabitants of India, are hardly sufficient for the general reader at the present day; and a short comment seems needed to complete the sketch of the subject.

The fact of a connexion between the original Sanskrit-speaking tribes and the other nations of Western Asia and Europe, as proved by the common origin of their respective languages, is admitted by Elphinstone. It is perhaps going too far to assert that this connexion is thus proved to be one of *race*; at any rate, this is a question which belongs to physical science rather than to history. It is enough for the historian if it is granted that in some remote prehistoric time the ancestors of these various tribes were living in close political relation to each other; and the similarity which we find in their languages must undoubtedly prove *this*, even although the question of race should remain as unsettled a problem as before.

It was at first supposed that Sanskrit was the common mother of the other Indo-European languages; but this is disproved, among other reasons, by the fact that some of the European languages (more especially Latin), preserve forms and roots which are lost even in the oldest Sanskrit of the Vaidik time. Thus the final *s* of the nominative singular is lost in all Sanskrit nouns ending in consonants, as in *vák* (from *vách*), and *bhavan* (the present participle of *bhú*, φυ—"to be"), although its original presence is still indicated in the former word by the change of *ch* to *k*, which a following *s* would necessitate according to Sanskrit rules of euphony; but in the Latin *vox* (*vok-s*) and *amans* the suffix is still clearly visible. Thus *vox*, *voces*, *vocem*, *amans*, *amantes*, *amantem*, help us to explain the similar Sanskrit forms *vák* (i.e. *vák-s*), *vách-as*, *vacham*, *bhavan* (i.e. *bhavans*), *bhavantas*, *bhavantam*. Again the Sanskrit *náman* cannot be explained by a native etymology; but the Latin *gnomen* (as in *cognomen*), at once discloses its connexion with the common root, *jná*, *gno*—, "to know." So *tárá*, "a star," has even in the Veda lost its initial *s*, which gives the true etymology from *stri* "to scatter" and which is preserved in every other kindred language, as ἀστήρ in Greek, stâre in Zend, stella (*sterula?*), in Latin, etc. Similarly the lost Sanskrit roots *dhu* "to sacrifice" (*for hu*), and *dhan* "to kill," preserved in *han* and the derivatives *pradhana*, "conflict," and *nidhana*, "death," still exist in the Greek θυ— and φον—; and so the Latin *sub* and *super*, and the Greek ὑπὸ and ὑπὲρ preserve the initial sibilant which is lost in *upa* and *upari*.

The truth is that the Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Gothic, Slavonic and Celtic languages must all have sprung from one common source,—they are sisters, though Sanskrit may be considered the eldest, inasmuch as it generally preserves the earliest forms, and its structure is the most transparent for philological purposes.

It is quite true that all this similarity and linguistic sympathy only prove the fact of a connexion; but they "prove nothing regarding the place where it subsisted, nor about the time" (p. 54); but perhaps the following considerations may throw some light on this further question.

a. A central home, once occupied by the ancestors of these now widely

scattered nations, seems prima facie more probable than to suppose that they emigrated from the farthest extremity of the line, as India; and this is confirmed by the fact that the Western languages preserve no trace of any tropical residence, while the Vaidik use of such words as *hima*, "winter," for "year," and such traditions[1] as those which represent the Uttara Kurus in the far north as the sacred land of mythology, do seem to imply some trace of northern reminiscence.

b. Again, the fact of a subject cast like the Śúdras, existing as they did outside the pale of the twice-born, is no strange phenomenon in ancient history; it is one which meets us everywhere, if we can only pierce below the surface, and examine the strata of society. It is familiar enough to the student of Greek and Roman history, in the δῆμος of the Greek states and colonies, the plebs of Rome, the Periœci and Helots of Sparta, and the Tyrrhenes of Etruria; and the same phenomenon reappeared in mediæval Europe. In the cases where we can explain it, it seems always due to foreign conquest, and this analogy at once suggests a similar solution in the history of ancient India.

c. This hypothesis is confirmed by the facts mentioned by Elphinstone in his first book, relative to the Śúdra kingdoms, where Manu forbids a twice-born man to reside; but it is still more confirmed by the intimations of the Ṛig Veda. The Hindús of that early age are evidently settled in the north-west, with a hostile population near them; they call on Indra to assist his fair-complexioned friends, the Áryas,[2] against the dark Dasyus,[3] who are stigmatised as "non-sacrificing" (*ayajwánah*), or "having no religious observances" (*avratáh*), and as "slaves" (*dásah*). In one place (R.V. i. 130. 8) we have the following verse, "Indra, who in a hundred ways protects in all battles, in heaven-conferring battles, has preserved in the fray the sacrificing Árya. Chastising the neglecters of religious rites, he subjected the black skin (*tvacham krishṇám*) to Manu." In fact this old conflict seems perpetuated by the common Sanskrit word for cast, *varṇa*, which originally meant "colour." The Dasyus were not mere barbarians; their "hundred cities" are frequently alluded to; but it is not impossible that they had some physical peculiarities which distinguished them from the Caucasian invaders, as a favourite epithet of the Áryan god, Indra, is *sušipra*, "with a beautiful nose or jaw," which may have been intended as a contrast to the flat noses of the aborigines. The same idea probably reappears in the Rámáyaṇa legend of the monkey tribes of the Deckan; the very name of one of their leaders, Hanumat, "the large-jawed," is a curious contrast to the *susipra* of the Vedas.

d. To this we may add the various passages in the Vaidik writings[4] which represent the twice-born tribes as gradually spreading to the east and south from their original seats between the Indus and the Saraswatí. In the Ṛig Veda we find that the Indus and the rivers of the Panjáb are well known, and so are the Yamuná and the Saraswatí, but the Ganges is only directly named once, and that in the last book. In the same way it is silent respecting any of the great rivers of the Deckan, as the Nerbadda and Godávarí, nor is there any mention of the Vindhya. Its geography, in fact, is as contracted when compared to that

[1] I may add here, that in India I used to find that the pandits were impressed, in reference to this very point, by the singular phrase in the legend of the Deluge in the Satapatha Brahmaṇa, "this was Manu's descent from the northern mountain."

[2] For the history of this old word, which is still found in the Apes, the old name of the Medes, the modern Irán, etc., see Professor Max Muller's *Lectures on Language*, vol. i. I need hardly recommend to my readers such well-known volumes as these lectures, which have in fact done more to create an English interest in these studies than all other philological books put together. We see there what genius and learning can do, when united.

[3] Manu says (x. 45), "these tribes in the world which are outside of the casts produced from Brahma's head, hands, thighs and feet, whether they speak Mlechchha language or Árya language, are called Dasyus."

[4] These have been carefully collected by Mr. Muir in the second volume of his *Sanskrit Texts*—a work, every volume of which abounds with stores of information to the student of Hindú antiquity. I have been continually indebted to it in the course of this Appendix.

of Manu, as this is to that of the Rámáyaṇa or the Puráṇas. In the later Vaidik writings we can trace a gradual acquaintance with the country beyond; and the most interesting of these passages is the following legend from the Śatapatha Bráhmaṇa of the White Yajur Veda, which can hardly be anything else than a dim recollection of the gradual spread eastward of the religious rites of the Brahmanical tribes.

"Máthava the Videgha bore Agni Vaiśwánara in his mouth. The ṛishi Gotama Ráhúgaṇa was his family priest. Though addressed by him, he (Máthava) did not answer, 'lest,' (he thought), 'Agni should escape from my mouth.' The priest began to invoke Agni with verses of the Ṛig Veda, 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, the sacrificer, the luminous, the mighty, O Videgha' [R.V. v. 26.] He made no answer. [The priest then repeated] 'Thy bright, brilliant, flaming beams and rays mount upwards, O Agni, O Videgha,' [R.V. viii. 44.] Still he made no answer. The priest then recited, 'Thee, O dropper of butter, we invoke,' etc. [R.V. v. 26.] So far he uttered, when immediately on the mention of butter, Agni Vaiśwánara flashed forth from his mouth; he could not restrain him, so he issued from his mouth and fell down to this earth. The Videgha Máthava was then on the Saraswati. Agni then traversed this earth, burning towards the east. Gotama Ráhúgaṇa and the Videgha Máthava followed after him as he burned onward. He burnt across all these rivers; but he did not burn across the Sadánirá[5] which descends from the northern mountain. The Brahmans formerly did not use to cross this river, because it had not been burnt across by Agni Vaiśwánara. But now many Brahmans live to the east of it. It used to be uninhabitable and swampy, being untasted by Agni Vaiśwánara. It is now, however, habitable; for Brahmans have caused it to be tasted by sacrifices. In the end of summer, this river is, as it were, incensed, being still cold, not having been burnt across by Agni Vaiśwánara."[6]

e. We come to the same result, if we trace the gradual development of the four casts in the Vedas. In the Ṛig Veda the cast system of later times is wholly unknown. Traces of the three twice-born classes are indeed to be found. Thus the Brahmans seem referred to in the word *brahman*, "priest," and sometimes we have the actual word *Bráhmaṇa;* and similarly we may find the initial hints of the later Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas; but it is entirely silent as to the Śúdras, with the exception of the one well-known verse in the ninetieth hymn of the tenth book, the language of which is undoubtedly more modern than most of the other hymns. But in the other Vedas we find the cast system fully developed. All this harmonizes with the hypothesis that the Śúdra cast arose as the twice-born gradually subjugated the aborigines of the north.

f. These vague hints are moreover fully confirmed by the actual linguistic condition of India at the present day. This alone might not be of much weight; but it seems to bring strong confirmation when we find that the present distribution of Indian languages is exactly what it would be if our hypothesis of the invading Brahmanical tribes were correct. The languages of the people north, and immediately south, of the Vindhya, as Bengáli, Hindi, Guzeráti, Maráthi, Uriya, etc., are all saturated with Sanskrit; it is probable that in each of them there is a non-Sanskrit basis, but this has been so overlaid by Sanskrit that it is hardly recognisable without close scrutiny. Take away the Sanskrit element, and nothing worthy of being called a language remains.[7] But in the south of India, the languages are distinctly of a non-Sanskrit, and probably Turanian, type; and the languages of the mountaineer tribes in nearly all parts of India seem to belong to this latter family. Now what is the case in Great Britain,

[5] This is probably the Gandak. It is afterwards described in the Bráhmaṇa as forming the boundary between Oudh and North Behár.

[6] Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. ii. p. 420.

[7] Cf Bábú Rájendra lál Mitra's paper on the Hindví language, *Journ. B.A.S.*, 1864.

where the constituent elements of the population and their mutual relation are historically known? The Saxon and Norman conquerors came in from the South and South-East; and they entirely subdued England and partly subjugated the South of Scotland; but the ancient Celtic inhabitants maintained their independence in the mountains of Wales and the Highlands of Scotland; and this historical fact is exactly repeated in the present distribution of the English, Gaelic, and Cymric languages. This argument, as so many others, is only one from analogy; but it must not be overlooked that all our facts and inferences, with regard to the population of ancient India, point unanimously in one direction.

g. It only remains to notice Elphinstone's objection against this hypothesis. It is quite true that "neither in the Code nor in the Vedas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the Code, is there any allusion to a prior residence or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no further than the Himálaya chain, in which is fixed the habitation of the gods" (p. 54). But could not the same be said with equal truth of the ancient Greeks, if we only substitute Homer and Hesiod for the Veda and Manu, and Olympus for Himálaya? The truth is that a nation in its nomad state has no proper literature, and therefore no historical memory; these rise slowly after it has settled in towns, and by that time the pride of being *Autochthones* has probably erased all traces of any foreign origin.

It is asked again (p. 54), "where could the central point be, from which a language could spread over India, Greece, and Italy, and yet leave Chaldæa, Syria, and Arabia untouched?" Of course we cannot answer the question, in our utter ignorance of the causes or course of these ancient currents of migration. We have here the two great streams of the Semitic and Áryan tribes, which Providence undoubtedly did keep distinct in the ancient world, as indeed seems symbolised by the very languages in which the Old and New Testament are written. By what particular series of events the distinction was originally produced and maintained, we cannot determine; but we can plainly see that Jewish, Chaldæan, and Arabian civilization did, in the main, run their own career, just as those of ancient India, Greece, and Rome. Nor is it, perhaps, unreasonable to guess that the mountain chain of the Caucasus may have interposed a barrier to the southern advance of the Áryan tribes, just as it did to the Cimmerian fugitives of Herodotus; and similarly the Tartar invaders of more modern times have passed onward into Europe through Persia and Armenia, and generally left Palestine and Arabia untouched.—ED.]

APPENDIX IX.

ON THE CHINESE BUDDHIST PILGRIMS IN INDIA.

[A BUDDHIST missionary probably penetrated into China more than 200 years before our era, but it was not until A.D. 65 that Buddhism became one of the established religions of the empire. India was always regarded as the cradle of the Bauddha faith; and when in process of time, the purity of the Chinese branch degenerated, and divisions arose as to its doctrines and precepts, a succession of Chinese travellers made pilgrimages to India to procure copies of the sacred works

and to gain fresh instruction from the fountain-head. Their accounts have only lately been rendered accessible to the European student by the labours of the late M. Abel Rémusat and M. Stanislas Julien. They throw, for the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, the same side-light on the actual state of India which the Greek accounts throw for the third and fourth centuries B.C.; and enable us to form an outline picture of a period which in India's own literature is almost as mythic and imaginary as the Satya Yug or the Mahábhárata war.

The earliest known Chinese traveller was Chi-tao-an; he came to India at the commencement of the fourth century; but his work is lost. He was followed by Fa-hian, who travelled in Central Asia and India from A.D. 399 to 414. A century afterwards, two more, Hoëi-seng and Song-yun, travelled some years in the north of India; but their account is very brief. They were succeeded by Hiouen Thsang, whose ample narrative is the subject of the present Appendix.[1] His example was followed by some pilgrims in the eighth century and by Khinie, who visited India in 964 with three hundred ascetics, but these are of little interest.

Fa-hian's narrative was translated into French by M. Abel Rémusat and others in 1836, and an English version from the French was published by Mr. Laidlay, in Calcutta, in 1848. His book consists of forty short chapters, but the narrative is entirely confined to Buddhist details, and hence we do not gain much information from it regarding the condition of the Brahmanical population. He seldom mentions anything in any place which he visits beyond the Buddhist shrines which were the resort of pilgrims, and the legends with which they were associated. He seems to have passed through the territory of the Oïgours, Khotan, Cábul, Udyána, and Gandhára, and he then describes his route in India. He mentions, among other places, Takshaśilá (Taxila), Mathurá, Sánkáśya, Kanouj (where he sees the Heng or Ganges), Kosala, Śrávastí, Kapilavastu, and Vaiśálí. He next visits Magadha, with its capital Páṭaliputra; and here the very number of sacred places mentioned makes it difficult to determine his route. We can trace him as visiting Nálanda, Rájagriha, Gṛidhrakúta, and Gayá; he then goes westward to Benares (where he particularly mentions the deer-park of Sárnáth), and Kauśámbí. Fa-hian here devotes a short chapter to the kingdom of the Deckan (Tha thsen), and describes some cavern temples, which may perhaps be those of Ellora. He then returns from Benares to Páṭaliputra, where he spends three years in a monastery, "studying the books and the *Fan* language and copying the precepts."[2] He next goes down the Ganges to Champá and Támralipti (Tamlúk); at the latter place he remained two years, "transcribing the sacred books, and depicting the images." He thence sails to Ceylon, where he stayed two years, and collected several rare works in the *Fan* language; he mentions the honour paid there to Buddha's tooth, and describes Buddhism as flourishing in the highest degree. On his homeward voyage he visits Java; "heretics and Brahmans were numerous there, and the law of Buddha in no wise entertained.

Hiouen Thsang's book is a very different work, and its publication forms an era in the history of Indian research. The first of M. Julien's three volumes contains the memoirs of Hiouen Thsang, as written by two of his disciples; the other two give the tá-thang-si-yu-ki, or "mémoires sur les contrées occidentales," the original compilation of the pilgrim himself.

Hiouen Thsang appears to have been an ardent student of Buddhist philosophy in several monasteries in China, until at last, in the year 629, when twenty-six

[1] Hiouen Thsang gives an account of 138 kingdoms, of which he himself visited 110

[2] He says that he had "from the first inquired for the precepts, but all the masters of the kingdoms in the north had transmitted these from mouth to mouth, without ever reducing the volume to writing; on this account he had come so far and reached mid-India.

years of age, he conceived the design of seeking in India the solution of the various doubts which perplexed his mind, and which none of the Chinese sages could resolve. He has to set out on his journey westward alone.

He starts from the N.W. extremity of China, and pursues his adventurous route through the country of the Oïgours, and other Tartar tribes; thus he mentions the kingdoms of O-ki-ni, and Kou-tché (Kharashar?). At the latter place he stops sixty days, on account of the snow interrupting the roads; and he thence goes to Pa-lou-kia, which seems to be the same as the modern province of Aksu. In all these countries he finds Buddhism more or less prevalent. He then crosses the mountain Ling-chan (Musur Aola), which occupies more than a week; here he loses several of his companions from hunger and cold, and many of the beasts of burden. He next skirts the shore of the lake Thsing-tchi (Issikul), and arrives at the city Sou-ché, where he meets with the Turkí-Khán; he notices that his people were fire-worshippers. He then travels on to Tche-chi (Chásh or Tashkend), crosses the Jaxartes, and visits Samarkand, which is entirely inhabited by fire-worshippers. He then proceeds through the pass called the "Iron Gates" (Derbend), enters the kingdom of Tukhára, and crosses the Oxus. He describes Tukhára as divided into twenty-seven states, "which, though to some extent independent, are generally subject to the Turks." Here he finds Buddhism held in respect, and still more so in Balkh, where there were 100 convents containing 3,000 monks. He next reaches Bámyán (where Buddhism is very flourishing), and crosses the Hindú Kush. He thence visits Kapiśa (the Capissa of Pliny), which is under a Kshatriya king, to whom ten kingdoms are subject; here he finds 100 convents with 6,000 monks, but also scores of temples and many sects of heretics, some of whom went about naked, others rubbed themselves with ashes or wore skulls as ornaments. Near the capital he passes, on a mountain called Pílusára, the first of the long series of Aśoka's *stúpas* or monuments erected over relics.[3] On leaving Kapiśa, he crosses a mountain range to the east, and then enters Northern India.[4]

He first visits Lampá or Lamghán, "north of which," it is said, "the frontier countries are called Mie-li-tche (*Mlechchhas*);" then he comes to Nagarahára, where, to the south-west of the city, there was a cave in which Buddha was said to have left his shadow. Here the disciples, in their memoirs, indulge their imagination, and describe their master as extorting, by his prayers, such a clear vision of the sacred symbol as had been rarely conceded to any man; but Hiouen Thsang himself only remarks that "in old times the appearance was seen as luminous as if it were Buddha himself, but in these later ages one no longer sees it completely; something is, indeed, perceived, but it is only a feeble and doubtful resemblance."[5] South-east of this lay Gandhára, with its capital, Purushapura, at this time subject to Kapiśa. He describes the inhabitants as effeminate, but greatly devoted to literature; and he mentions it as the birthplace of many Indian doctors, who have composed (Buddhist) Śástras. He found its 1,000 convents and numerous *stúpas* deserted and in ruins; there were 100 temples and heretics of all sorts in abundance. There were several monuments of the great kings Aśoka and Kanishka; and he also expressly mentions a temple sacred to Maheśwara, as well as a celebrated statue of his wife, the goddess Pi-mo (*Bhimá*), in blue stone. In his account of the city Śálátura, he gives a curious

[3] He is said to have erected in different parts of India 84,000 such monuments. Hiouen Thsang finds them everywhere.

[4] Hiouen Thsang knew Sanskrit, and endeavoured throughout his itinerary in India to give the native names as far as the peculiar syllabic structure of the Chinese language admitted. M. Julien has discovered a method for detecting the Sanskrit names and words under their Chinese disguises, and we can thus recover with certainty the Sanskrit equivalent in nearly every instance. Thus *Ti-po-ta-to* represents Devadatta, and *Tou-kho-lo*, Tukhára. We shall give some more examples further on.

[5] Similarly, in vol. i. p. 286, Hiouen Thsang mentions another place where Buddha had left his shadow, but he adds, "although this is related in the historical memoirs, nowadays absolutely nothing is to be seen."

legend about Pâṇini, and describes his grammar as still studied by the Brahmans of the place.

He thence visited Udyâna, to the north, but most of its 1,400 convents were in ruins. Next he went to Bolor, and thence turned southward to Takshaśilâ (which formerly belonged to Kapiśa, but was then subject to Cashmîr), Sinhapura, Urasî, and Cashmîr. The latter country he found under the dominion of the Ki-li-to (Kritîya) dynasty, which patronised the Brahmanical faith; but there were many learned Buddhists in the various convents, and our traveller stayed there two years, copying and studying the sacred books. He then visits Panch and Râjapura, and remarks that all the countries from Lamghân to this last place are more or less barbarous, and do not properly belong to India.[6]

Hiouen Thsang thence goes southward to Cheka, where he sees the ruins of the ancient city Śâkala (the Sagala or Sangala of the Greeks),—Chînapati, where he remains studying fourteen months,—Jâlandhara, where he remains four months,—and Kuluta (where he crosses the Satlaj). He next proceeds southward to a country called Po-li-ye-to-lo, which appears to be the Matsya district of Manu, as this is explained by Kullûka as Virâṭa, which has been supposed to be Mâcherî or Jaipur. Hiouen Thsang describes the inhabitants as averse to letters, and devoted to heretical doctrines and war.[7]

He next comes to Mathurâ (Mattra),[8] and here his narrative throws great light on the political condition of the Doâb in the seventh century. He visits and describes Tanêsar, with its 8 convents, its 100 temples, and swarms of heretics,[9]—Srughna (?), with its ruined capital (here he finds 5 convents and 100 temples, and remains studying with a renowned doctor some months),—Matipura (?), on the Ganges, where the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths have an equal number of adherents, and the king is a Śûdra, but does not follow the law of Buddha,—Brahmapura (?),—Ahichchhattra (the Ἀδιαδρα of Ptolemy),—and Sânkâśya,[10] the old city mentioned in the Râmâyaṇa, and which General Cunningham discovered in the ruins near the present village of Samkassa. General Cunningham found a tank there, where a Nâga is still propitiated by offerings of milk whenever rain is wanted, just as it was in A.D. 400, when Fa-hian visited the spot.

The next place visited was Kanyâkubja,—he describes its capital as 20 *li*[11] in length and 5 in breadth. Its king, Harsha-vardhana, was of the Vaiśya cast; he had succeeded his elder brother Râjyavardhana, who had been treacherously killed by Śaśânka, an anti-Buddhist king in eastern India, and on his accession had assumed the name of Śîlâditya.[12] The new king had established his supremacy over all India, and was a most zealous patron of Buddhism. There were 100 convents and 10,000 monks; and also 200 temples of the Brahmans. He describes the kingdom as wealthy and full of foreign merchandise,—"the cities are all defended by solid walls and deep ditches."

He next went to O-yu-to (which is supposed to have been some capital of

[6] Hiouen Thsang's itinerary has been admirably illustrated by M. L. Vivien de Saint Martin in his *Mémoire Analytique* appended to M. Julien's second volume of the *Si yu ki*. For Northern India we have an invaluable supplement in General Cunningham's report of his Archæological Surveys, in 1861-63, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

[7] Cf. *supra*, p. 76, note.

[8] He finds at Mathurâ 20 convents, with 2,000 monks, and 5 temples. As Fa hian had found 20 convents with 3,600 monks, and Mahmud in his letter (see *supra*, p. 342), speaks of innumerable temples, we can distinctly trace the gradual decline of Buddhism and revival of Brahmanism between the fifth and seventh centuries.

[9] Near Tanesar he sees Kurukshetra, the old battle field of the Mahâbhârata war, and he gives a curiously distorted version of the tradition.

[10] Hiouen Thsang calls it Kie-pi-tha, but his account of the temple with Buddha's triple ladder identifies it with Fa hian's Seng kia-shi. It was a very celebrated place of Buddhist pilgrimage.

[11] *Li* are said to be rather more than one mile.

[12] Some of these facts have been remarkably illustrated and confirmed by Dr Hall, from the recently discovered work of Bâṇa, the *Harsha-charitra*. See his analysis in the Preface of his edition of the Vâsavadattâ, and also Journ. R. A. S. 1862. It is said (*Pie de H. T.*, p. 215), that Śîlâditya died in A.D. 650, and after his death India was devastated by war and famine.

Ayodhýa on the Ganges); here he found 100 convents and only 10 temples. He then goes down the river to Hayamukha (?),—on his voyage, his ship is attacked by robbers devoted to the goddess Durgá, who have an annual custom of sacrificing one of their captives, and they fix on the Chinese pilgrim as their victim. The memoirs expatiate on his calmness amidst his terrified companions,—he resigns himself to his fate, and only regrets that the premature termination of his journey will issue in future evil to his captors; but a sudden storm alarms the robbers, and they release him with his friends. He next visits Prayága, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna,—here he finds only two small convents,—"there are many hundreds of temples and the number of heretics is enormous." He expressly mentions one very celebrated temple of immense wealth and sanctity with a large tree in its principal court, from whose top pilgrims used to throw themselves down in order to die in such a sacred spot;[13] he also mentions the custom of devotees drowning themselves at the point of confluence. South-west of Prayága, there was a dense forest infested with wild beasts and elephants. He next visits Kauśámbí, where he finds 10 convents in ruins, and 50 flourishing temples.

He next turns northward to Vaiśákha (?), which General Cunningham identifies with the Hindú Sáketa or the ancient Ayodhyá on the river Śarayu; and thence to Śrávasti. He describes the capital of the latter kingdom as in ruins and almost deserted; there were many ruined convents, but the Brahmanical temples seem to have been numerous and frequented.[14] Thence he goes to Kapilavastu,—"here there are 10 deserted towns, and the royal city is in ruins; the palace, in the middle of the capital, was once 14 or 15 *li* in circumference, and was entirely built of bricks,—its ruins are still lofty and solid, but it has been deserted for ages. The villages are thinly peopled,—there is no king,—every town has its own chief. There were once about 1,000 convents, the ruins of which still remain." The various spots were still pointed out, which were associated with the memorable events in Śákya Muni's life, and on most of them *viháras* had been erected. He next goes eastward through a dense forest to Rámagráma, which was then only a desert,—it abounded with the ruins of convents and *stúpas*, but most of the country was covered with forests full of wild beasts and robbers; and the same desolation prevailed in Kuśinagara, the celebrated spot where Śákya Muni entered into *nirvána*.[15] Hiouen Thsang then turns to the south-west, and, after passing through a vast forest, reaches Benares.

He describes the kingdom as thickly filled with populous villages,—the majority of the inhabitants believed heretical doctrines, and there were few who revered the law of Buddha. There were 30 convents with about 3,000 monks, and 100 temples and 10,000 heretics, devoted for the most part to Maheśwara. "Some cut their hair, others leave a tuft on the top of the head and go about quite naked (the Nirgranthas), others rub their bodies with ashes (the Páśupatas), and zealously practise painful penances to escape from life and death." "In the capital there are 20 temples. They have towers of many stories, and magnificent chapels built of stones elaborately carved and of wood richly painted. Thick trees cover them with their shade, and streams of pure water flow round them. The statue of Maheśwara, which is made of brass, is nearly 100 feet high. His aspect is grave and majestic, and, on seeing him, one feels respectful fear as if he were still living."

[13] This is the celebrated *akshay Bat*, or "indestructible figtree." Abd ul kadir in the Muntakhab ut Tawárikh, mentions the same practice as still prevalent in Akber's time. See Gen. Cunningham's Report (*Journ. B A S.*, 1865).

[14] Gen. Cunningham identifies Śrávasti with the ruined city on the Rapti, still called Sáhet-Mahet. Śrávasti in Mágadhi becomes Sawatthi.

[15] Gen. Cunningham identifies this with the ruins of Kasia, 35 miles east from Gorakhpur; one of the mounds is still called the "fort of the dead prince."

He visits the deer-park of Sárnáth, with its convent containing 1,500 monks,[16] and then journeys north-eastward to Vaiśálí, passing on the way a celebrated temple of Náráyaṇa. He describes the capital as a heap of ruins, covering a circumference of 60 or 70 *li*. The district abounded with Buddhist monuments, and there were many ruined convents, but only three or four were inhabited; there were scores of temples, and a multitude of heretics, especially of those who go naked. As Fa-hian describes Vaiśálí without alluding to its being in ruins, we may conclude that the city decayed between the fifth and seventh centuries.[17]

After visiting Vṛiji (which he describes as in ruins), and Nepál (which he finds under a Kshatriya king of the race of the Lichavas), he continues his route to Magadha. Here he found 50 convents with 10,000 monks, but the temples were also numerous and well frequented. He mentions Pátaliputra as a ruined city south of the Ganges; "though long deserted, its foundations still covered an extent of 70 *li*." He also mentions its original name—Kusumapura, and gives a legend to account for the change. He counted hundreds of ruined convents, *stúpas*, and temples in the neighbourhood. Some of the legends connected with the different sacred sites are curious, as illustrating the respective positions of Buddhism and the more ancient faith. We find frequent accounts of great disputations held in the presence of the kings, between the most learned partisans of the two creeds; and one great Brahman is expressly mentioned by name—Mádhava—a celebrated follower of the Sánkhya philosophy, who was vanquished by a Buddhist teacher—Guṇamati—from central India. Mádhava, it is said, was a man of immense learning, and he possessed two towns, and all the surrounding district was his appanage. Similarly we read in the legends of towns given as a reward to the successful Buddhist disputant, and in one place (vol. i. p. 451) it is even said that the defeated Brahmans were reduced to be dependents of the convents ("les Brahmanes restèrent assujettis au service des couvents").

Among other places, Hiouen Thsang mentions Gayá,[18] which he describes as a well-defended city, very difficult of access; it had only a few inhabitants. The Brahmans formed a thousand families; they were descended from one Ṛishi. The king did not treat them as subjects, and the multitude showed them profound respect. Gayá was a very sacred spot in Buddhist legend; there Buddha had passed six years of severe penance, and there grew the sacred *bodhi* tree, of which General Cunningham says "that it still exists, though very much decayed; one large stem, with three branches to the westward, is still green, but the other branches are barkless and rotten;" but of course it has been frequently renewed. Hiouen Thsang mentions a celebrated *vihára*, which had been constructed near the tree by a Brahman who was once a worshipper of Maheśwara, but who, warned by that deity, had resolved to build the Buddhist convent. This appears to be the same legend as that connected with Amara Sinha, which is commemorated in an inscription found by Mr. Wilkins at Gayá, and published in the first vol. of the Asiatic Researches. Hiouen Thsang remarks that "for the space of 10 *li* to the south of the *bodhi* tree, the sacred monuments are so numerous that it would be difficult to mention them all. Every year, when the mendicants (*bhikshus*) inhabit fixed abodes during the rainy season, monks and laymen arrive from all quarters, by hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands. For seven days and nights they walk about in the woods surrounding

[16] Gen. Cunningham gives an interesting account of the excavations which have been carried on at different times in Sarnath; everywhere we find traces of destruction by fire, as if the monks had been suddenly surprised and forced to fly; even the remains of ready-made wheaten cakes were found in one of the chambers, as if hastily abandoned on the floor.

[17] *Cf. supra*, p. 262.

[18] This is no doubt the so-called Buddha Gayá, as distinguished from the city Gayá, six miles to the north.

the convent, with odorous flowers and to the sound of music, and pay their homage to the relics and make their offerings. The monks of India, at the time of the rains, enter fixed habitations on the first day of Śrávan, and they quit them on the last day of Aśwayuj."[18]

Magadha of course abounded with objects of interest to the Chinese pilgrim, and his account of its sacred places is very detailed, and General Cunningham has recognised many of the spots which he visited, especially the ruins of Kuśágárapur or Rájagriha, near the modern Rájgír, which can still be identified by Fa-hian's description, that "the five hills form a girdle round it like the walls of a town." This was the capital of the ancient kings of Magadha, and it is no doubt the same as the Girivraja of the Rámáyana; even at the time of Fa-hian's visit it was a deserted city.

Hiouen Thsang also notices a more modern Rájagriha, in the plain, which was inhabited by 1,000 Brahman families, Aśoka having given it to them when he removed his court to Pátáliputra. But the most interesting place which Hiouen Thsang visited was the celebrated convent of Nálanda, the extensive ruins of which still exist in the village of Baragaon, seven miles to the north of Rájgír. On his arrival he was met by 200 monks and a crowd of other persons, coming in procession with flags, parasols, perfumes, and flowers. He was then welcomed in solemn conclave by all the residents, and invited to share in all that the convent supplied. After this he was introduced to a venerable *ácharya* named Śílabhadra, who was profoundly versed in the depths of Buddhist philosophy, but who, for several years, had been almost helpless from violent rheumatism. Hiouen Thsang was then lodged in one of the convent buildings and treated with every mark of respect. Nálanda was at that time the most imposing of all the Buddhist monasteries in India: 10,000 monks resided within its walls, and among these were visitors from all parts of India who had come to study the abstruser Buddhist books under its renowned teachers. There were to be found the followers of the eighteen different schools, all living united together; and every kind of book was studied, "from the common books, as the Vedas and such writings, to logic (*hetuvidyá*), grammar (*śabdavidyá*), medicine (*chikitsá*), and the practical arts (*silpasthánavidyá*)." A thousand of the monks could explain twenty treatises, five hundred could explain thirty, and ten (including Hiouen himself) knew fifty; but the old ácharya had mastered all. The convent was supported by the revenue of 100 villages, and the strictest moral and intellectual discipline was maintained in the community. As the public funds provided all necessaries, the monks had no need to wander and beg alms, and all their time was devoted to study.

Hiouen Thsang appears to have remained five years at Nálanda, and during that time he read the *Yoga śástra* three times, the *Nyáyánusára śástra* once, the *abhidharma śástra* once, the *hetuvidyá śastra* twice, the *śabdavidyá śástra* twice, etc. He also revised the books which he had read in Cashmir, and at the same time he took the opportunity of studying the Brahmanical books and the work entitled *Ai-tun*, which treats of the *Fan* characters of India. There then follows, in the memoirs written by the disciples, a very curious passage on the Sanskrit language and literature, to which we shall return further on.

After leaving Nálanda, he proceeds through forests and mountains to the kingdom of Hiranyaparvata, which is supposed to be Monghir. Its capital contained 10 convents with about 4,000 monks; there were 20 temples, and all

[18] Hiouen Thsang remarks (vol. i. p. 403), that "in India, the names of the months are based on those of the asterisms, from ancient times to our days, this usage has been invariably preserved, and the different schools have made no change. But as at the beginning, local expressions were not always well understood, Chinese translators have often been deceived. Hence in the division of the seasons, and the calculations of the months, differences and contradictions have arisen."

classes of heretics were numerous. He mentions a mountain "whence smoke and vapour issued which obscured the sun and moon;" which may be an exaggeration of the hot springs found in the neighbouring hills. He thence follows the southern bank of the Ganges and visits Champá, where there were scores of ruined convents, in which about 200 monks still continued to reside; —the Brahmanical temples were many and well-frequented. He next visits Kajúghira (?), with 6 or 7 convents and 10 temples; the kingdom was no longer independent, and consequently the cities were deserted, and the inhabitants had retired to the villages. He adds that when Śiládítya travelled in his dominions, on his arrival in this district, he had a palace built of reeds, where he administered justice, and which was burnt on his departure. Hiouen Thsang mentions that in each of these last-mentioned kingdoms there were large tracts of forest abounding with wild elephants. He next comes to Puṇḍravardhana (Bardwan?), with 20 convents and 100 temples, and thence proceeds eastward to Kámarúpa (Assam.) He describes the language of Assam as somewhat different from that of the neighbouring provinces; its inhabitants were not Buddhists, and there was not a single convent within its limits. Its temples could be numbered by hundreds, and their worshippers by tens of thousands. Its king was a Brahman, named Bháskaravarma, and he bore the title of Kumára; although not a follower of Buddha, he received Hiouen Thsang with kindness and treated him with every mark of respect. He next goes to Samataṭa, (in the Sundarbans?), and thence to the port of Támralipti (Tamluk). He finds in the latter place 10 convents and 50 temples; and he mentions the immense quantity of rare and precious merchandise which was brought to it by land and sea. Here he inquired about Ceylon (Sinhala), and he learned that ships often sailed thither from this port; but he was advised to proceed southward to the extremity of the Peninsula, and thus avoid the long and dangerous voyage. He accordingly, after first visiting a country called Karṇasuvarṇa (?), proceeds to Orissa; henceforth his descriptions of the different countries are much briefer and more meagre. He describes the inhabitants as tall, dark, and rude in their manners,—their language and pronunciation differed from those of central India. There were 100 convents with 10,000 monks, and 50 temples. On the S.E. frontier, he finds a large city called Charitra, which was a port greatly frequented by foreign merchants. He next passes through Konyodha (?), with its 100 temples; Kalinga, on the coast, with its 10 convents and 200 temples; and Kosala (in the interior), with its Kshatriya king of the Buddhist faith, its 100 convents and its 70 temples. He next visits Andhra, where he finds a language and pronunciation very different from those of central India, though the written characters are mostly the same. There were 20 convents with 3,000 monks, and 30 temples; he calls its capital Ping-ki-lo (Warangal?).

He then proceeded to Dhanakachcka or Mahándhra (Mahendri?), where he found most of the convents in ruins, and only 20 were still inhabited; there were 100 temples, and heretics of every sect were very numerous. Here he met two learned monks, and he stayed several months to enjoy the benefit of their instructions. Thence he went to Chola, which he describes as mostly a desert covered with marshes and jungles; the convents were nearly all in ruins, but there were many temples, and the heretics who went naked (the *nirgranthas*) were extremely numerous. His way thence lay southward through forests and desert plains until he reached Drávida and its capital Kánchipura (Conjeveram). He mentions its 100 convents with their 10,000 monks, and its 80 temples, and numerous *nirgrantha* heretics. Here he meets some monks from Ceylon, who dissuade him from proceeding thither, as the king of that island had lately died, and the country was disturbed by civil commotions: Hiouen Thsang takes their advice,

but he inserts in his Si-yu-ki a short account of Ceylon, as derived from the travellers whom he met.

According to the Memoirs, Hiouen Thsang did not go further south than Kánchípura; but the Si-yu-ki mentions his going 3,000 *li* to the south (or rather south-west), and reaching a country called Mo-lo-kiu-tcha, i. e. Malakúṭa or Malaya. He describes its inhabitants as illiterate and entirely devoted to gain; the convents were mostly in ruins, but there were hundreds of flourishing temples, and numbers of *nirgrantha* heretics. He describes the Malaya hills and the sandal-trees which grow on them, and he mentions the serpents by which these trees are infested. He then passes through Konkana, where he found 100 convents with 10,000 monks, as well as hundreds of temples. Both in his journey to this kingdom from the south, and again on his leaving it and proceeding northwards, he describes himself as passing through vast forests and desert plains infested by wild beasts and robbers. He next comes to Mahárásḥṭra. His account of this kingdom is curious and interesting. "The kingdom of Mo-ho-la-tcha (Mahárásḥṭra) has a circuit of about 6,000 *li*. On the west side, its capital[39] is near a great river,—its circumference is 30 *li*. The soil is rich and fertile, and produces grain in abundance. The climate is hot,—the manners of the people are simple and honest. They are tall in stature, and their character proud and haughty. Whoever confers a benefit on them may count on their gratitude; but he who offends them never escapes their vengeance. If any one insults them, they risk their life to wash out the affront; if any one implores their aid in distress, they neglect all care of their personal safety to help him. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to warn their enemy beforehand; after which, each man dons his cuirass and fights, lance in hand. In a battle they pursue those who fly, but they do not kill those who yield themselves prisoners. When a general has lost a battle, instead of inflicting corporal punishment upon him, they make him wear women's clothes, and so drive him to commit suicide. The State maintains a body of intrepid warriors to the number of many hundreds. Whenever they prepare for combat, they make themselves drunk with wine, and then any one of them would, lance in hand, singly defy ten thousand enemies. If he kills any one who happens to cross his path, the law does not punish him. When the army is out on service, these warriors march in the van, to the sound of drums. They also make drunk hundreds of their ferocious elephants." He describes the king as a Kshatriya named Pulakeśa, and he adds that Śiláditya, the king of Kanouj, had subdued all India except this nation, and all his efforts to conquer them had failed. Hiouen Thsang mentions 100 convents with 5,000 monks; there were also 100 temples, and the heretics of different sects were extremely numerous.

He then crosses the Narmadá (Nerbadda) river, and comes to the kingdom of Barugacheva (Barygaza or Baróch). He describes the inhabitants as devoted to maritime traffic, and as illiterate and deceitful. There were 10 convents with 300 monks, and also 10 temples. He next goes to Málwa, of which he speaks in glowing terms. "In the five Indias, there are two kingdoms where study is highly esteemed,—Málwa in the southwest, and Magadha in the northeast." Brahmanism and Buddhism seemed each to flourish. Thus there were many hundreds of convents with 20,000 monks, and there were also as many temples. The heretics were very numerous, especially those who rubbed their bodies with ashes (the Páśupatas). He mentions a king named Śiláditya, who had reigned some 60 years before and had greatly patronised the Buddhists during his long reign of 50 years; he places the capital on the southeast of the river Mahi, which seems to indicate Dhárá. He also mentions a city of Brahmans, and gives a curious legend of a Brahman who was deeply versed in every branch of learning, sacred and profane, and in his arrogance proclaimed himself the successor of Buddha and the guide of the igno-

[39] Deogiri or Paithán?

rant. He had statues carved in red sandalwood of Maheśwara, Vasudeva,[21] Nárá-yaṇa, and Buddha, and he placed these as the four legs of his chair, until he was defeated in a public disputation by a Buddhist mendicant, when he was swallowed up alive by the earth opening under his feet.

He next visits Aṭali (?) and Kach, in both of which Buddhism was yielding to Brahmanism, and from thence he proceeds to Vallabhi. He describes the latter as a kingdom of great commerce and wealth; there were 100 convents with 6,000 monks, and also many hundreds of temples and heretics of every sect. The kings were Kshatriyas, and nephews of the Śíláditya who was mentioned above as a king of Málwa; the present occupier of the throne, Dhruvapaṭu, was also son-in-law to the son of Śíláditya, the king of Kanouj. He was a zealous Buddhist, and every year held a great assembly for seven days, when he distributed all kinds of gifts to the religious devotees, and then bought them back at a double price.

He next visits Ánandapura, a dependency of Málwa,—Suráshṭra, a dependency of Vallabhi, which possessed great wealth from its commerce,—and Gurjara,[22] where there was only one convent, though the Kshatriya king professed the Buddhist faith. We next find him at Ujain, which he describes as under a Brahman king well versed in heretical learning,—here there had once been scores of convents, but now nearly all were in ruins, while the temples were numerous and crowded with votaries.[23] Next he visits Tchi-ki-to (Chitor?), where Buddhism was similarly waning before Brahmanism; but the king, though a Brahman, patronizes the former religion,—and Maheśwarapura, a thoroughly Brahmanical kingdom, which seems to have lain in the north-east of Rájputána. He then turns west-ward, and, after travelling through wild plains and dangerous deserts, he crosses the river Sindhu and arrives at a kingdom of the same name. He calls the capital Vichavapura (?); the king is a Śúdra; there are hundreds of convents with 10,000 monks, and there are also 30 temples. He mentions a sect of fanatics who occupied one side of the river for 1,000 *li*; their only profession was murder and the tending of oxen: the men shaved their beards and the women their hair, and they wore the dress of Buddhist monks. Hiouen Thsang regarded them as the degenerate descendants of a Buddhist tribe. He next visits Múlasambhuru (Multán?), where there were 10 convents mostly in ruins, and 8 temples, one of which, that of the Sun, was of unusual splendour. The statue of the god was of pure gold, and the temple, from its first founding, had never ceased to resound with continual music, and it was always lighted up brilliantly at night. After visiting Parvata, a dependency of Cheka, we next find him at Adhyavaktla (?), with its capital Khajiṭéwara (Karáchi?), which he calls a dependency of Sindh; here he notices 80 convents and 10 temples; among the latter he specifies a magnificent temple of Maheśwara, and he particularly mentions the number of its devotees who rub themselves with ashes (Páśupatas). He next visits Lángala, a dependency of Persia,—where he finds the language somewhat different from those of India, but the written characters were very similar. Here there were 100 convents and also many hundreds of temples, and he again particularises one of Maheśwara with its Páśupata devotees. He then visits the unknown kingdoms of Pitáśilá, Avapla, and Varaṇa; in each he finds convents and temples, and Páśupata devotees as well as Buddhist monks, but

[21] So in M. Julien, but probably Vásudeva, i. e. Krishna. This is the only allusion to Krishna which I have noticed in the travels. Vishnu is mentioned under the form of Náráyaṇa, but most of the temples described are those of Maheśwara (Śiva).

[22] This appears to be not Gujerát, but some territory near Marwár; but in these latter chapters Hiouen Thsang's distances are frequently confused and erroneous, which renders it very difficult to trace his route.

[23] It is curious that Bhavabhúti (who is supposed to have flourished about A. D. 720) places the scene of his *Málatí Mádhava* in Ujain, and one peculiarity of that play is "the licensed existence of Bauddha ascetics, their access to the great, and their employment as teachers of science" (Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, ii. p. 4). Although this favourable position of Buddhism could hardly have been actually found existing just then in Ujain, it certainly was true of most of India at that time, and its mention by Bhavabhúti is a strong confirmation of his supposed date.

in Varaṇa most of the convents were in ruins. After this he climbs a high mountain range, and leaves the boundaries of India behind him.

The remainder of his route we need only just indicate. He visits Ho-si-na (Ghazni?), crosses the Hindú Kush, and comes to Anderáb. He then ascends the valleys of the affluents of the upper part of the Oxus, as far as the snowy range which separates the basin of that river from that of the river of Yárkand. Thus he passes through Khost, Bolor, Badakhshán, Pamir, Káshgar, Khotan, Tukhára and the desert of Makhai, and reaches China in the spring of 645.

During Hiouen Thsang's stáy at Kanouj and Nálanda he had many disputes with the learned Brahmans belonging to the various philosophical schools, especially the Sánkhya and Vaiseshika; and we have some very curious accounts of some conferences, where the partisans of the rival religions met and discussed their different doctrines, and where, of course, "the master of the law" (to quote Hiouen Thsang's Chinese title of honour) plays a very prominent part, especially in the debates between the two great Buddhist sects who respectively called themselves the followers of "the greater" or "less translation" (*mahá-* and *hina-yána*).[34] Hiouen Thsang himself gives an account of one of these great convocations. Twenty-one tributary kings, attended by the most learned Brahman and Buddhist teachers in their several kingdoms, were present. A monastery, and a tower 100 feet high, had been erected on the south bank of the Ganges, in honour of a golden statue of Buddha. The king had a temporary palace built some three miles from the spot, and every day while the assembly lasted he escorted the statue in a grand triumphal procession from the palace to the tower, and, after various ceremonies in its honour, carried it back in the evening with the same pomp. After a sumptuous banquet, before the procession returned, a disputation was held every day between the different learned visitors, when "they discussed the most abstract expressions and the most sublime principles." Of course the Brahmans are defeated. On the last day of the assembly, the great tower suddenly caught fire, and at the same time an attempt was made to assassinate the king. The assassin, on examination, confessed that he had been employed by the defeated disputants, and that it was they also who had been the incendiaries. He adds that "the king punished the chiefs of the conspiracy, and banished 500 of the Brahmans beyond the frontiers of India." The memoir-writers give an account of a somewhat similar assembly held by the same king at Prayága, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges: 500,000 monks and laymen were present, and the festivities appear to have lasted ten weeks. It is a curious illustration of the religious condition of Northern India at that time, to find, on the first day, the installation of a statue of Buddha; on the second, that of an image of the Sun; and on the third, that of an image of Íśwara;[35] and similarly we read that the king lavished his gifts on the Brahmans and the different heretics (especially the Nirgranthas), as well as on the Buddhist monks.

The first part of the second book of the Si-yu-ki gives a general account of India. The author says that the name should be pronounced In-tou, and he derives it from the Sanskrit *indu* "the moon;" but he also mentions the name "kingdom of the Brahmans," which may mean Brahmávarta.[36] He gives some curious details respecting the public buildings, the household furniture, dresses, manners, divisions of time, etc.; and he seems to have been particularly struck with the minute observances of cast. He mentions the four casts, and describes the Vaiśyas as mer-

[34] There is some confusion here between the disciples' memoirs and the Si-yu-ki. The former make Hiouen Thsang return for a second visit to Nálanda, after he has reached Sindh and the Panjáb, and they describe the second visit as the more important one, but the latter, by its silence, proves the erroneousness of the double journey.

[35] In this account of Kanouj, Hiouen Thsang mentions two temples of blue stone dedicated to the Sun and Maheswara, each of which had 1,000 attendants, and resounded incessantly with songs and drums.

[36] He says that India is divided into 70 kingdoms.

chants, and the Súdras as agricultural labourers; he also notices that there were numerous mixed casts. Like the Greeks, he was very favourably impressed with the truthfulness and honesty of the national character. He praises the administration of justice, and he mentions four modes of ordeal. The produce of the royal lands was divided into four portions: the first went to pay the expenses of the kingdom; the second supplied the fiefs (i.e. jágírs) for the officers of state; the third was given to learned men; and the fourth was expended in gifts to the Buddhist and the various Brahmanical sects. He describes the taxes as light. Every one possessed and cultivated some hereditary land, and paid a sixth part of the produce to the king, who advanced the seed. There were transit duties at the fords of rivers and on the highways, and the king possessed no right of forced labour, but was obliged to pay reasonable wages. There was a small standing army employed in guarding the frontiers and the king's person; the rest was levied in time of need. The governors, ministers, and magistrates all received a certain portion of land, and were supported by its produce.

He also gives some curious details respecting the current literature. He particularly mentions five sciences—that of sounds or words (*śabda-vidyá*); that of arts and trades (*śilpasthána-vidyá*); that of medicine (*chikitsá-vidyá*); that of reasons (*hetuvidyá*); and that of metaphysics (*adhyátma-vidyá*). He describes the four Vedas, though confusedly, and he expressly mentions that the teachers thoroughly knew these works, and taught the general sense to their pupils, and explained the obscure expressions. The term of education lasted till the student was thirty years of age. He has a short chapter on the eighteen different philosophical schools:—"they are constantly at strife, and the noise of their angry discussions rises like the waves of the sea." There is one remarkable passage which to the Sanskrit scholar may well seem inexplicable:—"Special functionaries are charged with the duty of consigning to writing memorable sayings, and others are appointed to write the narrative of events. The record of annals and royal edicts is called Nílapita—'the blue collection.' In these narratives are mentioned the good and evil events, the calamities, and also the adspicious presages."[27] Probably these were worthless records of prodigies and omens like those quoted by Livy; but it is curious that every trace of them should have vanished from India with Buddhism itself.

But the most interesting of all these side-lights thrown on the state of literature in Northern India is that given by the account, in the disciples' memoirs, of Hiouen Thsang's studies during his stay at Nálanda. It is there said that, besides the different Buddhist śástras which he studied under the renowned teachers of the monastery, he also studied the books of the Brahmans, and especially the work entitled Ki-lun, which treats of the Fan characters of India, the origin of which is lost in antiquity and none knows who invented them. At the commencement of the Kalpas, the king Fân (Brahma) first explained them and transmitted them to gods and men. As these characters were explained by Brahma, they were for that reason called "the writing of Brahma."[28] The primitive text was very long, extending to a million ślokas,—this is the work called Pi-ye-kie-la-nan (Vyákaranam), which means a mnemonic treatise for the knowledge of sounds. This immense work was successively abridged by Indra in 100,000 ślokas, and by a Brahman of Gandhára in the north of India, named the rishi Po-no-ni.[29] The latter reduced it to 8,000 ślokas, and "it is this work which is still in use in India."

He then proceeds to give a curious account of this work, which can be no other than the celebrated Ashtaka of Pánini. It embraces, he says, two classes of words, *ti-yen-to* and *sou-man-to*, which correspond, no doubt, to the tin-anta and sup-anta (or verbs and nouns) of Hindú grammarians. The former have 18 terminations, which are divided into Parasmaipada and Atmanepada; there are 3 numbers with

[27] Si yu-ki, vol. i. p. 72. Cf. p. 116.
[28] Hiouen Thsang says there were 47 of these letters.
[29] Cf. Sáyana's Introd. Rig Veda.

3 persons in each, which thus raises the sum total of terminations to 18 (Páṇ. 3, 4, 78). He then adds the example of the root *bhú*, and it is very interesting to see this familiar verb in its strange Chinese disguise.

"If they wish to express 'existence,' this word has 3 forms:

1. *Po-po-ti* (*bhavati*) 'he is,'
2. *Po-po-pa* (*bhavatah*?) 'they two are,'
3. *Po-fan-ti* (*bhavanti*) 'they are;'"

and similarly we have the forms for the second and first persons, *po-po-sse*, *po-po-po* and *po-po-ta*, and *po-po-mi*, *po-po-hoa*, *po-po-mo*.[99] He adds that words of this class are employed in elegant treatises, but are rarely used in ordinary composition,—a remark which perhaps alludes to the corrupt *gáthá* Sanskrit which we find so often in Buddhist books.

He gives a similar analysis of the noun (sup-anta) and, as an example, we have a complete declension of *Pou-lou-cha* (*Purusha*) "a man."

Such is a brief outline of this interesting narrative, the importance of which, for a view of mediæval India, can hardly be overrated. Had the "Hindú period" been historical, the travels of Fa-hian and Hiouen Thsang would have only merited a passing notice, just like that given to Ibn Batúta or Bernier in the Muhammadan portion; but, in the present dearth of historical materials, these foreign visits assume an entirely new importance,—they are almost our only stepping-stones through a thousand years of fable.]

[99] The Chinese author remarks on this form (which corresponds to *bhavámas*) that in the Vedas another form often occurs, *po-po mo-sse*, which is no doubt the Vaidik *bhavámasi* (Páṇ. 7, 1. 46), and we have thus a singular proof that Hiouen Thsang did actually study the Vedas.

MAHOMETANS.

BOOK V.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE ARAB CONQUESTS TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A MAHOMETAN GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

ARAB CONQUESTS.

THE attacks either of Greeks or Barbarians had hitherto made no impression beyond the frontiers of India, and the Hindûs might have long remained undisturbed by foreign intrusion, if a new spirit had not been kindled in a nation till now as sequestered as their own.

Rise of the Mahometan religion.

The Arabs had been protected from invasion by their poverty, and prevented, by the same cause, from any such united exertion as might have enabled them to carry their arms abroad.

Their country was composed of some mountain tracts and rich oases, separated or surrounded by a sandy desert, like the coasts and islands of a sea.

The desert was scattered with small camps of predatory herdsmen, who pitched their tents where they could quench their thirst at a well of brackish water, and drove their camels over extensive tracts where no other animal could have found a subsistence. The settled inhabitants, though more civilized, were scarcely less simple in their habits, and were formed into independent tribes, between whom there could be little communication except by rapid journeys on horseback, or tedious marches under the protection of caravans.

The representative of the common ancestor of each tribe possessed a natural authority over it; but, having no support from any external power, he could only carry his measures by means of the heads of subordinate divisions, who depended, in their

turn, on their influence with the members of the family of which they represented the progenitor.

The whole government was therefore conducted by persuasion; and there was no interference with personal independence unless it directly affected the general interest.

Such a country must have trained its inhabitants to the extremes of fatigue and privation; the feuds of so many independent tribes and separate families must have made them familiar with danger in its most trying forms; and the violent passions and fervid imagination which they had from nature, served to call forth the full exertion of any qualities they possessed.

Their laborious and abstemious lives appear in their compact form and their hard and fleshless muscles; while the keenness of their eye, their determined countenance, and their grave demeanour disclose the mental energy which distinguishes them among all other Asiatics.

Such was the nation that gave birth to the false prophet, whose doctrines have so long and so powerfully influenced a vast portion of the human race.

Mahomet, though born of the head family of one of the branches of the tribe of Koreish, appears to have been poor in his youth, and is said to have accompanied his uncle's camels in some of those long trading journeys which the simplicity and equality of Arab manners made laborious even to the wealthy.

A rich marriage early raised him to independence, and left him to pursue those occupations which were most congenial to his mind. At this time the bulk of the Arab nation was sunk in idolatry or in worship of the stars, and their morals were under as little check of law as of religion.

The immigration of some Jewish and Christian tribes had, indeed, introduced higher notions both of faith and practice, and even the idolaters are said to have acknowledged a Supreme Being, to whom the other gods were subordinate; but the influence of these opinions was limited, and the slowness of Mahomet's progress is a sufficient proof that his doctrines were beyond his age.

The dreary aspect of external nature naturally drives an Arab to seek for excitement in contemplation, and in ideas derived from within; and Mahomet had particular opportunities of indulging in such reveries during periods of solitude, to which he habitually retired among the recesses of Mount Hira.

His attention may have been drawn to the unity of God by his intercourse with a cousin of his wife's, who was skilled in

Jewish learning, and who is said to have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Arabic;[1] but however they were inspired, his meditations were so intense that they had brought him to the verge of insanity, before he gave way to the impulse which he felt within him, and revealed to his wife, and afterwards to a few of his family, that he was commissioned by the only God to restore his pure belief and worship.[2] Mahomet was at this time forty years of age, and three or four years elapsed before he publicly announced his mission. During the next ten years he endured every species of insult and persecution;[3] and he might have expired an obscure enthusiast, if the gradual progress of his religion, and the death of his uncle and protector, Abú Táleb, had not induced the rulers of Mecca to determine on his death. In this extremity, he fled to Medína, resolved to repel force by force; and, throwing off all the mildness which had hitherto characterized his preaching, he developed the full vigour of his character, and became more eminent for his sagacity and boldness as a leader than he had been for his zeal and endurance as a missionary.

At the commencement of Mahomet's preaching, he seems to have been perfectly sincere; and, although he was provoked by opposition to support his pretensions by fraud, and in time became habituated to hypocrisy and imposture, yet it is probable that, to the last, his original fanaticism continued, in part at least, to influence his actions. But, whatever may have been the reality of his zeal, and even the merit of his doctrine, the spirit of intolerance in which it was preached, and the bigotry and bloodshed which it engendered and perpetuated, must place its author among the worst enemies of mankind.

Up to his flight to Medína, Mahomet had uniformly disclaimed force as an auxiliary to his cause. He now declared that he was authorized to have recourse to arms in his own defence; and, soon after, that he was commanded to employ them for the conversion or extermination of unbelievers. This

[1] His name was Warká ben Naufel. See the *Tárikhi Tabari*, quoted by Colonel Kennedy in the *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 423; Preliminary Discourse to Sale's *Koran*, p. 43, of the first quarto; and Baron Hammer von Purgstall, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. VII. p. 172.

[2] See Colonel Kennedy, just quoted. The *Tárikhi Tabari* was written in the third century of the Hijra (from 800 to 900, A.D.), and is the earliest account accessible to European readers of the rise of the Mahometan religion. Its description of the mental agitation of Mahomet, his fancied visions, and his alarm at the alienation of his own reason, bear the liveliest marks of truth and nature.

[3] "He allowed himself to be abused, to be spit upon, to have dust thrown upon him, and to be dragged out of the temple by his own turban fastened to his neck." (Colonel Kennedy, *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 429.)

new spirit seems to have agreed well with that of his countrymen; for though he had but nine followers on his first military expedition, yet before his death, which happened in the twenty-third of his mission, and the tenth after his flight,[4] he had brought all Arabia under his obedience, and had commenced an attack on the dominions of the Roman emperor.

But it was not to a warlike spirit alone that he was indebted for his popularity. He was a reformer as well as a conqueror. His religion was founded on the sublime theology of the Old Testament; and, however his morality may appear to modern Christians, it was pure compared with the contemporary practice of Arabia. His law, also, which prohibited retaliation without the previous sanction of a trial and sentence, was a bold attempt to bridle the vindictive passions of his countrymen, so long fostered by the practice of private war.

The conversion of the Arabs, therefore, was probably as sincere as it was general; and their religious spirit being now thoroughly aroused, every feeling of their enthusiastic nature was turned into that one channel: to conquer in the cause of God, or to die in asserting his unity and greatness, was the longing wish of every Mussulman; the love of power or spoil, the thirst of glory, and even the hopes of Paradise, only contributed to swell the tide of this absorbing passion.

The circumstances, both political and religious, of the neighbouring countries, were such as to encourage the warmest hopes of these fanatical adventurers. The Roman empire was broken and dismembered by the Barbarians; and Christianity was degraded by corruptions, and weakened by the controversies of irreconcilable sects. Persia was sinking in the last stage of internal decay; and her cold and lifeless superstition required only the touch of opposition to bring it to the ground.[5] In this last country, at least, the religion of the Arabs must have contributed to their success almost as much as their arms. The conversion of Persia was as complete as its conquest; and, in later times, its example spread the religion of the Arabs among powerful nations who were beyond the utmost influence of their power.[6]

Mahomet's attack on the Roman empire was in the direction

[4] A.D. 632.

[5] The temporal power acquired by the false prophet Mazdak, who nearly enslaved the king and people of Persia, shows the state of religious feeling in that country shortly before the birth of Mahomet.

[6] The text refers particularly to the Tartar nations; but China, the Malay country, and the Asiatic Islands are further proofs of the extension of the religion of the Mussulmans, independent of their arms.

of Syria; and within six years after his death,[7] that province and Egypt had been subdued by his successors. Roman Africa[8] and Spain[9] followed in succession; and, within a century from the death of their founder, the Mahometans had pushed their conquests into the heart of France.[10]

Conquest of Persia.

These extensive operations did not retard their enterprises towards the East. Persia was invaded in A.D. 632; her force was broken in the great battle of Cadesia in A.D. 636; and, after two more battles,[11] her government was entirely destroyed, and her king driven into exile beyond the Oxus.

At the death of the second calif, Omar,[12] the whole of Persia as far east as Herát, nearly coextensive with the present kingdom, was annexed to the Arab empire.

A.D. 650. A.H. 30.

In the year 650, an insurrection in Persia induced the exiled monarch to try his fortune once more. His attempt failed: he was himself cut off in the neighbourhood of the Oxus; and the northern frontier of the Arabs was advanced to that river, including Balkh and all the country north of the range of Hindú Cush.

A.D. 651. A.H. 31. Extended to the Indus.

The boundary on the east was formed by the rugged tract which extends (north and south) from those mountains to the sea, and (east and west) from the Persian desert to the Indus.

The northern portion of the tract which is included in the branches of Hindú Cush, and is now inhabited by the Eimáks and Hazárehs, was then known by the name of the mountains of Ghór. The middle part seems all to have been included in the mountains of Solimán. The southern portion was known by the name of the mountains of Mecrán.

There is a slip of sandy desert between these last mountains and the sea; and the mountains of Solimán enclose many high-lying plains, besides one tract of that description (extending west from the neighbourhood of Ghazní) which nearly separates them from the mountains of Ghór.

At the time of the Mahometan invasion the mountains of Mecrán were inhabited by Belóches and those of Solimán by Afgháns; as is the state of things to this day.

[7] A.D. 638. [8] From A.D. 647 to 709. [9] A.D. 713.

[10] The defeat of the Mussulmans by Charles Martel took place in 732, between Poitiers and Tours.

[11] Jallúla in A.D. 637, Neháwend in A.D. 642.

[12] A.D. 644. Hijra 23. [It may be useful to mention here that the era of the Hijra dates from July 15 (or 16) A.D. 622; but as the years are lunar, we must, in turning A.H. into A.D., deduct three per cent. from any given date A.H. (i.e. multiply it by ·97), and then add 621·5.—Ed.]

Who were in possession of the mountains of Ghór is not so certain; but there is every reason to think they were Afgháns. The other mountains connected with Hindú Cush, and extending from those of Ghór eastward to the Indus, were probably inhabited by Indians, descendants of the Paropamisadæ.

With respect to the plains, if we may judge from the present state of the population, those between the Solimán and Mecrán mountains and the Indus were inhabited by Jats or Indians, and those in the upper country, to the west of those mountains, by Persians. The first recorded invasion of this unsubdued tract was in the year of the Hijra 44, when an Arab force from Merv penetrated to Cábul, and made converts of 12,000 persons.[13]

The prince of Cábul, also, must have been made tributary, if not subject, for his revolt is mentioned as the occasion of a fresh invasion of his territories in 62 of the Hijra.[14]

On this occasion the Arabs met with an unexpected check: they were drawn into a defile, defeated, and compelled to surrender, and to purchase their freedom by an ample ransom. One old contemporary of the prophet is said to have disdained all compromise, and to have fallen by the swords of the infidels.[15]

The disgrace was immediately revenged by the Arab governor of Sístán; it was more completely effaced in the year 80 of the Hijra, when Abdurrahman, governor of Khorásán, led a large army in person against Cábul, and, avoiding all the snares laid for him by the enemy, persevered until he had reduced the greater part of the country to submission. His proceedings on this occasion displeased his immediate superior, Hajjáj, governor of Basra, so well known in Arabian history for his violence and cruelty; and the dread of his ulterior proceedings drove Abdurrahman into rebellion. He took Basra, occupied Cúfa, recently the capital, and threatened Damascus, which was then the residence of the Calif. In this struggle, which lasted for six years,[16] he was supported by the prince of Cábul; and the inability of his ally to give him a secure refuge when defeated, at length drove him to a voluntary death.[17]

[13] A.D. 664. (*Briggs's Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 4.)

[14] A.D. 682. (Ibid. p. 5.)

[15] Price, from the *Kholáset al Akhbár*, vol. i. p. 454.

[16] From A.D. 699 to A.D. 705.

[17] *Kholáset al Akhbár* and the *Tárikhi Tabari*, quoted by Price (vol. i. pp. 455—463). There are various opinions about the nation of the prince of Cábul, which is rendered doubtful from the situation of his city, at a corner where the countries of the Paropamisan Indians, the Afgháns, the Persians, and the Tartars are closely adjoining to each other. It is very improbable that he was an Afghán (as Cábul is never known to have been possessed by a tribe of that nation); and I should suppose he was a Persian, both from the present population of his country, and

During all this time Ferishta represents the Afgháns to have been Mussulmans, and seems to have been led, by their own traditions, to believe that they had been converted in the time of the prophet himself. He represents them as invading the territory of the Hindús as early as the year 63 of the Hijra, and as being ever after engaged in hostilities with the rája of Láhór, until, in conjunction with the Gakkars (a people on the hills east of the Indus), they brought him to make them a cession of territory, and in return secretly engaged to protect him from the attacks of the other Mussulmans. It was owing to this compact, says Ferishta, that the princes of the house of Sámání never invaded the north of India, but confined their predatory excursions to Sind. He also mentions that the Afgháns gave an asylum to the remains of the Arabs who were driven out of Sind in the second century of the Hijra.

Setting aside the fable of their connexion with the prophet, this account does not appear improbable. The Afgháns, or a part of them, may have been early converted, although not conquered until the time of Sultán Mahmúd.

In the accessible parts of their country, especially on the west, they may have been early reduced to submission by the Arabs; but there are parts of the mountains where they can hardly be said to be entirely subdued even to this day.

We know nothing of their early religion, except the presumption, arising from the neighbourhood of Balkh and their connexion with Persia, that they were worshippers of fire. Mahometan historians afford no light, owing to their confounding all denominations of infidels.

First incursion into India. A.D. 664.

The first appearance of the Mahometans in India was in the year of the Hijra 44, at the time of their first expedition to Cábul.

Mohálib, afterwards an eminent commander in Persia and Arabia, was detached, on that occasion, from the invading army, and penetrated to Multán, from whence he brought back many prisoners. It is probable that his object was only to explore the intermediate country, and that his report was not encouraging: from whatever cause, no further attempt was made on the north of India during the continuance of the Arab rule.

Conquest of Sind by the Arabs.

The next invasion was of a more permanent nature. It was carried on from the south of Persia into the country at the mouth of the Indus, then subject to a Hindú prince,

from the prince of Cábul being often mentioned by Ferdousi, who wrote at Ghazni,) as engaged in war and friendship with the Persian heroes, without anything to lead us to suppose that he belonged to another race.

called Dáhir[18] by the Mussulmans, whose capital was at Alór near Bakkar, and who was in possession of Multán and all Sind, with, perhaps, the adjoining plains of the Indus as far as the mountains of Cálabágh. His territory was portioned out among his relations, probably on the feudal tenure still common with the Rájpúts.[19]

Arab descents on Sind by sea are mentioned as early as the califate of Omar;[20] but, if they ever took place, they were probably piratical expeditions for the purpose of carrying off the women of the country, whose beauty seems to have been much esteemed in Arabia.[21] Several detachments were also sent through the south of Mecrán during the reigns of the early califs, but seem all to have failed from the desert character of the country; which was that so well known, under the name of Gedrosia, for the sufferings of Alexander's army.

At length, in the reign of the calif Walíd, the Mussulman government was provoked to a more strenuous exertion. An Arab ship having been seized at Díval or Déwal, a seaport connected with Sind, Rája Dáhir was called on for restitution. He declined compliance on the ground that Déwal was not subject to his authority: his excuse was not admitted by the Mussulmans; and they sent a body of 1,000 infantry and 300 horse to enforce their demand. This inadequate detachment having perished like its predecessors, Hajjáj, the governor of Basra, prepared a regular army of 6,000 men at Shíráz, and gave the command of it to his own nephew,[22] Mohammed Cásim, then not more than twenty years of age; and by him it was conducted in safety to the walls of Déwal. Cásim was provided with catapultas and other engines required for a siege, and commenced his operations by an attack on a temple contiguous to the town. It was a celebrated pagoda, surrounded by a high enclosure of hewn stone (like those which figure in our early

A.D. 711, A.H. 92

[18] ["A nephew of Chach, who established the Brahman dynasty in Sind about A.H. 10." (*Sir H. Elliot's Arabs in Sind.*)—ED.]

[19] Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 401, &c. See also Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 36. Abulfazl makes Dáhir's dominions include Cashmir; but that country was then in possession of one of its greatest rájas; for whom, like all considerable Hindú princes, his historians claim the conquest of all India. Sind is almost the only part of it with which they pretend to no connexion. The native accounts quoted by Captain Pottinger (p. 386) extend the dominions of Sind to Cábul and Marwar; and those given to Captain Burnes (vol. iii. p. 76) add Candahár and Canouj.

[20] [An Arab expedition set out from Oman, A.H. 15 or 16, to pillage the coast of India, and proceeded as far as Tana in Bombay. The Khalíf Omar, however, had a great dislike of naval expeditions, and discouraged them as much as possible. (*Sir H. Elliot's Arabs in Sind.*) ED.]

[21] Pottinger, p. 388.

[22] [Sir H. Elliot says, "cousin and son-in-law."—ED.]

wars in the Carnatic), and was occupied, in addition to the numerous Bramin inhabitants, by a strong garrison of Rájpúts.

While Cásim was considering the difficulties opposed to him, he was informed by some of his prisoners that the safety of the place was believed to depend on the flag which was displayed on the tower of the temple. He directed his engines against that sacred standard, and at last succeeded in bringing it to the ground; which occasioned so much dismay in the garrison as to cause the speedy fall of the place.

Cásim at first contented himself with circumcising all the Bramins; but, incensed at their rejection of this sort of conversion, he ordered all above the age of seventeen to be put to death, and all under it, with the women, to be reduced to slavery. The fall of the temple seems to have led to that of the town, and a rich booty was obtained, of which a fifth (as in all similar cases) was reserved for Hajjáj, and the rest equally divided. A son of Dáhir's who was in Déwal, either as master or as an ally, retreated, on the reduction of that city, to Bráhmanábád, to which place, according to Ferishta, he was followed by the conqueror, and compelled to surrender on terms. Cásim then advanced on Nérún (now Heiderábád[23]), and thence upon Sehwán, of which he undertook the siege.[24]

Notwithstanding the natural strength of Sehwán, it was evacuated at the end of seven days, the garrison flying to a fortress called Sálim, which was likewise speedily reduced.

Thus far Cásim's progress had met with little serious opposition. He was now confronted by a powerful army under the command of the rája's eldest son; and his carriage cattle failing about the same time, he was constrained to take post, and to wait for reinforcements, and a renewal of his equipments. He was joined in time by 2,000[25] horse from Persia, and was enabled to renew his operations, and to advance, though not without several indecisive combats, to the neighbourhood of Alór itself.

Here he found himself opposed to the rája in person, who advanced to defend his capital at the head of an army of 50,000 men; and, being impressed with the dangers of his situation, from the disproportion of his numbers, and the impossibility of retreat in case of failure, he availed himself of the advantage of the ground, and awaited the attack of the Hindús in a strong position which he had chosen. His prudence was seconded by

[23] [This is wrong. Abúlfedá describes it as 15 parasangs from Mansúra; and Sir H. Elliot fixes it at Helái.—Ed.]

[24] See Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. pp. 30, 32.

[25] Tárikhi Hind o Sind. [His original numbers have been underrated. See *Arabs in Sind*, p. 27.—Ed.]

a piece of good fortune. During the heat of the attack which was made on him, a fire-ball struck the rájah's elephant, and the terrified animal bore its master off the field, and could not be stopped until it had plunged into the neighbouring river. The disappearance of the chief produced its usual effect on Asiatic armies; and although Dáhir, already wounded with an arrow, mounted his horse and renewed the battle with unabated courage, he was unable to restore the fortune of the day, and fell fighting gallantly in the midst of the Arabian cavalry.[26]

The pusillanimity of the rájah's son, who fled to Bráhmanábád, was compensated by the masculine spirit of his widow. She collected the remains of the routed army, put the city into a posture of defence, and maintained it against the attacks of the enemy, until the failure of provisions rendered it impossible to hold out longer. In this extremity her resolution did not desert her, and the Rájpút garrison, inflamed by her example, determined to devote themselves along with her, after the manner of their tribe. The women and children were first sacrificed in flames of their own kindling; the men bathed, and, with other ceremonies, took leave of each other and of the world; the gates were then thrown open, the Rájpúts rushed out sword in hand, and, throwing themselves on the weapons of their enemies, perished to a man. Those of the garrison who did not share in this act of desperation, gained little by their prudence: the city was carried by assault, and all the men in arms were slaughtered in the storm. Their families were reduced to bondage.[27]

One more desperate stand was made at Ashcandra,[28] after which Multán seems to have fallen without resistance, and the Mohametans pursued their success unopposed, until they had occupied every part of the dominions of Rája Dáhir.[29]

[26] This battle must have taken place on the left bank of the Indus, though there is no particular account of Cásim's crossing that river. He first approached the right or western bank at a place called Ráwer, The Hindús drew up on the opposite bank, and many movements were made on both sides before a passage was effected. The places named on these occasions are Jiwar, Bet, and Ráwer, as above mentioned. It seems to have been after crossing that Cásim drew up his army at Jehem and Gogand, and before the battle he was at Sagára, a dependency of Jehem. These places are not now in the maps. (*Tárikh Hind o Sind*).

[27] Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 409; Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. i. p. 327.

[28] Pottinger, p. 390; M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. I. p. 31.

[29] Déwal was probably somewhere near Korichí, the present seaport of Sind. It could not be at Tatta, as supposed by Ferishta, because that city, though the great port for the river navigation, is inaccessible from the sea; the bar at the mouth of the river rendering the entrance impracticable, except for flat-bottomed boats (see Captain M'Murdo, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 29, and Burnes's *Travels*, vol. iii. p. 242, with the whole of his description of the mouths of the Indus, in Chap. IV.). The site of Bráhmanábád is generally supposed to be marked by the ruins close to the modern town of Tatta. [Sir H. Elliot considers it and Mansúra to be nearly

Their treatment of the conquered country showed the same mixture of ferocity and moderation which characterized the early conquests of the Arabs. On the first invasion, each city was called on, as the army approached, to embrace the Mahometan religion, or to pay tribute.[30] In case of refusal, the city was attacked, and if it did not capitulate, all the fighting men were put to death, and their families were sold for slaves. Four cities held out to this extremity; and in two of them, the number of soldiers who were refused quarter is estimated at 6,000 each. The merchants, artisans, and other inhabitants of such places were exempt from all molestation, except such as we must conclude they suffered when a town was stormed. When tribute was once agreed to, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, the inhabitants were entitled to all their former privileges, including the free exercise of their religion. When a sovereign consented to pay tribute, he retained his territory, and only became subject to the usual relations of a tributary prince.

One question relating to toleration seemed so nice, that Cásim thought it necessary to refer it to Arabia. In the towns that were stormed, the temples had been razed to the ground, religious worship had been forbidden, and the lands and stipends of the Bramins had been appropriated to the use of the state. To reverse these acts, when once performed, seemed a more direct concession to idolatry than merely abstaining from interference, and Cásim avowed himself uncertain what to do. The answer was, that as the people of the towns in question had paid tribute,

identical with the modern Haidarábád. (*Arabs in Sind*, p. 239.)—Ed.] (Burnes, vol. iii. p. 81, and the opinions of the natives stated by Captain M'Murdo, in a note in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 1. p. 28.) Captain M'Murdo is singular in supposing it to have been situated on the other side of the present course of the Indus, much to the north-east of Tatta; though this position would make it a more natural retreat for the son of Dáhir after his flight from Alór. There were, perhaps, two different places,—Bráhmanábád and Bráhmana. Sehwán still retains its name, and the ruins of Alór (universally recognised as the ancient capital of Sind) were visited by Captain Burnes, close to Bakkar on the Indus. (*Travels*, vol. iii. p. 76.) There are some doubts about particular marches of Mohammed Cásim, especially about the site of Sálim, and the point where he crossed the Indus; but there is no obscurity about his general progress. Briggs's *Ferishta* calls the scene of the great battle and siege Ajdar; but this is probably an error of the copyist for Arór which is a very common name for Alór.

[30] [This is the celebrated jizya. "According to the original ordinance of Omar, those persons who were of any religion non-Mohammedan, called *Zimmis*, or those under protection, were assessed with a toleration or poll tax, at the following rates: A person in easy circumstances had to pay 48 dirrhems a year, one of moderate means 24 dirrhems, and one in an inferior station or who derived his subsistence from manual labour, 12 dirrhems. Women, children, and persons unable to work paid nothing. But a century had not elapsed when Omar II., considering these rates too moderate, calculated what a man could gain during the year and what he could subsist on, and claimed all the rest, amounting to four or five dinárs, about two pounds a year." (*Sir H. Elliot's Arabs in Sind*, p. 2.)—Ed.]

they were entitled to all the privileges of subjects; that they should be allowed to rebuild their temples and perform their rites; that the land and money of the Bramins should be restored; and that three per cent. on the revenue, which had been allowed to them by the Hindú government, should be continued by the Mussulman.

Cásim himself, notwithstanding his extreme youth, seems to have been prudent and conciliating. He induced several of the Hindú princes to join with him during the war, and at the conclusion he appointed the Hindú who had been Dáhir's prime minister to the same office under him, on the express ground that he would be best qualified to protect old rights, and to maintain established institutions.[31] The Mahometan writers assert that Cásim had begun to plan a march to Canouj on the Ganges, and an almost contemporary historian[32] states that he had reached a place which seems to mean Oudipúr; but as he had only 6,000 men at first, which the 2,000 recruits afterwards received would not do more than keep up to their original number, it is inconceivable that he should have projected such an expedition, even if he could have left Sind without an army of occupation.

In the midst of his projects a sudden reverse was awaiting him. The Mahometan historians concur in relating that among the numerous female captives in Sind were two daughters of Rája Dáhir, who, from their rank and their personal charms, were thought worthy of being presented to the Commander of the Faithful.[33] They were accordingly sent to the court and introduced to the harem. When the eldest was brought into the presence of the calif, whose curiosity had been stimulated by reports of her attractions, she burst into a flood of tears, and exclaimed that she was now unworthy of his notice, having been dishonoured by Cásim before she was sent out of her own country. The calif was moved by her beauty, and enraged at the insult

[31] *Tárikh Hind o Sind*, Persian MS. I did not see this work, which is in the library at the India House, until the narrative of Cásim's military transactions had been completed. It seems to be the source from which most of the other accounts are drawn. In its present form it was written by Mohammed Ali Ibn Hamid, in Hijra 613, A.D. 1216; but it professes to be a translation of an Arabic work found in the possession of the Cázi of Bakkar; and the original must have been written immediately after the event, as it constantly refers, by name, to the authority of living witnesses. Though loaded with tedious speeches, and letters ascribed to the principal actors, it contains a minute and consistent account of the transactions during Mohammed Cásim's invasion, and some of the preceding Hindú reigns. It is full of names of places, and would throw much light on the geography of that period, if examined by any person capable of ascertaining the ancient Sanscrit names, so as to remove the corruptions of the original Arab writer and the translator, besides the innumerable errors of the copyist.

[32] *Tárikh Hind o Sind.*

[33] Walíd, the sixth calif of the house of Ommeia.

offered to him by his servant; and, giving way to the first impulse of his resentment, he sent orders that Cásim should be sewed up in a raw hide, and sent in that condition to Damascus. When his orders were executed, he produced the body to the princess, who was overjoyed at the sight, and exultingly declared to the astonished calif that Cásim was innocent, but that she had now revenged the death of her father and the ruin of her family.[34]

Their expulsion. A.D. 714, A.H. 96. A.D. 750, A.H. 132.

The advance of the Mahometan arms ceased with the life of Cásim. His conquests were made over to his successor Temím, in the hands of whose family they remained till the downfall of the house of Ommeia, that is, for about thirty-six years; when by some insurrection of which we do not know the particulars, the Mussulmans were expelled by the Rájpút tribe of Súmera, and all their Indian conquests restored to the Hindús, who retained possession for nearly 500 years.[35]

Causes of the slow progress of the Mahometans in India.

It seems extraordinary that the Arabs, who had reached to Multán during their first ardour for conquest and conversion, should not have overrun India as easily as they did Persia, and should now allow themselves to be beaten out of a province where they had once a firm footing; but the condition of the two countries was not the same; and, although the proverbial riches of India, and the inoffensive

[34] Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 410; A'yini, Akberi, vol. ii. p. 119; Pottinger's *Travels*, p. 389.

[35] Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 411; A'yini Akberi, vol. ii. p. 120. Part of the expelled Arabs found a settlement among the Afghána. (*Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 7.)

[The account in the text is incomplete. The khalifs continued to send governors to Sind and to receive nominal submission until A.H. 257, when the khalif Mu'tamad, in order to divert the Suffárides from their hostile designs against Irák, conferred upon Ya'kúb ibn Laith the government of Sind as well as of Balkh and Tukháristán, in addition to that of Sejestán and Kirmán with which he had been already invested. Sind soon afterwards became divided into two principal states, Multán and Mansúra, both of which attained a high degree of power and prosperity: the territory of Mansúra extended from the sea to Alór, where that of Multán commenced. Ibn Haukal (in his account of Sind, written A.H. 366) states that even in the neighbouring Hindú states the Musulmans were allowed peculiar privileges, as the having mosques, and living under their own laws, etc. The Karmathian heretics appear to have spread in Sind towards the close of the fourth century, and to have subverted the local government in both states. Mahmúd expelled them from Multán and, perhaps, from Mansúra also. (*Sir H. Elliot's Arabs in Sind.*)

Sir H. Elliot, in appendix iii., shows that the Arabs were obliged to leave much of the internal administration, especially the finances, in the hands of the natives. The original conquerors received large tracts of land, free from all taxes, but held on condition of military service; but the bulk of the territory seems to have been held by the natives, subject to a heavy land tax, and there were many half-independent native chiefs. The land tax and the jizya were the principal sources of revenue. The annual revenue of Sind and Multán is said to have been 11,500,000 dirrhems (or about £270,000,) and 150 pounds of aloe wood. The courts of law were purely Mohammedan, and the Kurán the only law allowed. For the history of the Arabs in Sind see Professor Dowson's excellent edition of Sir H. Elliot's papers, in his *History of India, as told by its own Historians*, vol. i.—Ed.]

character of its inhabitants, seemed to invite an invader, yet there were discouraging circumstances, which may not have been without effect on the blind zeal of the Arabs.

In Persia, the religion and government, though both assailed, afforded no support to each other. The priests of the worshippers of fire are among the most despised classes of the people.[36] Their religion itself has nothing inspiring or encouraging. The powers of good and evil are so equally matched, that the constant attention of every man is necessary to defend himself by puerile ceremonies against the malignant spirits from whom his deity is too weak to protect him.[37]

To the believers of such a faith, uninfluenced as they were by a priesthood, the annunciation of "one God, the most powerful and the most merciful," must have appeared like a triumph of the good principle; and when the overthrow of a single monarch had destroyed the civil government in all its branches, there remained no obstacle to the completion of the conquest and conversion of the nation.

But in India there was a powerful priesthood, closely connected with the government, and deeply revered by their countrymen; and a religion interwoven with the laws and manners of the people, which exercised an irresistible influence over their very thoughts. To this was joined a horror of change and a sort of passive courage, which is perhaps the best suited to allow time for an impetuous attack to spend its force. Even the divisions of the Hindús were in their favour: the downfall of one rája only removed a rival from the prince who was next behind; and the invader diminished his numbers, and got further from his resources, without being able to strike a blow which might bring his undertaking to a conclusion.

However these considerations may have weighed with the early invaders, they deserve the greatest attention from the inquirer, for it is principally to them that we must ascribe the slow progress of the Mahometan religion in India, and the comparatively mild and tolerant form which it assumed in that country.

At the time of the transactions which we are now relating, there were other causes which tended to delay the progress of the Mahometans. The spirit of their government was gradually altered. Their chiefs, from fanatical missionaries, became politic sovereigns, more intent on the aggrandizement of their

[36] For a very curious comparison of the ancient and modern tenets of the magi, see Mr. Erskine's Essay on the Sacred Books and Religion of the Párds, in the *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 295. [37] Ibid. p. 335.

families than the propagation of their faith; and by the same degrees they altered from rude soldiers to magnificent and luxurious princes, who had other occupations besides war, and other pleasures as attractive as those of victory. Omar set out to his army at Jerusalem with his arms and provisions on the same camel with himself; and Othmán extinguished his lamp, when he had finished the labours of the day, that the public oil might not be expended on his enjoyments. Al Mahdí, within a century from the last-named calif, loaded 500 camels with ice and snow; and the profusion of one day of the Abbassides would have defrayed all the expenses of the four first califs. The translation of the Greek philosophers by Al Mámún was an equally wide departure from the spirit which led to the story of the destruction of the library at Alexandria by Omar.

For these reasons the eastern conquests of the Arabs ceased with the transactions which we have just related; and the next attacks on India were made by other nations, to whose history we have now to turn.

When the Arabs had conquered Persia, as before related, their possessions were divided by the Oxus from a territory to which, from that circumstance, they gave the name of Máwaráu'l Nahr, literally *Beyond the River*; or, as we translate it, *Transoxiana*. This tract was bounded on the north by the Jaxartes, on the west by the Caspian Sea, and on the east by Mount Imaus. Though large portions of it are desert, others are capable of high cultivation; and, while it was in the hands of the Arabs, it seems not to have been surpassed in prosperity by the richest portions of the globe. It was occupied partly by fixed inhabitants and partly by pastoral tribes. Most of the fixed inhabitants were Persians, and all the moving shepherds were Tartars. Such is likewise the state of things at present, and probably has been from remote antiquity.[38]

Tartar nations. A.D. 651, A.H. 31.

The great influence which the Tartars[39] of Transoxiana have exercised over the history of the neighbouring nations and of India, makes us anxious to know something of their origin and former state; but we soon meet with many difficulties in

[38] See Erskine's *Baber*, Introduction, p. xliii., and Heeren, *Researches in Asia*, vol. i. p. 260. The language at the time of the Arab conquest was Persian, of which a remarkable proof, dated in the year 94 of the Hijra A.D. 716, is given by Captain Burnes. (*Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 269, 356.)

[39] I use the words *Tartar* and *Tartary* solely in their European sense, as a general term for a certain great tract and great assemblage of nations. The word in this sense is as little known to the people to whom it applies as Asia, Africa, and America are to the original inhabitants of those quarters of the globe; but it is equally convenient for the purpose of generalization.

following up the inquiry. It would be an important step to ascertain to which of the *three* great nations whom we include under the name of Tartars they belonged; but although the *Túrks*, *Moguls*, and *Mánchús* are distinguished from each other by the decisive test of language, and though at present they are each marked by other peculiarities, yet there is a general resemblance in features and manners throughout the whole, which renders it difficult for a person at a distance to draw the line between them; even their languages, though as different as Greek and Sanscrit, have the same degree of family likeness with those two.[40] In making the attempt, we derive little aid from their geographical position. At present the Mánchús are in the east, the Moguls in the centre, and the Túrks in the west; but the positions of the two last-named races have been partially reversed within the period of accurate history, and it is impossible to say what they may have been in still earlier ages. The Arabs and other wandering tribes in the south of Asia make long journeys, for fresh pastures or for change of climate, but each has some tract which it considers as its own, and many occupy the same in which they were found when first noticed by other nations. Not so the Tartars, who have always been formed into great monarchies; and, besides migration for convenience within their own limits, have been led by ambition to general movements, and have been constantly expelling or subduing each other; so that they not only were continually changing their abodes, but forming new combinations and passing under new names according to that of the horde which had acquired a predominancy. A tribe is at one moment mentioned on the banks of the Wolga, and the next at the great wall of China; and a horde which at first scarcely filled a valley in the mountains of Altái, in a few years after cannot be contained in all Tartary.

It is, therefore, as impossible to keep the eye on a particular horde, and to trace it through all this shifting and mixing, as to follow one emmet through the turmoil of an ant-hill.

The Túrks at present are distinguished from the rest by their having the Tartar features less marked, as well as by fairer complexions and more civilised manners; and these qualities might afford the means of recognising them at all times, if we could be sure that they did not owe them entirely to their greater opportunities of intermixing with other races, and that the same superiority was not possessed in former times by

[40] See Dr. Prichard on the Ethnography of Upper Asia, *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. ix.

portions of the other Tartars which may have then occupied the western territory.[41]

It may assist in distinguishing these races, to mention that the Uzbeks who now possess Transoxiana, the Túremans both on the Oxus and in Asia Minor, the wandering tribes of the north of Persia, and the Ottomans or Turks of Constantinople, are all *Túrks;* as was the greater part of the army of Tamerlane. The ruling tribe, and the greater part of the army of Chengíz Khán, was Mogul. The Tartar dynasty that now reigns in China and the adjoining part of Tartary is Mánchú.

Túrks in Transoxiana.

On the whole, I should suppose that a portion of the Túrks had settled in Transoxiana long before the Christian era; that though often passed over by armies and emigrations of Moguls, they have never since been expelled; and that they formed the bulk of the Nomadic and part of the permanent population at the time of the Arab invasion.[42]

The ruling tribe at that time was, however, of much later arrival; they were probably Túrks themselves, and certainly had just before been incorporated with an assemblage, in which that race took the lead, and which, although it had been tributary to Persia only a century before,[43] had since possessed an ephemeral empire, extending from the Caspian Sea and the Oxus to the Lake Báikal, and the mouths of the Yanisei in Siberia,[44] and were now again broken into small divisions and tributary to China.[45]

Arab conquest of Transoxiana, A.D. 706-712, A.H. 87-93.

It was fifty-five years after the final conquest of Persia, and five years before the occupation of Sind, that the Arabs crossed the Oxus, under Cátiba, governor of Khorásán. He first occupied Hisár, opposite Balkh. In the course of the next six years he had taken Samarcand and

[41] The Túrks of Constantinople and Persia have so completely lost the Tartar features, that some physiologists have pronounced them to belong to the Caucasian or European, and not to the Tartar, race. The Túrks of Bokhára and all Transoxiana, though so long settled among Persians, and though greatly softened in appearance, retain their original features sufficiently to be recognisable at a glance as Tartars. De Guignes, from the state of information in his time, was seldom able to distinguish the Tartar nation; but on one point he is decided and consistent, viz. that the Heoung-nou is another name for the Túrks. Among the Heoung-nou he places, without hesitation, Attila, and the greater part of his army. Yet these *Turks*, on their appearance in Europe, struck as much terror from their hideous physiognomy and savage manners as from their victories. Attila himself was remarkable for these national peculiarities. (Gibbon. vol. iii. p. 35, quarto.) Another division of the same branch of the Heoung-nou had previously settled among the Persians in Transoxiana, and acquired the name of White Huns, from their change from the national complexion. (De Guignes, vol. ii. pp. 282, 325.)

[42] The Arab and Persian Mussulmans always call their neighbours *Turks*, and (though well aware of the existence of the Moguls) are apt to apply the term *Turk* as vaguely and generally as we do *Tartar*. See the whole of this subject ably discussed in the introduction to Erskine's *Baber*, pp. xviii.-xxv.

[43] De Guignes, vol. i. part ii. p. 469.

[44] Ibid. pp. 477, 478. [45] Ibid. p. 493.

Bokhárá, overrun the country north of the Oxus, and subdued the kingdom of Khárizm, on the Lake of Aral;[46] and although his power was not introduced without a severe contest, often with doubtful success, against the Túrks, yet in the end it was so well established, that by the eighth year he was able to reduce the kingdom of Ferghána, and extend his acquisitions to Mount Imaus and the Jaxartes. A.D. 713, A.H. 94.

The conquest of Spain took place in the same year; and the Arab empire had now reached the greatest extent to which it ever attained. But it had already shown symptoms of internal decay which foreboded its dismemberment at no distant period.

Even in the first half-century of the Hijra, the murder of Othmán, and the incapacity of Alí led to a successful revolt, and the election of a calif beyond the limits of Arabia. The house of Ommeia, who were thus raised to the califate, were disturbed during their rule of ninety years by the supposed rights of the posterity of the prophet through his daughter Fátima, whose claims afforded a pretext in every case of revolt or defection; until, in A.D. 753, the rebellion of the great province of Khorásán gave the last blow to their power, and placed the descendants of Abbás, the prophet's uncle, on the throne. A.D. 658, A.H. 38.

Spain held out for the old dynasty, and the integrity of the empire was never restored.

CHAPTER II.

DYNASTIES FORMED AFTER THE BREAKING UP OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CALIFS.

THE death of Hárún al Rashíd, fifth calif of the house of Abbás, was accelerated by a journey undertaken in consequence of an obstinate revolt of Transoxiana,[1] which was quelled by his son, Mámún; and the long residence of that prince in Khorásán maintained for a time the connexion of that province with the empire. But it was by means of a revolt of Khorásán that Mámún had himself been enabled to wrest the califate from his brother Amín; and he had not long removed his court to Baghdád, before Táhir, who had been the principal instrument of his elevation, began to establish his own authority in Kho- A.D. 809, A.H. 193

[46] Now called Khiva or O'rganj.

[1] Price, vol. ii. p. 79. His authority is generally the *Tárikh Tabari*.

rásán, and soon became virtually independent.[2] Khorásán and
A.D. 820, A.H. 205. Transoxiana were never again united to the califate; and
A.D. 861, A.H. 247. the Commanders of the Faithful being not long afterwards reduced to pageants in the hands of the Turkish guards, the dissolution of the Arab empire may from that time be regarded as complete.[3]

The family of Táhir ruled quietly and obscurely for upwards
The Taherites. A.D. 820-870. of fifty years, when they were deposed by the Soffárides, a more conspicuous dynasty, though of even shorter duration.[4] Yácúb, the son of Leith, the founder, was a
A.D. 872, A.H. 249. brazier of Sístán, who first raised a revolt in his native
The Soffárides. A.D. 872-903. province, and afterwards overran all Persia to the Oxus, and died while on his advance against the calif in Baghdád. His brother, Omar, was defeated and made prisoner by the Sámánís; which put an end to the greatness of the family, though a
A.D. 903, A.H. 290. younger member maintained himself in Sístán for a few years after the loss of their other possessions.[5]

Their whole reign did not last above forty years: but their memory must have survived in Sístán, for at the end of half a
A.D. 904, A.H. 353. century we find that country again asserting its independence under one of their descendants,[6] who was finally
A.D. 1006, A.H. 396. subdued by Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní, more than 100 years after the downfall of the original dynasty.[7]

The house of Sámání. The house of Sámání subsisted for more than 120 years;[8] and though not themselves invaders of India,
A.D. 892-999. they had more connexion than their predecessors with the history of that country. They derive their name either from one of their ancestors, or from a town in Bokhárá, or in Balkh, from which they drew their origin.[9] The first of the family mentioned in history was already a person of consideration, when he attracted the notice of the Calif Mámún, then residing in Khorásán. By the directions of that prince, three of the
A.D. 817-820, A.H. 202-205. Sámání's sons were appointed to governments beyond the Oxus, and one to that of Herát. They were continued under the Táherites, and retained Transoxiana after the fall of that dynasty, till the death of Yácúb Leith; when they passed the Oxus at the head of a large army of cavalry, probably composed of their Túrkí subjects, made Omar Leith prisoner, as has been related, and took possession of all the
A.D. 900, A.H. 287 territory he had conquered. They governed it in the name, though perfectly independent, of the calif, until

[2] Price, vol. ii. p. 225. [3] Ibid. p. 155. [4] From A.D. 892, A.H. 279, to A.D. 1004, A.H. 395.
[4] Ibid. p. 229. [5] Ibid. p. 234.
[6] Ibid. p. 243. [7] Ibid. p. 282. [8] Ouseley's Ebn Haukal, p. 304.

they were deprived of a large portion of it by the family of Búya, called also the Deilemites, from the district in Mázenderán in which their founder was a fisherman on the Caspian Sea. Cut off by a high range of mountains from the rest of Persia, and protected by the difficulty of access, the extensive forests, and the unwholesome climate, Mázenderán had never been perfectly converted, and probably never entirely subdued: it was the seat of constant insurrections, was often in the hands of worshippers of fire, and presented a disturbed scene, in which the Deilemites rose to consequence, and at length acquired sufficient force to wrest the western provinces of Persia from the Sámánís, to seize on Baghdád and the person of the calif, and to rule over an extensive territory in his name for a period exceeding 100 years.

The Búyades or Deilemites.

A.D. 932-1055, A.H. 321-448.

After their losses by the Deilemite conquests, the Sámánís, remained masters of Khorásán and Transoxiana, and gave rise to the dynasty of Ghazní, who were the founders of the Mussulman empire of India.

It was in the reign of Abdulmelek, the fifth prince of the house of Sámání, that Alptegín, the founder of this new dynasty, rose into importance. He was a Túrkí slave, and his original duty is said to have been to amuse his master by tumbling and tricks of legerdemain.[10]

Alptegín, founder of the house of Ghazní.

It was the fashion of the time to confer offices of trust on slaves; and Alptegín, being a man of good sense and courage, as well as integrity, rose in time to be governor of Khorásán. On the death of his patron,[11] he was consulted about the best person of the family for a successor; and happening, unluckily, to give his suffrage against Mansúr, on whom the choice of the other chiefs had fallen, he incurred the ill-will of his sovereign, was deprived of his government, and if he had not displayed great military skill in extricating himself from among his enemies, he would have lost his liberty, if not his life. He had, however, a body of trusty adherents, under whose protection he made good his retreat until he found himself in safety at Ghazní, in the heart of the mountains of Solimán. The plain country, including Balkh, Herát, and Sístán, received the new governor, and remained in obedience to the Sámánís; but the strong tract between that

A.D. 961, A.H. 350.

His rebellion.

[10] D'Herbelot, article "Alpteghin."

[11] Price, vol. ii. p. 243; De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 155: Ferishta (vol. i. p. 12) makes his revolt A.D. 962, A.H. 351; D'Herbelot makes his date A.D. 917, A.H. 305; but it is evidently a slip, either of the author or the printer, for in the date of Alptegín's death he comes within a moderate distance of the other authorities.

and the Indus bade defiance to all their attacks; and though not all subject to Alptegín, all contributed to secure his independence. One historian states that he was accompanied on his retreat by a body of 3000 disciplined slaves or Mamlúks, who would, of course, be Túrks of his own original condition;[12] he would doubtless also be accompanied and followed, from time to time, by soldiers who had served under him when governor; but it is probable that the main body of his army was drawn from the country where he was now established.[13]

The inhabitants of the cultivated country were not unwarlike; and the Afgháns of the hills, even when their tribe did not acknowledge his authority, would be allured by his wages to enter his ranks. He seems to have made no attempt to extend his teritory; and he died within fourteen years after he became independent.[14]

A.D. 976. A.H. 365.[15]

Alptegín had a slave named Sabuktegín, whom he had purchased from a merchant who brought him from Túrkestán, and whom, by degrees, he had raised to so much power and trust, that at his death he was the effective head of his government, and in the end became his successor.

Sabuktegín.

Most authorities assert that Alptegín gave Sabuktegín his daughter in marriage, and himself appointed him his heir;[16] and others confirm the immediate succession, though not the previous marriage.[17]

But Ferishta's account[18] is, that Alptegín, dying in A.D. 975, A.H. 365, left a son named Isákh, whom Sabuktegín accompanied to Bokhárá. Isákh was then appointed by Mansúr Sámání to be governor of Ghazní, and Sabuktegín his deputy. Isákh died in A.D. 977, A.H. 367, when Sabuktegín was acknowledged as his successor,[19] and married Alptegín's daughter.[20]

[12] Price, from the *Kholásat al Akhbár*, vol. ii. p. 243.

[13] D'Herbelot, article "Alpteghin."

[14] Price, vol. ii. p. 244; Ferishta, vol. i. p. 13; De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 156.

[15] D'Herbelot makes it A.D. 964, A.H. 353.

[16] De Guignes (who quotes Abulfeda), vol. ii. p. 156; D'Herbelot (who quotes Khondemir).

[17] Price, vol. ii. p. 277.

[18] Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 13.

[19] [Other accounts make a Túrki chief Bulkátagín, succeed Isakh for two years. —Ed.]

[20] A story is told of Sabuktegín, while yet a private horseman, which proves the humanity of the historian, if not of the hero. One day, in hunting, he succeeded in riding down a fawn; but when he was carrying off his prize in triumph, he observed the dam following his horse, and showing such evident marks of distress, that he was touched with compassion, and at last released his captive, pleasing himself with the gratitude of the mother, which often turned back to gaze at him as she went off to the forest with her fawn. That night the Prophet appeared to him in a dream, told him that God had given him a kingdom as a reward for his humanity, and enjoined him not to forget his feelings of mercy when he came to the exercise of power.

He had scarcely time to take possession of his new kingdom before he was called on to exert himself in its defence.[21]

The establishment of a Mahometan government so near to their frontier as that of Ghazní, must naturally have disquieted the Hindús on the Indus, and appears to have led to their being harassed by frequent incursions. At length Jeipál, rája of Láhór,[22] whose dominions were contiguous to those of Ghazní, determined to become assailant in his turn. He led a large army into Laghmán, at the mouth of the valley which extends from Pésháwer to Cábul, and was there met by Sabuktegín. While the armies were watching a favourable opportunity for engaging, they were assailed by a furious tempest of wind, rain, and thunder, which was ascribed to supernatural causes, and so disheartened the Indians, naturally more sensible to cold and wet than their antagonists, that Jeipál was induced to make proposals of an accommodation. Sabuktegín was not at first disposed to hearken to him; but, being made aware of the consequence of driving Hindús to despair, he at length consented to treat; and Jeipál surrendered fifty elephants, and engaged to pay a large sum of money.

Invasion of Jeipal, rája of Láhór.

Repelled.

When he found himself again in safety, he refused to fulfil this part of his agreement, and even threw the messengers sent to demand the execution of it into prison.

Sabuktegín was not likely to submit to such an insult and breach of faith: he again assembled his troops, and recommenced his march towards the Indus, while Jeipál called in the assistance of the rájas of Delhi, Ajmír, Cálinjar, and Canouj, and advanced to Laghmán with an army of 100,000 horse, and a prodigious number of foot soldiers. Sabuktegín ascended a height to view the enemy, and beheld the whole plain covered with their innumerable host; but he was nowise dismayed at the prospect; and, relying on the courage and discipline of his

Hindú confederacy.

[21] From this time forward my principal dependence will be on Ferishta, a Persian historian, who long resided in India, and wrote in the end of the sixteenth century, a history of all the Mahometan dynasties in that country down to his own time. I think myself fortunate in having the guidance of an author so much superior to most of his class in Asia. Where the nature of my narrative admitted of it, I have often used the very expressions of Ferishta, which, in Colonel Brigg's translation, it would be difficult to improve. [For Sabuktagín's reign, and the first 20 years of that of Mahmud, we have also the contemporary work of Al Utbí, the *Kitáb i Yamíní*, translated by the Rev. J. Reynolds, (London, 1858,) but it adds little to Ferishta.—ED.]

[22] [We learn from Albirúní that a dynasty of Hindú kings reigned in Kábul during the tenth century; a Brahman named Samand (*Samanta*) was one of the first. Some of his successors seem to have been Rájpúts, and to have possessed Láhór as well as Kábul. Jaipál and his son Anangapál were in all probability Rájpút kings of Delhi, who had annexed Láhór to their dominions, after Kábul was seized by the Muhammadans. The name *Samanta* appears on Anangapál's coins. See Mr. Thomas, *Journ. R.A. S.*, vol. ix.—ED.]

own troops, he commenced the attack with an assurance of victory. He first pressed one point of the Indian army with a constant succession of charges by fresh bodies of cavalry; and when he found them begin to waver, he ordered a general assault along the whole line; the Indians at once gave way, and were pursued, with a dreadful slaughter, to the Indus. Sabuktegín found a rich plunder in their camp, and levied heavy contributions on the surrounding districts. He also took possession of the country up to the Indus, and left an officer with 10,000 horse, as his governor of Pésháwer. The Afgháns and Khiljís[23] of Laghmán immediately tendered their allegiance, and furnished useful recruits to his army.[24] After these expeditions, he employed himself in settling his own dominions (which now extended on the west to beyond Candahár); when an opportunity presented itself of promoting his own aggrandizement by a timely interposition in favour of his nominal sovereign.

Defeated.

Núh or Noah (the seventh of the Sámání kings) had been driven from Bokhárá, and forced to fly across the Oxus, by an invasion of Bógrá Khán, king of the Hoeiké Tartars, who at that time possessed almost all Tartary beyond the Imaus, as far east as China.[25] The fortunate sickness, retreat, and death of Bógrá Khán restored Núh to his throne. An attempt he soon after made to punish the disaffection shown by his governor of Khorásán, during his misfortunes, drove that chief into an alliance with Fáïk, another noble of Bokhárá, whose turbulence makes a conspicuous figure for a long period in the latter days of the Sámánís; and the confederates, more anxious about their own interests than the safety of the state, called in the aid of the Deilemite prince who ruled in the adjoining provinces of Persia, and was well disposed to extend his dominions by promoting dissensions among his neighbours. To resist this powerful combination, Núh had recourse to Sabuktegín, and that leader marched towards Bokhárá at the head of his army, more on the footing of an ally than a subject. He had stipulated, on the pretext of his infirmities, that he should not dismount at the meeting; but he no sooner came in sight of his sovereign, than

Sabuktegín assists the Sámánís against the eastern Tartars.

A.D. 993, A.H. 383.

[23] The Khiljís, or Khaljís, are a Tartar tribe, part of which, in the tenth century, was still near the source of the Jaxartes, but of which a portion had even then been long settled between Sistán and India (i.e. in the Afghán country). In the tenth century they still spoke Túrkí. They seem very early to have been closely connected with the Afgháns, with whom their name is almost invariably associated. (For their original stock and residence in Tartary, see De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 9, note; D'Herbelot, article "Khalalj;" Ebn Haukal, p. 209; and for their abode in the Afghán country, Ibid. p. 207. This last author wrote between A.D. 902 and A.D. 968.)

[24] Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. i. pp. 15-19.

[25] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 157; Price, vol. ii. p. 247.

he threw himself from his horse, and would have kissed the royal stirrup if he had not been prevented by Núh, who hastened to receive him in his arms.

Their united force might not have been sufficient to oppose their enemies, if it had not been for the treachery of the Deilemite general, who, in the critical moment of the action, threw his shield over his back as a sign of peace, and went over with his troops to Sabuktegín. The rebels now evacuated their usurpations, and Núh rewarded the services of Sabuktegín, by confirming him in his own government, and conferring that of Khorásán on his son Mahmúd. But the rebels, though disconcerted at the moment, were able once more to collect their forces, and next year they returned so unexpectedly, that they surprised and defeated Mahmúd at Nísháṕur. It was with some exertion that Sabuktegín was enabled again to encounter them. The contest ended in their being totally defeated in the neighbourhood of Tús (now Meshhed).[26] Their force was completely broken; and Fáïk, abandoning the scene of his former importance, fled to Ilak Khán, the successor of Bógrá, by whose powerful interposition he was soon after reconciled to Núh, and appointed to the government of Samarcand. A.D. 995. A.H. 387.

Immediately after this arrangement Núh died; and Ilak Khán profiting by the occasion of a new succession, advanced on Bokhárá, supported by his ally from Samarcand, and ultimately compelled the new Prince, Mansúr II., to place all the power of his government in the hands of Fáïk.

During these transactions Sabuktegín died on his way back to Ghazní.[27] Death of Sabuktegín

HOUSE OF GHAZNI.

CHAPTER III.

SULTA'N MAHMU'D.

MAHMU'D had from his boyhood accompanied his father on his campaigns, and had given early indications of a warlike and decided character. He was now in his thirtieth year, and, from his tried courage and capacity, seemed in every way fitted to succeed to the throne; but his birth was probably Disputed succession. A.D. 997, A.H. 387.

[26] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 158; Price, vol. ii. p. 248; Ferishta, vol. i. p. 22.

[27] He died within a month of Núh, A.D. 997, A.H. 387. (Ferishta. De Guignes. Price. D'Herbelot.)

illegitimate,[1] and, from his absence at his government of Nishápúr, his younger brother Ismaíl was enabled (according to some accounts) to obtain the dying nomination of Sabuktegín, and certainly to seize on the reins of government and cause himself to be proclaimed without delay. Not the least of his advantages was the command of his father's treasures; he employed them to conciliate the leading men with presents, to augment the pay of the army, and to court popularity with all classes by a lavish expenditure on shows and entertainments.

By these means, though still more by the force of actual possession, and perhaps an opinion of his superior right, he obtained the support of all that part of the kingdom which was not under the immediate government of Mahmúd.

The conduct of the latter prince, on this contempt of his claims, may either have arisen from the consciousness of a weak title, or from natural or assumed moderation. He professed the strongest attachment to his brother, and a wish to have given way to him if he had been of an age to undertake so arduous a duty; and he offered that, if Ismaíl would concede the supremacy to his superior experience, he would repay the sacrifice by a grant of the provinces of Balkh and Khorásán. His offers were immediately rejected; and, seeing no further hopes of a reconciliation, he resolved to bring things to an issue by an attack on the capital. Ismaíl, who was still at Balkh, penetrated his design, and interposing between him and Ghazní, obliged him to come to a general engagement. It was better contested than might have been expected from the unequal skill of the generals, but was favourable to Mahmúd: Ghazní fell, Ismaíl was made prisoner, and passed the rest of his life in confinement, though allowed every indulgence consistent with such a situation.

These internal contests, which lasted for seven months, contributed to the success of Ilak Khán, who had now established his own influence over Mansúr II., by compelling him to receive Fáïk as his minister, or, in other words, his master.

Dissembling his consciousness of the ascendency of his old enemies, Mahmúd made a respectful application to Mansúr for the continuance of his government of Khorásán. His request was abruptly rejected, and a creature of the new administration appointed his successor.

But Mahmúd was not so easily dispossessed; he repelled the new governor, and although he avoided an immediate conflict

[1] See Colonel Briggs's note on Ferishta, vol. i. p. 29.

with Mansúr, who was brought in person against him, he withheld all appearance of concession, and remained in full preparation for defence; when some disputes and jealousies at court led to the dethronement and blinding of Mansúr, and the elevation of Abdulmalik as the instrument of Fáïk. On this, Mahmúd ordered the name of the Sámánís to be left out of the public prayers; took possession of Khorásán in his own name; and, having soon after received an investiture from the calif (the dispenser of powers which he himself no longer enjoyed), he declared himself an independent sovereign, and first assumed the title of Sultán, since so general among Mahometan princes.[2]

A.D. 999, A.H. 389. Mahmúd declares his independence.

Ilak Khán, not to be shut out of his share of the spoil, advanced on Bokhárá, under pretence of supporting Abdulmalik; and, taking possession of all Transoxiana, put an end to the dynasty of Sámání, after it had reigned for more than 120 years.

Mahmúd, now secure in the possession of his dominions, had it almost in his own choice in which direction he should extend them. The kingdoms on the west, so attractive from their connexion with the Mahometan religion and their ancient renown, were in such a state of weakness and disorder that a large portion ultimately fell into his hands without an effort; and the ease with which the rest was subdued by the Seljúks, who were once his subjects, showed how little obstruction there was to his advancing his frontier to the Hellespont.

But the undiscovered regions of India presented a wider field for romantic enterprise. The great extent of that favoured country, the rumours of its accumulated treasures, the fertility of the soil, and the peculiarity of its productions, raised it into a land of fable, in which the surrounding nations might indulge their imaginations without control. The adventures to be expected in such a country derived fresh lustre from their being the means of extending the Mahometan faith, the establishment of which among a new people was in those times the most glorious exploit that a king or conqueror could achieve.

These views made the livelier impression on Mahmúd, from his first experience in arms having been gained in a war with Hindús; and were seconded by his natural disposition, even at that time liable to be dazzled by the prospect of a rich field for plunder.

Influenced by such motives, he made peace with Ilak Khán,

[2] Though not before adopted by the Mussulmans, it is an old Arabic word for a king.

leaving him in possession of Transoxiana; cemented the alliance by a marriage with the daughter of that prince; and, having quelled an insurrection of a representative of the Soffárides,[3] who had been tolerated in a sort of independence in Sístán, and whom, on a subsequent rebellion,[4] he seized and imprisoned, he proceeded on his first invasion of India.

His first expedition to India. A.D. 1001. A.H. 391.

Three centuries and a half had elapsed since the conquest of Persia by the Mussulmans when he set out on this expedition. He left Ghazní with 10,000 chosen horse, and was met by his father's old antagonist, Jeipál, of Láhór, in the neighbourhood of Pésháwer. He totally defeated him, took him prisoner, and pursued his march to Batinda, beyond the Satlaj. He stormed and plundered that place;[5] and then returned with the rich spoils of the camp and country to Ghazní. He released the Hindú prisoners for a ransom, on the rája's renewing his promises of tribute; but put some Afgháns who had joined them to death. Jeipál, on returning from his captivity, worn out by repeated disasters, and perhaps constrained by some superstition of his subjects, made over his crown to his son Anang Pál; and mounting a pyre which he had ordered to be constructed, set it on fire with his own hands, and perished in the flames. Anang Pál was true to his father's engagements; but the rája of Bhatía, a dependency of Láhór, on the southern side of Multán, refused to pay his share of the tribute, and resolutely opposed the Sultan, who went against him in person. He was driven, first from a well-defended intrenchment, then from his principal fortress, and at last destroyed himself in the thickets of the Indus, where he had fled for concealment, and where many of his followers fell in endeavouring to revenge his death.

Second expedition. A.D. 1004. A.H. 395.

Mahmúd's next expedition was to reduce his dependent, the Afghán chief of Multán,[6] who, though a Mussulman, had renounced his allegiance, and had formed a close alliance with Anang Pál.

Third expedition. A.H. 396.

[3] [Khalaf bin Ahmed.—Ed.]

[4] A.D. 1002.

[5] Batinda seems formerly to have been a place of more consequence than its situation, in a sort of desert, would promise. It is said by Colonel Tod to have been the residence of the rája of Láhór alternately with the capital from which he took his title. As the battle of Pésháwer was on the 27th of November, Mahmúd would reach Batinda toward the end of the cold season, when the rivers of the Panjáb, though not all fordable, would offer little obstruction to cavalry.

[6] His name was Abúl Fath Lódí, and he was grandson of Hamid Khán Lódí, who had joined the enemies of his faith for a cession of the provinces of Multán and Laghmán, and who submitted to Sabuktegin after his victory over the Hindús. [Abú'l Fath was a Karmathian heretic. He promised to abjure his errors.—Ed.]

The tribes of the mountains being probably not sufficiently subdued to allow of a direct march from Ghazní to Multán, the rája was able to interpose between Mahmúd and his ally. The armies met somewhere near Pésháwer, when the rája was routed, pursued to Sódra (near Vazírábád), on the Acesines, and compelled to take refuge in Cashmír. Mahmúd then laid siege to Multán: at the end of seven days, he accepted the submission of the chief, together with a contribution; and returned to Ghazní. A.D. 1005, A.H. 396.

He was led to grant these favourable terms in consequence of intelligence that had reached him of a formidable invasion of his dominions by the armies of I'lak Khán. Though so closely connected with him, the Tartar prince had been tempted, by observing his exclusive attention to India, to hope for an easy conquest of Khorásán, and had sent one army to Herát and another to Balkh, to take possession. Invasion of the Tartars under I'lak Khán.

But he had formed a wrong estimate of the vigour of his opponent, who committed the charge of his territories on the Indus to Séwuk, or Súk Pál, a converted Hindú, and turning, by rapid marches, towards Khorásán, soon forced I'lak Khán's generals to retire to their own side of the Oxus.

I'lak Khán was now threatened in his turn, and applied for assistance to Kadr Khán of Khóten, who marched to join him with 50,000 men. Thus strengthened, I'lak Khan did not hesitate to cross the Oxus, and was met by Mahmúd, near Balkh. On this occasion he brought 500 elephants into the field, and contrived, by his judicious arrangements, that they should not be liable to derange his own line, while they should produce their full effect on the men and horses of the enemy, unaccustomed to their huge bulk and strange appearance. Accordingly the mere sight of them checked the impetuosity of the Tartar charge; on which the elephants advanced, and at once pushed into the midst of the enemy, dispersing, overthrowing, and trampling under foot whatever was opposed to them; it is said that Mahmúd's own elephant caught up the standard-bearer of I'lak Khán and tossed him aloft with his trunk, in sight of the Tartar king and his terrified fellow soldiers. Before this disorder could be recovered, the armies closed; and so rapid and courageous was the onset of the Ghaznevites, that the Tartars gave way on all sides, and were driven with a prodigious slaughter from the field of battle.[1] A.D. 1006. A.H. 397.

I'lak Khán escaped across the Oxus, with a few attendants,

[1] Ferishta. De Guignes. D'Herbelot.

Defeated by Mahmúd. and never again attempted to make head against Mahmúd.

The Sultan was at first disposed to pursue the enemy; but the advance of winter compelled him to abandon this design; and he did not regain his capital without the loss of some hundreds of men and horses by the inclemency of the season.

Meanwhile Súk Pál had revolted and relapsed into idolatry. Mahmúd came unexpectedly upon him, and, making him prisoner, confined him in a fort for life.

Mahmúd had been prevented, by the invasion of I'lak Khán from resenting the opposition which he had met with from Anang Pál. As he was now at leisure to attend to Indian affairs, he assembled a large army, and set out in the spring of A.D. 1008, to resume his operations against the rája.

But Anang Pál had not been insensible to the risk to which he was exposed. He had sent ambassadors to the Hindú princes far and near, pointing out to them the danger with which all were threatened by the progress of the Mahometans, and the necessity of an immediate combination to prevent the total destruction of their religion and independence. His arguments, which were probably in accordance with their own previous feelings, made an impression on those to whom they were addressed: the rájas of Ujein, Gwáliór, Cálinjer, Canouj, Delhi, and Ajmír, entered into a confederacy; and, uniting their forces, advanced into the Panjáb, with the largest army that had ever yet taken the field. Mahmúd was alarmed at this unexpected display of force; and, instead of meeting the danger with his usual alacrity, he halted in the presence of the enemy, and took up a position near Pésháwer, in which he remained on the defensive. During his inaction the hostile army daily increased: the Hindú women sold their jewels, melted down their golden ornaments, and sent their contributions from a distance, to furnish resources for this holy war; and the Gakkars and other warlike tribes joining their army, they surrounded the Mahometans, who were obliged to intrench their camp. But Mahmúd, though somewhat disconcerted, was far from having lost his courage; and, wishing to profit by the strength of his position, he sent out a strong body of archers to provoke an attack on his intrenchments. The result was different from his expectations: the archers were at once repulsed by the Gakkars, who, in spite of the presence and exertions of the king, followed them up so closely, that a numerous body of those mountaineers, bare-headed and bare-footed, variously and strangely armed, passed

Fourth expedition. A.D. 1008, A.H. 399.

Decisive battle.

the intrenchments on both flanks, and, falling in with astonishing fury among the cavalry, proceeded, with their swords and knives, to cut down and main both horse and rider, until, almost in the twinkling of an eye, between 3,000 and 4,000 Mussulmans had fallen victims to their savage impetuosity.[8]

The attacks, however, gradually abated; and Mahmúd at length discovered that the elephant of his antagonist, who had advanced to profit by the confusion, had taken fright at the flights of arrows,[9] and had turned and fled from the field. This incident struck a terror into the enemy; the Hindús, thinking themselves deserted by their general, first slackened their efforts, and at last gave way and dispersed. Mahmúd took immediate advantage of their confusion, and, sending out 10,000 chosen men in pursuit of them, destroyed double that number of his enemies before they reached a place of safety.

After this providential deliverance, Mahmúd allowed the Indians no time to re-assemble: he followed them into the Panjáb, and soon found them so effectually dispersed, that he had time to execute one of those schemes of plunder in which he seems to have taken so much delight. It was directed against Nagarcót, a fortified temple on a mountain connected with the lower range of Himálaya. This edifice, as it derived peculiar sanctity from a natural flame which issued from the ground within its precincts, was enriched by the offerings of a long succession of Hindú princes, and was likewise the depository of most of the wealth of the neighbourhood; so that, according to Ferishta, it contained a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than ever was collected in the royal treasury of any prince on earth.

Temple of Nagarcot.

Such a place might have opposed a successful resistance to any assailant; but the garrison had been drawn off in the late great effort, and Mahmúd, on approaching the walls, found them lined by a crowd of defenceless priests, who called loudly for quarter, and offered unqualified submission. Their terms were gladly acceded to, and the conqueror, entering with the principal officers of his court and household, took possession of

[8] Price, vol. ii. p. 234.

[9] In the original this is "cannon and musquetry;" and although Coloned Briggs finds a most ingenious solution, which, by a slight change of the diacritical points in the Persian, turns these words into "naphtha balls and arrows," yet he is staggered by the agreement of all the MSS., and suspects an anachronism in the author. I have adopted the simplest explanation [Col. Briggs in his Persian text reads *naft u khadang*, instead of *top u tufang*, and Sir H. Elliot approves the correction. See *Historians of India*, note H. p. 340. But Ferishta has a similar anachronism afterwards, when he makes Prithwi Rái speak of his *piyádahá-i topchi* in his letter to Shaháb ud din (Persian text, p. 101, l. 8.—ED.]

their accumulated treasures. 700,000 golden dínárs, 700 mans of gold and silver plate, 200 mans of pure gold in ingots, 2,000 mans of unwrought silver, and twenty mans of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, collected since Rája Bhíma, in the Hindú heroic ages, are said to have fallen at once into his hands.[10]

With this vast booty Mahmúd returned to Ghazní, and next year celebrated a triumphal feast, at which he displayed to the people the spoils of India, set forth in all their magnificence on golden thrones and tables of the precious metals. The festival was held on a spacious plain and lasted three days; sumptuous banquets were provided for the spectators, alms were liberally distributed among the poor, and splendid presents were bestowed on persons distinguished for their rank, merits, or sanctity.

Conquest of Ghór. A.D. 1010.

In A.H. 401, he went in person against the strong country of Ghór, in the mountains east of Herát. It was inhabited by the Afgháns, of the tribe of Súr, had been early converted, and was completely reduced under the califs in A.H. 111. The chief had occupied an unassailable position, but was drawn out by a pretended flight (an operation which, though it seems so dangerous, yet, in the hands of historians, appears never to fail), and being entirely defeated, swallowed poison. His name was Mohammed Súr, and the conquest of his country is the more remarkable, as it was by his descendants that the house of Ghazní was overthrown.

In the course of the next year but one, the mountainous country of Jurjistán, or Ghirjistán, which lies on the upper course of the river Murghán, adjoining to Ghór, was reduced by Mahmúd's generals.[11]

Fifth expedition to India.

It must have been some act of aggression that drew Mahmúd to Ghór, for, in the same year (A.D. 1010, A.H. 401), he again turned to India—which seems to have been the business of his life—took Multán, and brought Abúl Fath Lódí prisoner to Ghazní.[12]

In the next year he made an expedition of unusual length to

[10] There are many sorts of man: the smallest, that of Arabia, is 2 lbs.; the commonest, that of Tabriz, is 11 lbs. The Indian man is 80 lbs. (Briggs's note on Ferishta, vol. i. p. 48.)

[11] The name of this tract continually occurs in connection with Ghór and the neighbouring countries. Its position appears from Ebn Haukal (*Ouseley's Ebn Haukal*, pp. 213, 221, 225); it is very often mistaken by European writers for Georgia; and D'Herbelot, under this impression, derives the title of the prince (which, from the defective writing of the Persians, is made by different authors Sár, Shár, Tshár, and Nishár) from the Russian czar, or from Cæsar.

[12] [Ferishta adds that he killed many of the Karmathians and other heretics.—Ed.]

Tanésar, not far from the Jumna, where he plundered the temple (a very holy one), sacked the town, and returned with an incredible number of captives to Ghazní, before the Indian princes could assemble to oppose him. Sixth expedition. Capture of Tanésar.

Nothing remarkable occurred in the next three years, except two predatory expeditions to Cashmír; in returning from the last of which the army was misled, and, the season being far advanced, many lives were lost: the only wonder is, that two invasions of so inaccessible a country should have been attended with so few disasters. Seventh and eighth expeditions.

These insignificant transactions were succeeded by an expedition which, as it extended Mahmúd's dominions to the Caspian Sea, may be reckoned among the most important of his reign. Ilak Khán was now dead, and his successor, Toghán Khán, was engaged in a desperate struggle with the Khitan Tartars,[13] which chiefly raged to the east of Imaus. The opening thus left in Transoxiana did not escape Mahmúd, nor was he so absorbed in his Indian wars as to neglect so great an acquisition. Conquest of Transoxiana.

Samarcand and Bokhárá seem to have been occupied without opposition; and the resistance which was offered in Khárizm did not long delay the conquest of that country.[14] A.D. 1016, A.H. 407.

The great scale of these operations seems to have enlarged Mahmúd's views, even in his designs on India; for, quitting the Panjáb, which had hitherto been his ordinary field of action, he resolved on his next campaign to move direct to the Ganges, and open a way for himself or his successors into the heart of Hindostan. His preparations were commensurate to his design. He assembled an army which Ferishta reckons at 100,000 horse, and 20,000 foot, and which was drawn from all parts of his dominions, more especially from those recently conquered; a prudent policy, whereby he at once removed the soldiery which might have been dangerous if left behind, and attached it to his service by a share of the plunder of India. Ninth expedition to India.

[13] From A.D. 1012 to 1025. (De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 31.)

[14] No previous expedition in the direction of the Oxus is mentioned by any historian after the battle with Ilak Khán in A.D. 1006; and Ferishta ascribes this invasion to the resentment of Mahmúd at the murder of the king of Khárizm, who was married to his daughter; but D'Herbelot (art. Mahmoud) and De Guignes (who quotes Abúlfedá, vol. ii. p. 166) assert as positively that it was to put down a rebellion; and as Ferishta himself alludes to an application to the calif for an order for the surrender of Samarcand in A.D. 1012, it is not improbable that Mahmúd may have employed that year in the conquest of Transoxiana, especially as there is no mention of his being then personally engaged in any other expedition.

He had to undertake a march of three months, across seven great rivers, and into a country hitherto unexplored; and he seems to have concerted his expedition with his usual judgment and information. He set out from Pésháwer, and, passing near Cashmír, kept close to the mountains, where the rivers are most easily crossed, until he passed the Jumna, when he turned towards the south, and unexpectedly presented himself before the great capital of Canouj.

A.D. 1017, A.H. 408.

It is difficult to conjecture the local or other circumstances which tended so greatly to enrich and embellish this city. The dominions of the rája were not more extensive than those of his neighbours, nor does he exhibit any superiority of power in their recorded wars or alliances; yet Hindú and Mahometan writers vie with each other in extolling the splendour of his court, and the magnificence of his capital; and the impression made by its stately appearance on the army of Mahmúd is particularly noticed by Ferishta.[15]

Canouj.

The rája was taken entirely unprepared, and was so conscious of his helpless situation, that he came out with his family, and gave himself up to Mahmúd. The friendship thus inauspiciously commenced appears to have been sincere and permanent: the Sultan left Canouj uninjured at the end of three days, and returned some years after, in the hope of assisting the rája against a confederacy which had been formed to punish his alliance with the common enemy of his nation.

No such clemency was shown to Mattra, one of the most celebrated seats of the Hindú religion. During a halt of twenty days the city was given up to plunder, the idols were broken, and the temples profaned. The excesses of the troops led to a fire in the city, and the effects of this conflagration were added to its other calamities. It is said by some, that Mahmúd was unable to destroy the temples on account of their solidity. Less zealous Mahometans relate that he spared them on account of their beauty. All agree that he was struck with the highest admiration of the buildings which he saw at Mattra, and it is not improbable that the impression they made on him gave the first impulse to his own undertakings of the same nature.[16]

[15] A Hindú writer, among other extravagant praises (Colonel Tod, vol. ii. p. 7), says the walls were thirty miles round; a Mussulman (Major Rennell, p. 54) asserts that it contained 30,000 shops for the sale of betel leaf. Some Mahometan writers pay the rája the usual compliment of supposing him emperor of all India; and Ebn Haukal, a century before Mahmúd, mentions Canouj as the chief city of India. (*Ouseley's Ebn Haukal*, p. 9.)

[16] The following extract has been preserved of a letter from Mahmúd to the Governor of Ghazni:—"Here there are a

This expedition was attended with some circumstances more than usually tragical. At Maháwan, near Mattra, the rája had submitted, and had been favourably received; when a quarrel accidentally breaking out between the soldiers of the two parties, the Hindús were massacred and driven into the river, and the rája, conceiving himself betrayed, destroyed his wife and children, and then made away with himself.

At Munj, after a desperate resistance, part of the Rájpút garrison rushed out between the breaches on the enemy, while the rest dashed themselves to pieces from the works, or burned themselves with their wives and children in their houses; so that not one of the whole body survived. Various other towns were reduced, and much country laid waste; and the king returned to Ghazní, loaded with spoil, and accompanied by 5,300 prisoners.[17]

Tenth and eleventh expeditions.

Having now learned the way into the interior, Mahmúd made two subsequent marches into India at long intervals from the present: the first was to the relief of the rája of Canouj, who had been cut off before the Sultan arrived, by the rája of Cálinjer in Bundélcand, against whom Mahmúd next turned his arms, but made no permanent impression, either in this or a subsequent campaign.

A.D. 1022, A.H. 413.

A.D. 1023, A.H. 414.

Permanent occupation of the Panjáb.

On the first of these expeditions an event occurred which had more permanent effects than all the Sultan's great victories. Jeipál II., who had succeeded Anang Pál in the government of Láhór, seems, after some misunderstandings at the time of his accession, to have lived on good terms with Mahmúd. On this occasion, his ill destiny led him to oppose that prince's march to Canouj. The results were, the annexation of Láhór and its territory to Ghazní: the first instance of a permanent garrison on the east of the Indus, and the foundation of the future Mahometan empire in India.

thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful, most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples; nor is it likely that this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of deenars; nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries." (*Briggs's Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 58.)

[17] The whole of this expedition is indistinctly related by Ferishta. He copies the Persian writers, who, adverting to the seasons in their own country, make Mahmúd begin his march in spring. Had he done so, he need not have gone so high in search of fords; but he would have reached Canouj at the beginning of the periodical rains, and carried on all his subsequent movements in the midst of rivers during that season. It is probable he would go to Pésháwer before the snow set in above the passes, and would pass the Indus early in November. His marches are still worse detailed. He goes first to Canouj, then back to Mírat, and then back again to Mattra. There is no clue to his route, advancing or retiring; he probably came down by Mírat, but it is quite uncertain how he returned. For a good discussion of his marches, see *Bird's History of Gujarát*, Introduction, p. 31.

After this, Mahmúd's attention was drawn to Transoxiana: he marched thither in person, crushed a revolt, and subsequently returned to Ghazní.

A.D. 1024, A.H. 415.

Since his great expedition to Canouj, Mahmúd seems to have lost all taste for predatory incursions, and the invasions last mentioned were scarcely the result of choice. He seems, at this time, to have once more called up his energy, and determined on a final effort which should transmit his name to posterity among the greatest scourges of idolatry, if not the greatest promoters of Islám.

This was his expedition to Sómnát, which is celebrated, wherever there is a Mussulman, as the model of a religious invasion.

Twelfth expedition. Sómnát.

Sómnát was a temple of great sanctity, situated near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Guzerát.[18] Though now chiefly known in India from the history of Mahmúd's exploit, it seems, at the time we are writing of, to have been the richest and most frequented, as well as most famous, place of worship in the country.[19]

To reach this place, Mahmúd, besides a long march through inhabited countries, had to cross a desert, 350 miles broad, of loose sand or hard clay almost entirely without water, and with very little forage for horses.

To cross this with an army, even into a friendly country, would be an exceedingly difficult undertaking at the present day: to cross it for the first time, with the chance of meeting an hostile army on the edge, required an extraordinary share of skill, no less than enterprise.

The army moved from Ghazní in September, A.D. 1024, and reached Multán in October. The Sultan had collected 20,000 camels for carrying supplies, besides enjoining his troops to provide themselves, as far as they could, with forage, water, and provisions. The number of his army is not given. It is said to have been accompanied by a crowd of

A.D. 1024, A.H. 415.

[18] Called by the natives Sóreth and Kátiwár.

[19] It is said that from 200,000 to 300,000 votaries used to attend this temple during eclipses; that 2,000 villages had been granted by different princes to maintain its establishments; that there were 2,000 priests, 500 dancing women, and 300 musicians attached to the temple; that the chain supporting the bell which worshippers strike during prayer weighed 200 mans of gold; and that the idol was washed daily with water brought from the Ganges, a distance of 1,000 miles. The last statement is not improbable from present practices. The numbers, as in all cases in Asiatic writers, must be considered as indefinite. The value of the chain, if in Tabrizi mans (as was probably intended), would be above 100,000*l.*, and if in Arab mans, under 2,000*l.*

volunteers, chiefly from beyond the Oxus, attracted by love of adventure and hopes of plunder, at least as much as by religious zeal.[20]

As soon as he had completed his arrangements for the march he crossed the desert without any disaster, and made good his footing on the cultivated part of India near Ajmír. The Hindús, if they were aware of the storm that was gathering, were not prepared for its bursting on a point that seemed so well protected, and the rája of Ajmír had no resource but in flight. His country was ravaged, and his town, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, was given up to plunder; but the hill fort, which commands it, held out; and as it was not Mahmúd's object to engage in sieges, he proceeded on his journey, which was now an easy one; his route probably lying along the plain between the Aravalli mountains and the desert. Almost the first place he came to in Guzerát was the capital, Anhalwára, where his appearance was so sudden that the rája, though one of the greatest princes in India, was constrained to abandon it with precipitation.

Without being diverted by this valuable conquest, Mahmúd pursued his march to Sómnát, and at length reached that great object of his exertions. He found the temple situated on a peninsula connected with the main land by a fortified isthmus, the battlements of which were manned in every point, and from whence issued a herald, who brought him defiance and threats of destruction in the name of the god. Little moved by these menaces, Mahmúd brought forward his archers, and soon cleared the walls of their defenders, who now crowded to the temple, and, prostrating themselves before the idol, called on him with tears for help. But Rájpúts are as easily excited as dispirited; and hearing the shouts of "Alláh Akbar!" from the Mussulmans, who had already begun to mount the walls, they hurried back to their defence, and made so gallant a resistance that the Mussulmans were unable to retain their footing, and were driven from the place with loss.

The next day brought a still more signal repulse. A general assault was ordered; but, as fast as the Mussulmans scaled the walls, they were hurled down headlong by the besieged, who seemed resolved to defend the place to the last.

On the third day the princes of the neighbourhood, who had assembled to rescue the temple, presented themselves in order

[20] Ferishta reckons the volunteers at 30,000. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 68.)

of battle, and compelled Mahmúd to relinquish the attack, and move in person against his new enemy.

The battle raged with great fury, and victory was already doubtful, when the rája of Anhalwára arrived with a strong reinforcement to the Hindús. This unexpected addition to their enemies so dispirited the Mussulmans that they began to waver, when Mahmúd, who had prostrated himself to implore the Divine assistance, leaped upon his horse, and cheered his troops with such energy, that, ashamed to abandon a king under whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord, gave a loud shout, and rushed forwards with an impetuosity which could no longer be withstood. Five thousand Hindús lay dead after the charge; and so complete was the rout of their army, that the garrison gave up all hopes of further defence, and breaking out to the number of 4,000 men, made their way to their boats; and, though not without considerable loss, succeeded in escaping by sea.

Mahmúd entered the temple, and was struck with the grandeur of the edifice, the lofty roof of which was supported by fifty-six pillars curiously carved and richly ornamented with precious stones. The external light was excluded, but the temple was illuminated by a lamp which hung down in the centre from a golden chain. Facing the entrance was Sómnát, an idol five yards high, of which two were buried in the ground. Mahmúd instantly ordered the image to be destroyed; when the Brahmins of the temple threw themselves before him, and offered an enormous ransom if he would spare their deity. Mahmúd hesitated; and his courtiers hastened to offer the advice which they knew would be acceptable; but Mahmúd, after a moment's pause, exclaimed that he would rather be remembered as the breaker than the seller of idols, and struck the image with his mace. His example was instantaneously followed, and the image, which was hollow, burst with the blows, and poured forth a quantity of diamonds and other jewels which had been concealed in it, that amply repaid Mahmúd for the sacrifice of the ransom. Two pieces of this idol were sent to Mecca, and Medína, and two to Ghazní, where one was to be seen at the palace, and one at the public mosque, as late as when Ferishta wrote his history.[31]

[31] The above is Ferishta's account, and might be true of some idol in the temple; but the real object of worship at Sómnát was not an image but a simple cylinder of stone. (Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 194, etc.) [Professor Wilson subsequently traced the story to its earliest mention in Abúlfedá in the

The treasure taken on this occasion exceeded all former captures; but even the Asiatic historians are tired of enumerating the mans of gold and jewels.

Meanwhile the rája of Anhalwára had taken refuge in Gundába, a fort which was considered to be protected by the sea. Mahmúd ascertained it to be accessible, though not without danger, when the tide was low; entered the water at the head of his troops, and carried the place by assault, but failed to capture the rája.

Mahmúd sets up a rája in Guzerát.

Mahmúd, thus victorious, returned to Anhalwára, where it is probable that he passed the rainy season; and so much was he pleased with the mildness of the climate and the beauty and fertility of the country, that he entertained thoughts of transferring his capital thither (for some years at least), and of making it a new point of departure for further conquests. He appears, indeed, at this time to have been elated with his success, and to have meditated the formation of a fleet, and the accomplishment of a variety of magnificent projects. His visions, however, were in a different spirit from those of Alexander; and were not directed to the glory of exploring the ocean, but the acquisition of the jewels of Ceylon and the gold mines of Pegu. Mature reflection concurred with the advice of his ministers in inducing him to give up those schemes; and as the rája still kept at a distance, and refused submission, he looked around for a fit person whom he might invest with the government, and on whom he could rely for the payment of a tribute. He fixed his eyes on a man of the ancient royal family who had retired from the world, and embraced the life of an anchoret, and whom he probably thought more likely than any other to remain in submission and dependence.[22]

There was another pretender of the same family, whom Mahmúd thought it necessary to secure in his camp, and whom, when he was about to leave Guzerát, the new rája

commencement of the 13th century. That writer describes it as five cubits high, two of which are set in the ground, and it is destroyed by a fire lighted round it to split the hardness of the stone. Every subsequent author adds something to the account, until it reaches the exaggerations in Ferishta, whence it has been copied (with further embellishments by Dow's unfaithful translation) into our common histories. See *Asiatic Journal*, 1843.—ED.]

[22] The person selected is said to have been a descendant of Dábishlim, an ancient Hindú rája, so called by the Persians, to whom his name is familiar as the prince by whose orders the fables of Pilpay were composed. Ferishta calls both the pretenders in the following story by the name of their supposed ancestor; but they probably were representatives of the family of Chávara, to whom the father of the reigning rája of the family of Chálúka had succeeded through the female line. (*Bird's Mirátí Ahmedí*, p. 142, and *Tod's Rájasthán*, vol. i. p. 197.)

earnestly entreated to have delivered to him as the only means of giving stability to his throne. Mahmúd, who, it seems, had admitted the prisoner into his presence, was very unwilling to give him up to his enemy, and he was with difficulty persuaded to do so by the argument of his minister, that it was "not necessary to have compassion on a pagan idolater." His repugnance was no doubt increased by the belief that he was consigning the prisoner to certain death; but the ascetic was too pious to shed human blood, and mildly ordered a dark pit to be dug under his own throne, in which his enemy was to linger out the days that nature had assigned to him. A fortunate revolution, however, reversed the destiny of the parties, and consigned the anchoret to the dungeon which he had himself prepared.[23]

Distresses in the desert on his return.

Mahmúd, having by this time passed upwards of a year in Guzerát, began to think of returning to his own dominions. He found that the route by which he had advanced was occupied by a great army under the rája of Ajmír and the fugitive rája of Anhalwára. His own force was reduced by the casualties of war and climate; and he felt that even a victory, unless complete, would be total ruin to an army whose further march lay through a desert. He therefore determined to try a new road by the sands to the east of Sind. The hot season must have been advanced when he set out, and the sufferings of his followers, owing to want of water and forage, were severe from the first; but all their other miseries were thrown into the shade by those of three days, during which they were misled by their guides, and wandered, without relief, through the worst part of the desert: their thirst became intolerable from the toil of their march on a burning sand and under a scorching sun, and the extremity of their distress drove them to acts of fury that heightened the calamity. The guides were tortured, and were believed to have confessed that they were priests in disguise, who had devoted themselves to avenge the disgrace of Sómnát: despair seized on every breast: many perished miserably; some died raving mad; and it was thought to be no less than a miraculous interposition of Providence which guided them at last to a lake or pool of water.

[23] This story is chiefly taken from D'Herbelot, and Bird's translation of the "*Mirát Ahmedí*," whose narratives are more consistent than that in Ferishta. When stripped of some wonderful circumstances with which the historians have embellished it, it is by no means improbable in itself, and is too true a picture of the hypocritical humanity of a Hindú priest in power to have been invented by a Mahometan author.

At length they arrived at Multán,[24] and from thence proceeded to Ghazní.[25]

Mahmúd allowed himself no repose after all that he had endured. He returned to Multán before the end of the year, to chastise a body of Jats in the Jund mountains who had molested his army on its march from Sómnát. These marauders took refuge in the islands enclosed by the smaller channels of the Indus, which are often not fordable, and where they might elude pursuit by shifting from island to island. Mahmúd, who was on his guard against this expedient, had provided himself with boats, and was thus able not only to transport his own troops across the channel, but to cut off the communications of the enemy, to seize such boats as they had in their possession, and, in the end, to destroy most of the men, and make prisoners of the women and children.[26]

[24] [One historian states that on his way through Sind he placed a Muhammadan chief in possession of Mansúra, as the former occupant had abjured Islamism,—probably thus expelling the Karmathian or Súmra ruler there, as he had done in Multán. The Súmras recovered their power under his successors. (*Sir H. Elliot's Arabs in Sind*, p. 192.)—ED.]

[25] It seems surprising, when we read of all these sufferings, that Mahmúd should neither in going nor returning have availed himself of the easy and safe passage along the banks of the Indus, with which he could not fail to be well acquainted, both by the accounts of Mohammed Cásim's expedition, and by the neighbourhood of the Afgháns. So unaccountable is the neglect of this route, that we are led to think that some physical obstacles may then have existed which have now ceased to operate. It seems certain that the Rin, which is now a hard desert in the dry season, and a salt marsh in the rains, was formerly a part of the sea. The traditions of seaports on the north of Cach, and the discovery of ships in the Rin, appear to put this question beyond a doubt; while the rapidity of the changes which have taken place under our own eyes prepare us to believe that still greater may have occurred in the 800 years that have elapsed since the taking of Sómnát. (See *Burnes's Travels*, vol. iii. p. 309.) I suppose Mahmúd's expedition to Sómnát to have occupied more than a year and a half, i.e. from October or November, 1024, to April or May, 1026. Ferishta says it occupied two years and a half, and Price, in one place, two years and a half, and, in another, more than three. (Vol. ii. p. 291.) But these periods are inconsistent with the dates in Ferishta, which are as follows:—March from Multán, October, A.D. 1024, A.H. 415; return to Ghazní, A.D. 1026, A.H. 417. The return must have taken place before the middle of the year, as Mahmúd's sufferings in the desert would not have happened in the rainy season, and, moreover, as no time would be left for the expedition against the Jats, which took place in the same year. The two years and a half, therefore, could only be made up by supposing Ferishta to have made a slip in ascribing Mahmúd's return to A.D. 1026, instead of A.D. 1027: but A.D. 1027 appears, by his own account, to have been employed in an expedition against the Seljúks. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 83.) Supposing Mahmúd to have remained for two years in Guzerát, it would be difficult to explain how he kept up his communications with Ghazní; as well as to account for his inaction during so long a period, in which not a march nor a transaction of any kind is recorded.

[26] I have endeavoured to reconcile this account, which is entirely on Ferishta's authority, with the size of the river and the geography of the neighbourhood. His own description gives an idea of a regular naval armament and a sea-fight; Mahmúd, he says, had 1,400 boats built for the occasion, each capable of containing twenty-five archers and fire-ball men, and armed with spikes in a peculiar manner. The enemy had a fleet of 4,000, and some say 8,000, boats, and a desperate conflict took place; yet Mahmúd's boats must have been constructed after his return during the present year, and the *mountaineers* could scarcely have possessed a

This was the last of Mahmúd's expeditions to India. His activity was soon called forth in another direction; for the Túrkí tribe of Seljúk, whose growth he had incautiously favoured, had become too unruly and too powerful to be restrained by his local governors; and he was obliged to move in person against them. He defeated them in a great battle, and compelled them, for a time, to return to their respect for his authority.[27]

First revolt of the Seljúks.

Suppressed A.D. 1027, A.H. 418.

This success was now followed by another of greater consequence, which raised Mahmúd's power to its highest pitch of elevation. The origin of the family of Búya, or the Deilemites, has already been mentioned.[28] They subsequently divided into three branches; and, after various changes, one branch remained in possession of Persian Irák, extending from the frontier of Khorásán, westward to the mountains of Kurdistán, beyond Hamadán. The chief of this branch had died about the time of Mahmúd's accession, leaving his dominions under the regency of his widow; and the Sultan was at first disposed to take advantage of the circumstance. He was disarmed by a letter from the regent, who told him that she might have feared him when her warlike husband was alive, but now felt secure in the conviction that he was too generous to attack a defenceless woman, and too wise to risk his glory in a contest where no addition to it could be gained.[29]

Conquest of Persia by Mahmúd.

If Mahmúd ever evinced this magnanimity towards the widow, it was not extended to her son. This young man's reign was a continued scene of misgovernment; and the rebellions it at last engendered either obliged him (as some state) to solicit the intervention of Mahmúd, or enabled that monarch to interfere unsolicited, and to turn the distracted state of the kingdom to his own profit. He invaded Irák, and ungenerously, if not perfidiously, seized the person of the prince, who had trusted himself in his camp before Rei. He then took possession of the whole territory; and, having been opposed at Isfahán and Cazvín, he punished their resistance by putting to death some thousands of the inhabitants of each city.[30]

These transactions, which leave so great a stain on the memory of Mahmúd, were the last acts of his reign. He was taken ill soon after his return to his capital, and died at Ghazní on the 29th of April, A.D. 1030.[31]

His death

large flotilla. I question if 1,000 boats could now be collected on the whole of the Indus, and the rivers connected with it.

[27] Briggs's *Ferishta*, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

[28] See p. 319.

[29] D'Herbelot. Price. Gibbon.

[30] D'Herbelot, art. Mahmúd, p. 521. See also the art. Magieddulat.

[31] Briggs, vol. i. p. 84; Price, vol. ii. p. 204.

Shortly before his death he commanded all the most costly of his treasures to be displayed before him; and, after long contemplating them, he is said to have shed tears at the thought that he was so soon to lose them. It is remarked that, after this fond parting with his treasures, he distributed no portion of them among those around him, to whom also he was about to bid farewell.[32] A.D. 1030, A.H. 421.

Thus died Mahmúd, certainly the greatest sovereign of his own time, and considered by the Mahometans among the greatest of any age. Though some of his qualities have been overrated, he appears on the whole to have deserved his reputation. Prudence, activity, and enterprise he possessed in the highest degree; and the good order which he preserved in his extensive dominions during his frequent absences is a proof of his talents for government. The extent itself of those dominions does little towards establishing his ability, for the state of the surrounding countries afforded a field for wider ambition than he attempted to indulge: and the speedy dissolution of his empire prevents our forming a high opinion of the wisdom employed in constructing it. Even his Indian operations, for which all other objects were resigned, are so far from displaying any signs of system or combination, that their desultory and inconclusive nature would lead us to deny him a comprehensive intellect, unless we suppose its range to have been contracted by the sordid passions of his heart. and character.

He seems to have made no innovation in internal government: no laws or institutions are referred, by tradition, to him.

The real source of his glory lay in his combining the qualities of a warrior and a conqueror, with a zeal for the encouragement of literature and the arts, which was rare in his time, and has not yet been surpassed. His liberality in those respects is enhanced by his habitual economy. He founded a university in Ghaznî, with a vast collection of curious books in various languages, and a museum of natural curiosities. He appropriated a large sum of money for the maintenance of this establishment, besides a permanent fund for allowances to professors and to students.[33] He also set aside a sum, nearly equal to 10,000*l.* a year, for pensions to learned men; and showed so much munificence to individuals of eminence, that his capital exhibited a

[32] It was probably this anecdote that suggested to Sádí a story which he relates in the "Gulistán." A certain person, he says, saw Sultán Mahmúd (then long dead) in a dream. His body was reduced to a bare skeleton; but his eyes (the organs of covetousness with the Asiatics) were still entire, and gazed eagerly from their sockets, as if they were insatiable and indestructible, like the passion which animated them.

[33] Brigg's *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 60.

greater assemblage of literary genius than any other monarch in Asia has ever been able to produce.[34]

Of the many names that adorned his court, few are known in Europe. Unsurí may be mentioned as the first instance, in Asia, of a man raised to high rank and title for poetical merit alone;[35] but it is to Ferdousí that we must ascribe the universal reputation of Mahmúd as a patron of poetry; and it is to him, also, that his country is indebted for a large portion of her poetical fame.

The history of this poet throws a strong light on Mahmúd's literary ardour; and is improved in interest as well as authenticity by its incidental disclosure of the conqueror's characteristic foible. Perceiving that the ancient renown of Persia was on the point of being extinguished, owing to the bigotry of his predecessors, Mahmúd early held out rewards to any one who would embody in an historical poem the achievements of her kings and heroes, previous to the Mahometan conquest. Dakíkí, a great poet of the day, whom he had first engaged in this undertaking, was assassinated by a servant, before he had finished more than one thousand couplets; when the fame of Mahmúd's liberality fortunately attracted Ferdousí to his court. By him was this great work completed; and in such a manner, that, although so obsolete as to require a glossary, it is still the most popular of all books among his countrymen, and is admired even by European readers for the spirit and fire of some passages, the tenderness of others, and the Homeric simplicity and grandeur that pervade the whole. A remarkable feature in this poem (perhaps an indication of the taste of the age) is the fondness for ancient Persian words, and the studious rejection of Arabic. It is said, though not, perhaps, quite correctly, that not one exclusively Arabic word is to be found in the sixty thousand couplets. The poem was from time to time recited to the Sultan, who listened to it with delight, and showed his gratitude by gifts to the poet; but when the whole was concluded, after thirty years of labour, as Ferdousí himself assures us, the reward was entirely disproportioned to the greatness of

[34] The first encouragers of Persian literature appear to have been the Sámánis. The *Tárikh Tabarí*, a celebrated historical work, was translated into Persian from Arabic by the vizir of one of the kings of that race, in A.D. 946; and Rudeki, the earliest of the Persian poets, received 80,000 dirhems from another of those princes for a moral work founded on Pilpay's fables. The Búyas, or Deilemites, are mentioned by Gibbon as revivers of the language and genius of Persia; but it is to Sultán Mahmúd that she is indebted for the full expansion of her national literature.

[35] Colonel Kennedy, from Daulat Sháh, *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 75; where, also, is the authority for the present to Rúdeki.

the work.[36] Ferdousí rejected what was offered, withdrew in indignation to his native city of Túss, launched a bitter satire at Mahmúd, and held himself prepared to fly from that monarch's dominions, if it were necessary, to shun the effects of his revenge. But Mahmúd magnanimously forgot the satire, while he remembered the great epic, and sent so ample a remuneration to the poet as would have surpassed his highest expectations. But his bounty came too late; and the treasure entered one door of Ferdousí's house as his bier was borne out of another. His daughter at first rejected the untimely gift; by the persuasion of Mahmúd, she at length accepted it, and laid it out on an embankment, to afford a supply of water to the city where her father had been born, and to which he was always much attached. The satire, however, has survived. It is to it we owe the knowledge of Mahmúd's base birth; and to it, beyond doubt, is to be ascribed the preservation of the memory of his avarice, which would otherwise long ago have been forgotten.[37]

Mahmúd's taste for architecture, whether engendered, or only developed, by what he witnessed at Mattra and Canouj, displayed itself in full perfection after his return from that expedition. He then founded the mosque called "the Celestial Bride," which, in that age, was the wonder of the East. It was built of marble and granite, of such beauty as to strike every beholder with astonishment,[38] and was furnished with rich carpets, candelabras, and other ornaments of silver and gold. It is probable, from the superiority long possessed by Indian architects, that the novelty and elegance of the design had even a greater effect than the materials, in commanding so much admiration. When the nobility of Ghazní, says Ferishta, (from whom most of the above is transcribed,) saw the taste of the monarch evince itself in architecture, they vied with each other in the magnificence of their private palaces, as well as in public buildings, which they raised for the embellishment of the city. Thus, in a short time, the capital was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond every city in the East.

[36] The story told is, that Mahmúd had promised a dirhem for every verse; and that, although he had meant golden dirhems, the sight of the sum was too much for his covetous nature, and he changed the payment into silver dirhems; but Mahmúd had too much prudence to have promised an unlimited sum for verses, even of Ferdousí's, and too much taste to have thought that he would improve their value by offering a premium on their number.

[37] D'Herbelot; Kennedy on Persian Literature, *Bombay Transactions*; Malcolm's *Persia*; Introduction to Shahnámeh, *Oriental Magazine*, vol. vi.

[38] Ferishta.

All writers attest the magnificence of Mahmúd's court, which exhibited the solemnity of that of the califs, together with all the pomp and splendour which they had borrowed from the great king; so that when to all this we add the great scale of his expeditions, and the high equipments of his armies, we must accede to the assertion of his historian, that if he was rapacious in acquiring wealth, he was unrivalled in the judgment and grandeur with which he knew how to expend it.

As avarice is the great imputation against Mahmúd in the East, so is bigotry among European writers. The first of these charges is established by facts: the other seems the result of a misconception. Mahmúd carried on war with the infidels because it was a source of gain, and, in his day, the greatest source of glory. He professed, and probably felt, like other Mussulmans, an ardent wish for the propagation of his faith; but he never sacrificed the least of his interests for the accomplishment of that object; and he even seems to have been perfectly indifferent to it, when he might have attained it without loss. One province, permanently occupied, would have done more for conversion than all his inroads, which only hardened the hearts of the Hindús against a religion which presented itself in such a form.

Even where he had possession he showed but little zeal. Far from forcing conversions like Mohammed Cásim, we do not hear that in his long residence in Guzerát, or his occupation of Láhór, he ever made a convert at all. His only ally (the rája of Canouj) was an unconverted Hindú. His transactions with the rája of Láhór were guided entirely by policy, without reference to religion; and when he placed a Hindú devotee on the throne of Guzerát, his thoughts must have been otherwise directed than to the means of propagating Islám.

It is nowhere asserted that he ever put a Hindú to death except in battle, or in the storm of a fort. His only massacres were among his brother Mussulmans in Persia. Even they were owing to the spirit of the age, not of the individual, and sink into insignificance, if compared with those of Chengíz Khán, who was not a Mussulman, and is eulogized by one of our most liberal historians as a model of philosophical toleration.

Perhaps the most odious trait of his religious wars is given incidentally by a Mahometan author, quoted in Price, who states that such was the multitude of captives brought from

India, that a purchaser could not be found for a slave at four shillings and sevenpence a head.[39]

The Mahometan historians are so far from giving him credit for a blind attachment to the faith, that they charge him with scepticism, and say that he rejected all testimony, and professed his doubts of a future state: and the end of the story, as they relate it, increases its probability; for, as if he felt that he had gone too far, he afterwards announced that the Prophet had appeared to him in a dream, and in one short sentence had removed all his doubts and objections.

It is, however, certain that he was most attentive to the forms of his religion.[40] He always evinced the strongest attachment to the orthodox calif, and rejected all offers from his Egyptian rival.[41] Though he discouraged religious enthusiasts and ascetics, he showed great reverence for men of real sanctity.[42]

Hardly one battle of importance is described in which he did not kneel down in prayer, and implore the blessing of God upon his arms.[43]

Notwithstanding the bloodshed and misery of which he was the occasion, he does not seem to have been cruel. We hear of none of the tragedies and atrocities in his court and family which are so common in those of other despots. No inhuman punishments are recorded; and rebels, even when they are persons who had been pardoned and trusted, never suffer anything worse than imprisonment.

Mahmúd was about the middle size; athletic, and well-proportioned in his limbs, but disfigured with the small-pox to a degree that was a constant source of mortification to him in his youth, until it stimulated him to exertion, from a desire that the bad impression made by his appearance might be effaced by the lustre of his actions.[44]

[39] [Al Utbí says (p. 462) that, after the ninth expedition, the number of slaves was so great that the price of each never exceeded from two to ten dirhems at the utmost.—ED.]

[40] [Al Utbí, however (pp. 438-444), represents him as a zealous upholder of orthodox Muhammadanism in opposition to the heretical sects of the Karmathians, Bátinians, etc.—ED.]

[41] [The Fátimite Khalif Moizz founded Cairo about A.D. 972, and his second successor, the celebrated Hákim, ruled from 996 to 1021. During his reign, the Muhammadan world was kept in a continual ferment.—ED.]

[42] See a letter from Aurangzíb, in the *Asiatic Register* for 1801, p. 92.

[43] A story is told of him in Ferishta and in the "Rauzat us Safá," that puts his zeal for religion in a new light. A citizen of Nahárpúr was brought before him on an accusation of heresy. "O King," said he, "I am rich, but I am no heretic; can you not take my property without injuring my reputation?" The king heard his proposal with great good humour, took the bribe, and gave him a certificate under the royal signet of his perfect orthodoxy.

[44] Ferishta. D'Herbelot. Price.

He seems to have been of a cheerful disposition, and to have lived on easy terms with those around him.

The following well-known story shows the opinion entertained of his severity to military licence, one of the first virtues in a general. One day a peasant threw himself at his feet, and complained that an officer of the army, having conceived a passion for his wife, had forced himself into his house, and driven him out with blows and insults; and that he had renewed the outrage, regardless of the clamours of the husband. Mahmúd directed him to say nothing, but to come again when the officer repeated his visit. On the third day, the peasant presented himself, and Mahmúd took his sword in silence, and wrapping himself in a loose mantle, followed him to his house. He found the guilty couple asleep, and, after extinguishing the lamp, he struck off the head of the adulterer at a blow. He then ordered lights to be brought, and, on looking at the dead man's face, burst into an exclamation of thanksgiving, and called for water, of which he drank a deep draught. Perceiving the astonishment of the peasant, he informed him he had suspected that so bold a criminal could be no other than his own nephew; that he had extinguished the light lest his justice should give way to affection; that he now saw that the offender was a stranger; and, having vowed neither to eat nor drink till he had given redress, he was nearly exhausted with thirst.

Another example is given of his sense of his duty to his people. Soon after the conquest of Irák, a caravan was cut off in the desert to the east of that country, and the mother of one of the merchants who was killed went to Ghazní to complain. Mahmúd urged the impossibility of keeping order in so remote a part of his territories; when the woman boldly answered, "Why, then, do you take countries which you cannot govern, and for the protection of which you must answer in the day of judgment?" Mahmúd was struck with the reproach; and, after satisfying the woman by a liberal present, he took effectual measures for the protection of the caravans.

Mahmúd was, perhaps, the richest king that ever lived. On hearing of the wealth of some former dynasty, who had accumulated jewels enough to fill seven measures, he exclaimed, "Praise be to God, who has given me a hundred measures."

Composition of his court and army.

As all the subsequent dynasties in India spring from the court or neighbourhood of Ghazní, it is to be regretted that we have so few materials for judging of the state of society and manners in both. Things were much changed since the time

of the Arab conquests, and new actors had come on the stage widely different from those who had preceded them. Though many Arabs were still employed, both as soldiers and magistrates, even they were only Arabs by descent, while a great portion of the court and army were Túrks, and the rest, with almost all the people, were Persians.

The Túrks had not come into Ghazní as conquerors. Numbers of Turkish slaves had been brought into the southern countries after the conquest of Transoxiana; and their courage, their habits of obedience, their apparently dependent condition and want of connexion with all around them, recommended them to the confidence of absolute monarchs, and led to their general employment. Some princes formed bodies of *Mamlúk* (*slave*) guards; and some employed individuals in offices of trust; so that they already occupied an important place in what had been the Arab empire, and soon after the death of Mahmúd brought the greater part of Asia under their dominion. Túrks.

The house of Ghazní, though Túrks themselves, were less under the influence of their countrymen than most of their contemporaries. Alptegín was a single slave, and rose to power as governor of Khorásán. He may have had some Mamlúks and other Túrks in his service; but the main body of his army, and all his subjects, were natives of the country round Ghazní. Mahmúd himself was born of a Persian mother,[45] and was in language and manners a Persian; but his increased resources, and the conquest of Transoxiana, would draw more Túrks about him, and their importance in the neighbouring countries would give more weight to their example. The existence of wandering tribes in both nations leads us at first to suppose a resemblance between the Tartars and the Arabs; while the reality would be better shown by a contrast.

From the first mention of the Tartars, in the thirteenth century before Christ, they formed great nations under despotic governments. They fed sheep, on uncultivated but not unfertile plains, and were not exposed to the sufferings and privations which fell to the lot of those who follow camels in the desert. They did not live in towns; and the extent of the dominions of their princes kept them from the anxiety arising from close contact with their external enemies.

They had, therefore, nothing to sharpen their intellect, or to give birth to feelings of independence; and though they were as brave and hardy as the Arabs, they seem to have been made of

[45] From Zábul, the country adjoining to Cábul on the south, beginning from Ghazní, and extending to, perhaps including, Sistán on the west.

grosser materials than that fiery and imaginative people; their wars originated in obedience, not in enthusiasm; and their cruelty arose from insensibility, not bigotry or revenge: among themselves, indeed, they were sociable and good-natured, and by no means much under the influence of the darker passions.

Wherever the Arabs conquered, they left indelible traces of their presence; religion, law, philosophy, and literature, all took a new character from them. Their bad qualities, as well as their good, were copied by their subjects and disciples; and wherever we find a Mussulman, we are sure to see a tinge of the pride, violence, and jealousy, with something of the hospitality and munificence, of the early Arab. The Tartars, on the other hand, have neither founded a religion nor introduced a literature; and, so far from impressing their own stamp on others, they have universally melted into that of the nations among whom they settled: so that, in manners and in outward appearance, there is scarcely a feature left in common between a Tartar of Persia and one of China.

Amidst all these changes of form, there is some peculiarity of genius or temperament, which preserves a sort of national character; and, when improved by the qualities of more refined nations, they exhibit more of the manly and practical turn of Europeans than is found in any other among the nations of the East.

In the present instance, their character took its bias from the Persians, a people very likely to influence all who came into contact with them.

With a good deal of the energy of the Arabs and Tartars, Persians. the Persians combine the suppleness and artifice of the Hindús, and a fund of talents and ingenuity peculiar to themselves; and being a lively and restless people, they have been able (although always depressed by a singularly grievous despotism) to make a figure in the history of the world out of all proportion to their numbers or the resources of their territory.

From the first conquest of their country the Persians must have been employed in all financial and civil business, in which the Arabs were no adepts; and their rapid conversion early opened the way for them to offices of trust and power. Abú Moslem, who placed the 'Abássides on the throne, was a Persian of Isfahán; the celebrated Barmecides were Persians of Balkh; and the nation seems before long to have extended its views to the recovery of its independence. Táhir, though an Arab, was supported by Persians in his rebellion. The Soffá-

rides, the Búyides, and probably the Sámánides,[46] were Persians; and, at the time we are writing of, Mahmúd was the only sovereign not of Persian origin between the Jaxartes and the Euphrates.

Their agreeable manners and refined way of living rendered the Persians models in those respects, even in countries at a distance from their own; and their language, which had been enriched by vast accessions from the Arabic, became, a little before this time, what it still continues, the main channel of polite literature, and, in some degree, of science, through all the Mahometan part of Asia.

Relation of the different nations to the government.

These nations were in various degrees of obedience, and influenced the government in various manners.

The inhabitants of towns and plains (including the Arabs, almost all the Persians, and such of the small bodies of Túrks as had long confined themselves to particular tracts) were entirely submissive to the Sultan. The mountaineers were probably in every stage from entire obedience to nearly personal independence. The Túrkí hordes (as the Seljúks) were separate communities unconnected with the territory they occupied, which sometimes, in the same generation, was on the A'múr and on the Wolga. Their relation to the Sultan depended on the will of their chiefs, and was as fluctuating as might be expected in such circumstances; during the vigorous reign of Mahmúd they seem in general to have been submissive.

The small portion of India possessed by Mahmúd was so recent an acquisition, that the limits of his authority, both in degree and extent, must have been ill defined. I suppose he was powerful in the plains, and had little influence in the hills.

Their shares in the government may be conjectured from the circumstances of the different nations.

Religion and law were Arabian (though modified in the latter department by local customs); and the lawyers and divines would, in many cases, be from the same country.

The Sultan had a body of guards mounted on his own horses, who, we may conclude, were *Mamlúks* (or Túrkí slaves); and separate troops of Tartar horse, from beyond the Oxus, no doubt

[46] The Sámánides are generally reckoned Túrks; but their founder was presented to the Calif Mámún at Merv in Khorásán, and was neither a Túrkí chief nor a slave. The family claimed a Persian ancestor at a time when a descent from Guebres would not have been an object of ambition to men of another race. De Guignes, who exhausts all Tartar tribes, and even adopts single Túrks like the Ghaznevites, lays no claim to the Sámánís. Whether they came from Bokhára or Balkh, the fixed inhabitants of either country are Persians; and their being the first encouragers of Persian literature is another argument for their descent.

formed an important part of his army. A body of 5,000 Arab horse is mentioned on one occasion, and very large bodies of Afghâns and Khiljís are often spoken of; but we may infer, from various circumstances and analogies, that the bulk of his army was recruited promiscuously from all parts of his dominions, either singly or in small bodies, and was placed under officers of his own selection; that the contingents of particular provinces were under their governors; and that, besides the mountaineers enlisted in the ranks, many tumultuary bodies of that class served under their hereditary chiefs. All general commands were certainly held by the king's own officers, who, by their names, seem generally to have been Túrks.

The number of his regular army is said, at a muster six years before his death, to have amounted to 54,000 good horse; a moderate number for so great a state, and probably increased on occasions by temporary levies.

Though there is no mention of Hindús in Mahmúd's army, a numerous body of Hindú cavalry, under Sewand Rai, is stated to have taken part in the troubles at Ghazní, within two months after the Sultan's death; whence it is obvious that he must, during his lifetime, have availed himself of the services of this class of his subjects without considering their religion as an objection.

Though the Túrkí nation were still pagans, most, if not all, those in Mahmúd's army were probably Mahometans. The slaves were of course made Mussulmans as soon as they were purchased, and the free men were likely from imitation to embrace the religion of the country they were in. Some even of the hordes had begun to be converted; but as the Túrks did not, like the Hindús, lay aside their pagan names on conversion, it is not so easy, as in the other cases, to ascertain their religion.[47]

The civil administration must have been entirely conducted by Persians. The two celebrated vizírs, Abúl Abbas and Ahmed Meimendí, were of that nation, and appear to have lived in constant rivalry with the great Túrkí generals. The former of the two, being more a man of business than learning, introduced the practice of writing all public papers in Persian. Ahmed restored Arabic in permanent documents; such, probably, as charters, and those of the class which in Europe would be written in Latin.

[47] Seljúk is said to have been converted; and the fact is proved by the scriptural names of his sons, the contemporaries of Sultán Mahmúd, which were Michael, Israel, Músá (Moses), and according to some Yúnas (Jonas); but his celebrated grandson, though a zealous Mahometan, bore the Tartar name of Tughrul, and his equally famous successor that of Alp Aralán.

It is owing to this circumstance that, although India was never directly conquered by Persia, the language of business, and of writing in general, is all taken from the latter country. The Persian language is also spoken much more generally than French is in Europe. It likewise furnishes a large proportion of the vernacular language of Hindostan, the basis of which is an original Indian dialect.

CHAPTER IV.

OTHER KINGS OF THE HOUSES OF GHAZNÍ AND GHÓR.

SULTÁN MAHMÚD left two sons, one of whom, Mohammed, had, by his gentleness and docility, so ingratiated himself with his father, that he fixed on him for his successor in preference to his more untractable brother, Masaúd. Mohammed was accordingly put in possession, and crowned as soon as Mahmúd was dead; but the commanding temper and headlong courage of Masaúd, together with his personal strength and soldier-like habits, made him more popular, and, in fact, more fit to govern, in the times which were approaching. Accordingly a large body of guards deserted from Mohammed immediately after his accession; and by the time Masaúd arrived from his government of Isfahán, the whole army was ready to throw off its allegiance. Mohammed was seized, blinded, and sent into confinement; and Masaúd ascended the throne within four months after his father's death.

Sultan Mohammed, A.D 1030, A.H. 421.

The situation of the new monarch required all the energy by which he was distinguished; for the power of the Seljúks had already risen to such a height as to threaten his empire with the calamities which they afterwards brought on it.

Sultán Masaúd A.D 1030, A.H. 421 Rise of the Seljuks.

The origin of this family is not distinctly known; and their early history is related in different ways. The most probable account is, that the chief from whom they derived their name held a high station under one of the great Tartar princes; that he incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, and emigrated with his adherents to Jaund, on the left bank of the Jaxartes. His sons were afterwards subject to Sultán Mahmúd; and, by one account, were either induced or compelled by him to move to

the south of the Oxus, and settle in Khorásán.[1] It is, however, more probable that they remained in Transoxiana, under a loose subjection to the Sultan, carrying on wars and incursions on their own account, until the end of his reign, when they began to push their depredations into his immediate territories. They received a check at that time, as has been related, and did not enter Khorásán in force until the reign of Masaúd.

Though individuals of the Túrkí nation had long before made themselves masters of the governments which they served, as the Mamlúk guards at Baghdád, Alptegín at Ghazní, etc.; yet the Seljúks were the first *horde*, in modern times, that obtained possession to the south of the Oxus; and, although the invasions of Chengíz Khán and Tamerlane were afterwards on a greater scale, the Seljúk conquest was raised to equal importance from the fact that the representative of one of its branches still fills the throne of Constantinople.[2]

At the time of Masaúd's accession their inroads into Khorásán began again to be troublesome. They did not, however, seem to require the personal exertions of the new king, who was therefore left at leisure to reduce the province of Mecrán under his authority; and as, within the next three years, he received the submission of the provinces of Mázanderán and Gurgán, then in the hands of a family of unconverted fire-worshippers, he had, before his power began to decline, attained to the sovereignty of all Persia, except the province of Fárs. The rest of his reign was spent in struggles with the Seljúks, who, though they still professed themselves his slaves, defeated his lieutenants and ravaged his dominions. At length he took the field in person, and encountered Tughral Bég, the celebrated Seljúk conqueror, at Zendecán or Dandunáken, near Merv. Masaúd, being deserted on the field by some of his Túrkí followers, was totally and irretrievably defeated, and compelled to fly to Merv. He there assembled the wreck of his army, and returned to Ghazní; but, far from being able to collect such a force as might oppose the Seljúks, he found himself without the means of repressing the disorders which were breaking out round the capital. In these circumstances he determined to withdraw to India, and avail himself of the respite thus obtained to retrieve his affairs. But discipline was now dissolved, and all respect for the king's authority destroyed. Soon after he had crossed the Indus his own guards attempted

Their wars with Masaúd. A.D. 1031. A.H. 422.

A.D. 1034, A.H. 425.

A.D. 1039, A.H. 432.

[1] Amir bin Kaír *Seljúkí* was left by Mahmúd in the command of a garrison in India in A.D. 1021, A.H. 412.

[2] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 190.

to plunder his treasure; and the confusion which followed led to a general mutiny of the army, the deposition of Masaúd, and the restoration of his brother Mohammed to the throne. The blindness of the latter prince rendering him incapable of conducting the government, he transferred the effective administration to his son Ahmed, one of whose first acts was to put the deposed king to death.

Deposition and death of Masaúd.

A.D. 1040, A.H. 432.

Masaúd was more than ten years on the throne, and, notwithstanding the turbulent and disastrous character of his reign, he found time to promote the progress of knowledge, and showed himself a worthy successor of Mahmúd in his patronage of learned men and in the erection of magnificent public buildings.

The defeat which overthrew the government of Masaúd was attended with the most important consequences to India, as it raised the Mussulman province there, from a despised dependency, to one of the most valuable portions of the kingdom; but the events which follow have little interest in Indian history. The revolutions in the government, being like those common to all Asiatic monarchies,[3] fatigue without instructing: the struggles with the Seljúks only affected the western dominions of Ghazní, and those with the Hindús had no permanent effect at all. For the history of the people, Asiatic writers afford no materials. Yet this period must have been one of the most deserving of notice of the whole course of their career. It must have been then that permanent residence in India, and habitual intercourse with the natives, introduced a change into the manners and ways of thinking of the invaders, that the rudiments of a new language were formed, and a foundation laid for the present national character of the Mahometan Indians.[4]

The remaining transactions of the house of Ghazní need not therefore occupy much space. Maudúd the son of Masaúd was at Balkh when his father was murdered. He hastened to the east with his army, defeated and put to death his rivals, and afterwards crushed a rebellion excited by one of his own brothers.

Sultán Maudúd. A.D. 1040, A.H. 432, to A.D. 1049, A.H. 441

[3] [Gibbon has well described the course of every Asiatic dynasty as "one unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy and decay."—ED.].

[4] [The reign of Masaúd can now be studied in the contemporary history of Abú'l Faḍl Baihakí, printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Bengal Asiatic Society. The same collection also contains two other standard authorities for the pre-Moghul period of Indian history, —the *Tabakátí Násirí* of Minhájud dín, which is a succinct narrative to the time of Násir ud dín, —and its continuation by Zíá ud dín Barní which embraces the period from Balban's accession to the sixth year of the reign of Fírúz Sháh. For Baihakí's history, and the *Tabakátí Násirí*, cf. Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. ii., pp. 53 154, 259 283, for Zíá ud dín Barní, *ibid.* vol. iii., pp. 93 268. ED.

At his accession the whole kingdom of Ghazní lay open to the victorious Seljúks, but the attention of those conquerors was not drawn towards the east. They divided their conquests into four minor kingdoms, under the supremacy of Tughral Bég. Abú Alí, who obtained the sovereignty of Herát, Sístán, and Ghór, was left to contend with the Ghaznevites,[5] while Tughral with the main forces of the tribe hastened to the conquest of Western Persia, the capture of Baghdád, and the invasion of the Roman Empire. In these circumstances Maudúd was able to maintain himself in Ghazní and to recover Transoxiana; and being united by marriage with the granddaughter of Tughral Bég, he seemed to be no longer in danger from the hostility of the Seljúks. But

A.D. 1043, A.H. 435. while he pursued his success in the west, the Rája of Delhi took advantage of his absence to overrun the Panjáb. By skilful appeals to their superstition he revived the spirit of the Hindús, took Nagarcót, and laid siege to Láhór. But that last stronghold of the Mussulmans was saved by the bravery of the garrison, who disdained to yield to infidels whom they had so often subdued, and by a report (which proved unfounded) of the approach of Maudúd.

That prince was at the time engaged in the west, where even his family connexion did not prevent new quarrels with the Seljúks, and had no time to visit India till his death.

Sultán Abúl Hasan. A.D. 1049, A.H. 441, to A.D. 1051, A.H. 443. When that event took place the throne was usurped by his brother Abúl Hasan, who made way to it by the murder of his infant nephew, but was himself deposed in two years by his uncle Abúl Rashíd.

The new prince recovered the Panjáb, which had been seized

Sultán Abúl Rashíd. A.D. 1051, A.H. 443, to A.D. 1052, A.H. 444. by one of the Mahometan leaders during the preceding troubles, but he was soon after defeated by a chief named Tughral, who revolted in Sístán. The successful rebel assumed the crown, and put all the princes of the house of Ghazní that fell into his hands to death. He was himself assassinated at the end of forty days, and one of the three descendants of Sabuktegín, who had escaped his cruelty, was raised to the throne.

Sultán Farrukhzád A.D. 1052, A.H. 444, to A.D. 1058, A.H. 450 This prince was successful against the Seljúks, and had a prospect of recovering the lost dominions of his family, till checked by the rising genius of Alp Arslán.[6]

His brother Ibráhím was a professed devotee. He made peace

[5] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 190. [6] [Tughral's nephew and successor.—Ed.]

with the Seljúks by renouncing all claims that interfered with their pretensions, and spent most part of a long reign in practising penmanship and copying Korans. He left forty sons and thirty-six daughters.

Sultán Ibráhím. A.D. 1058, A.H. 450, to A.D. 1089, A.H. 481.[7]

Masaúd the Second was a man of more worth. His generals carried his arms beyond the Ganges, and he himself revised the laws and formed them into a consistent code. During his reign the court resided for some years at Láhór.

Sultán Masaúd II. A.D. 1098, A.H. 492, to A.D. 1114, A.H. 508.

On the death of Masaúd the Second, one of his sons, Arslán, imprisoned his brothers and usurped the throne. The house of Ghazní had by this time formed repeated matrimonial alliances with the Seljúks, and the sister of Sanjar, their sultan, was mother of all the princes. She was incensed at the oppression of so many of her children, and called on Sanjar to support Behrám, who had escaped the fate of his brothers. Sanjar undertook his cause, and placed him on the throne by force of arms.

Sultán Arslán. A.D. 1114, A.H. 508, to A.D. 1118, A.H. 512.

Behrám was a distinguished patron of letters. The famous Persian poet Nizámí resided at his court, and dedicated one of his five great poems to Behrám. But he disgraced the end of a long and prosperous reign by a crime which brought ruin on himself and all his race.

Sultán Behrám. A.D. 1118, A.H. 512, to A.D. 1152, A.H. 547.

The territory of Ghór had been treacherously seized by Maudúd, and had since remained dependent on Ghazní. The reigning prince, Kutb ud dín Súr,[8] was married to the daughter of Sultán Behrám. Some differences, however, arose between these princes; and Behrám, having got his son-in-law into his power, either poisoned him or put him openly to death. The latter is most probable; for Seif ud dín,[9] the brother of the deceased, immediately took up arms to revenge him, and advanced towards Ghazní, whence Behrám was compelled to fly to Kirmán, in the mountains towards the east.[10]

Seif ud dín was so secure in his new possession, that he sent back most of his army to Fírúz Cóh, his usual residence, under his brother Alá ud dín. But, in spite of all en-

Ghazní taken by the Ghorians.

[7] [There was some uncertainty as to whether Ibráhím's reign ended in A.H. 481 or 492, but Mr. Thomas has shown from coins that the latter date is correct. (*Journ. R.A.S.* vol. ix. p. 280.)—ED.]

[8] Called Kootb ood deen Mahomed Ghoory Afghan, in Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 151.

[9] Seif ood deen Soory, Ibid. vol. i. p. 152.

[10] ["Kirmán seems to have been a place of considerable importance in those days, in virtue of its position on the line of communication between Ghazní and the Indus, on the road connecting that city with the modern site of Kohát and Pesháwur, by the Bunguish route and the Kurm river."—Mr. E. Thomas (*Journ. R.A.S.* vol. xvii. p. 207).—ED.]

deavours to render himself popular in Ghazní, he failed to shake the attachment of the inhabitants to the old dynasty: a plot was entered into to invite Behrám to return; and as soon as the snow had cut off the communication with Ghór, that prince advanced against his former capital with an army collected from the unsubdued part of his dominions. Seif ud dín, conscious of his present weakness, was about to withdraw, but was persuaded, by the perfidious promises and entreaties of the people of Ghazní, to try the fate of a battle; and being deserted on the field by the citizens, the small body of his own troops that were with him were overpowered, and he himself was wounded and taken prisoner. Behrám's conduct on this occasion was as inconsistent with his former character as it was repugnant to humanity. He made his prisoner be led round the city with every circumstance of ignominy; and, after exposing him to the shouts and insults of the rabble, put him to death by torture. He also ordered his vazír, a Seiad or descendant of the Prophet, to be impaled.

Recovered by Behrám.

Cruel execution of the King of Ghór.

When the news reached Alá ud dín, he was raised to the highest pitch of rage and indignation, and vowed a bitter revenge on all concerned.

He seems, in his impatience, to have set out with what was thought an inadequate force, and he was met with an offer of peace from Behrám, accompanied by a warning of the certain destruction on which he was rushing. He replied, "that Behrám's threats were as impotent as his arms; that it was no new thing for kings to make war on each other; but that barbarity such as his was unexampled amongst princes."

In the battle which ensued, he appeared at one time to be overpowered by the superior numbers of the Ghaznevites; but his own thirst for vengeance, joined to the bravery and indignation of his countrymen, bore down all opposition, and compelled Behrám to fly, almost alone, from the scene of action.

The injuries, insults, and cruelties heaped on his brother, by the people no less than the prince, would have justified a severe retaliation on Ghazní; but the indiscriminate destruction of so great a capital turns all our sympathy against the author of it, and has fixed a stigma on Alá ud dín from which he will never be free as long as his name is remembered.[11]

Ghazní destroyed by the Ghorians.

[11] He is always called Jehánsúz (Burner of the World), and though otherwise praised, is mentioned by no historian on this occasion without the strongest terms of censure. Even the unprovoked massacres of Chengis and Tamerlane are spoken of with much less disapprobation; a proof, perhaps, of the more civilised character of the earlier period, in which such proceedings excited so much surprise.

This noble city, perhaps at the time the greatest in Asia, was given up for three, and some say seven, days to flame, slaughter, and devastation. Even after the first fury was over, individuals were put to death, and all the Seiads that could be found were sacrificed in expiation of the murder of Seif ud dín's vazír. All the superb monuments of the Ghaznevite kings were demolished, and every trace of them effaced, except the tombs of Mahmúd, Masaúd, and Ibráhím; the two first of whom were spared for their valour, and the last probably for his sanctity. The unfortunate Behrám only lived to witness the calamities he had brought on his country; for, during his flight to India, he sank under fatigue and misfortune, and expired after a reign of thirty-five years.

His son Khusrou continued his retreat to Láhór, where he was received amidst the acclamations of his subjects, who were not displeased to see the seat of government permanently transferred to their city. Sultán Khusrou. House of Ghazní retire to India.

He died (A.D. 1160) after a reign of seven years, and left the wreck of his territory to his son.

Khusrou Malik reigned for twenty-seven lunar years to A.D. 1186, when his last possession shared the fate of the rest, and was occupied by the house of Ghór, as will be hereafter related. The race of Sabuktegín expired with this prince. Sultán Khusrou Malik.

HOUSE OF GHÓR.[1]

Alá ud dín Ghórí.

(THE origin of the house of Ghór has been much discussed: the prevalent and apparently the correct opinion is, that both they and their subjects were Afgháns. Ghór was invaded by the Mussulmans within a few years after the death of Yezdegerd. It is spoken of by Ebn Haukal as only partially converted in the ninth century.[2] The inhabitants, according to the same author, at that time spoke the language of Khorásán.[3] Origin of the house of Ghor

[1] Called in the *Tubakáti Násiri* the house of Shansabáni.

[2] Ouseley's *Ebn Haukal*, pp. 221 and 226; see also p. 212. He there says that all beyond Ghor may be considered as Hindostan, meaning, no doubt, that it was inhabited by infidels.

[3] The Afghans look on the mountains of Ghor as their earliest seat; and I do not know that it has ever been denied that the people of that country in early times were Afghans. The only question relates to the ruling family. An author quoted by professor Dorn (*History of the Afghans*, Annotations, p. 92) says that they were Túrks from Khitá; but it is a bare assertion of one author, for the other quotation in the same place relates to the *successors* of the house of Ghór. All other authors, as far as I can learn,

In the time of Sultan Mahmúd it was held, as has been observed, by a prince whom Ferishta calls Mohammed Soory (or Súr) Afghán. From his time the history is easily brought down to the events last related.)

Whèn Alá ud dín had satiated his fury at Ghazní he returned to Fírúz Cóh, and gave himself up to pleasure, as was his natural propensity.

Conquest of Ghanzi by the Seljúks.

But new troubles awaited him, and the following four years were fertile in revolutions. Sultan Sanjar, then head of the Seljúks, invaded Ghór and Ghazní, and made Alá ud dín prisoner, but soon restored him to liberty, and reinstated him in his dominions.[4]

A.D. 1153, A.H. 548.

Fall of the Seljúks.

Not long after he was himself defeated and made prisoner by the Euzes, a hitherto unknown tribe of Túrks;[5] and a period of little more than one year beheld the downfall of the rival houses of Ghór and Ghazní, which had so long disputed the empire of the East.

The original cause of this calamity was the revolt of Sanjar's governor of Khárizm, who founded the kingdom of that name, afterwards so powerful both in the east and west of Asia. This prince, when pressed by Sanjar, called in the Khitans, a tribe

include them in the Afghán tribe of Súr; though they are all guilty of an inconsistency, in deriving them from Súr and Sám, two sons of Zohák, a fabulous king of Persia, quite unconnected with the Afgháns. The same authors add some extraordinary legends regarding their more recent history. They relate that after the time of Mahmúd, the head of the house of Súr, whose name was Sám, was obliged to desert his country and fly to India, where, though still a sincere Mussulman at heart, he became a servant in a temple of idols. He there amassed a fortune, and was on his return home, when he was shipwrecked and drowned on the coast of Persia. His son Husein Súrí clung to a plank, on which he floated for three days; and although for all that time he had a tiger, which had been also in the wreck, for a companion, yet the animal did not attempt to molest him, and he made his way to a city. He was there thrown into prison; but being at length delivered, he set out for Ghazní. On the road he fell in with a band of robbers, who, glad of so fine a recruit, gave him a horse and arms, and compelled him to join their troop. On the same night they were all seized and brought before the Sultan, who happened to be the pious Ibráhim, and were ordered to be beheaded. Husein, however, told his story; and as his appearance was prepossessing, the Sultan believed him, and ultimately sent him as governor to his native kingdom. From all this we are tempted to infer that some adventurer did gain authority in Ghór, through the Sultans of Ghazní; that he either belonged originally to the tribe, or was adopted into it, perhaps marrying into the chief's family (as is so common with Normans and others in the Highland clans), and afterwards invented the above romantic story, and equally romantic pedigree, to cover his low origin. Professor Dorn, in the annotations above quoted, has collected all that has been written on the house of Ghór as well as on the eight different accounts of the origin of the Afgháns, and has come to very rational conclusions on both questions.

On the house of Ghór, see also many articles in D'Herbelot, De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 181, and Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 161.

[4] End of A.D. 1152. A.H. 547, or the *beginning of the next year*. De Guignes and D'Herbelot make the date A.D. 1149, A.H. 544; but it must have been after the taking of Ghazní, and before Sanjar's captivity, which fixes the date with precision.

[5] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 256.

from the North of China, which had been driven into Transoxiana.

The invasion of the Khitans displaced a portion of the tribe of Euz[6] which had remained in Transoxiana, while the other portion was conquering in Syria and Asia Minor; and these exiles, being forced upon the south, overwhelmed the Seljúks, and for a short time occupied Ghazní. Their migration afterwards took a westerly direction, and the kingdom of Ghazní was left to its former possessors. During these changes Alá ud dín died. His eventful reign had only occupied four years. A.D. 1156. A.H. 551.

Seif ud dín Ghórí.

Not long before the death of Alá ud dín he placed his two nephews, Ghiyás ud dín and Shaháb ud dín, in confinement, probably to secure the succession to his young and inexperienced son. But the first act of that son, Seif ud dín, was to release his cousins and restore them to their governments, a confidence which he never had reason to repent.

His other qualities, both personal and mental, corresponded to this noble trait, and might have insured a happy reign, if among so many virtues he had not inherited the revengeful spirit of his race. One of his chiefs appearing before him decorated with jewels which had belonged to his wife, and of which she had been stripped after his father's defeat by Sanjar, he was so transported by passion at the sight that he immediately put the offender to death with his own hand. Abúl Abbás, the brother of the deceased, suppressed his feelings at the time; but seized an early opportunity, when Seif ud dín was engaged with a body of the Euz, and thrust his lance through the sultan's body in the midst of the fight. Seif ud dín had reigned little more than a year, and was succeeded by the elder of his cousins.[7]

Ghiyás ud dín Ghórí.

Immediately on his accession, Ghiyás ud dín associated his brother, Mohammed Shaháb ud dín, in the government. He retained the sovereignty during his whole life, but A.D. 1157. A.H. 552

[6] The Euz tribe are Turks, who were long settled in Kipchák. They are, according to De Guignes, the ancestors of the Turkmans (vol. i. part ii. pp. 510, 522, vol. ii. p. 190). They are also called Uzes, Gus, Gozz, Gozi, and Gazi; but in Ferghána, where they are the ruling tribe, they are still called Euz. (pronounced like the English verb "use.")

[7] D'Herbelot. Ferishta. Abstract of Mussulman histories in Dorn's *Afghans*.

seems to have left the conduct of military operations almost entirely to Shaháb ud dín, on whom, for some years before Ghiyás ud dín's death, the active duties of the government seem in a great measure to have devolved.

The harmony in which these brothers lived is not the only proof that they retained the family attachment which prevailed among their predecessors. Their uncle (who ruled the dependent principality of Bámián, extending along the Upper Oxus from the east of Balkh) having attempted to seize the throne on the death of Seif ud dín, was defeated in battle, and so surrounded that his destruction seemed inevitable; when his nephews threw themselves from their horses, ran to hold his stirrup, and treated him with such profound respect, that, although he at first suspected that they were mocking his misfortune, they at last succeeded in soothing his feelings and restored him to his principality. It continued in his immediate family for three generations, until it fell, with the rest of the dominions of Ghór, on the conquest by the King of Khárizm.[8]

All these transactions took place in less than five years from the fall of Ghazní, and the two brothers began now to turn to foreign conquest with the vigour of a new dynasty.

They took advantage of the decline of the Seljúks to reduce the eastern part of Khorásán; Ghiyás ud dín was personally engaged in that enterprise, and also in the recovery of Ghazní;[9] and from that time forward he divided his residence between Fírúz Cóh, Ghazní, and Herát. At the last city he built the great mosque so much spoken of for its magnificence in those and later ages.

Foundation of the Mahometan empire in India.

Shaháb ud dín's attention was, for a long time, almost entirely turned to India; and he may be considered the founder of the empire in that country which has lasted till our time.

First expedition of Shaháb ud dín. A.D. 1176, A.H. 572.

He did not begin till A.D. 1176, A.H. 572, when he took Uch, at the junction of the rivers of the Panjáb with the Indus. Two years afterwards he led an expedition to Guzerát, in which he was defeated, and compelled to retreat with as many disasters as Mahmúd, and without the consolation of success.

A.D. 1178, A.H. 574.

In two expeditions to Láhór he broke the strength of Khusrou Malik, the last of the Ghaznevites, and compelled him to give up his son as a hostage.

[8] D'Herbelot. Dorn's Annotations.

[9] [Ghazni had been reoccupied by the adherents of Khusrou Malik, but was taken by Ghiyás ud dín in A.H. 567; he gave the government to his brother (*Ferishta*).—Ed.]

His next expedition was to Sind, which he overran to the sea-shore. After his return he again engaged in hostilities with Khusrou Malik, who, taking courage from despair, made an alliance with the Gakkars, captured one of Shaháb ud dín's strongest forts, and obliged him to call in the aid of stratagem for a purpose which force seemed insufficient to accomplish. He affected alarms from the west, assembled his army as if for operations in Khorásán, and professing an anxious desire to make peace with Khusrou Malik, released his son, who had been hitherto kept as a hostage. Khusrou Malik, entirely thrown off his guard by these appearances, quitted Láhór and set out to meet his son, so unexpectedly restored to him; when Shaháb ud dín put himself at the head of a strong body of chosen cavalry, and, marching with celerity and secrecy through unfrequented routes, suddenly interposed himself between Khusrou Malik and his capital; and surrounding his camp by night, made him prisoner, and soon after occupied Láhór, which no longer offered resistance. Khusrou and his family were sent to Ghiyás ud dín and imprisoned in a castle in Ghirjistán, where many years after they were put to death by one or other of the contending parties during the war with the King of Khárizm.

A.D. 1178, A.H. 575, and A.D. 1179, A.H. 576.

A.D. 1177, A.H. 581.

Expulsion of the house of Ghazni from the Panjáb.

A.D. 1184, A.H. 580.

A.D. 1186, A.H. 582.

Shaháb ud dín had now no Mahometan rival left, and the contest between him and the Hindús seemed at first sight very unequal. As his army was drawn from all the warlike provinces between the Indus and Oxus, and was accustomed to contend with the Seljúks and the northern hordes of Tartars, we should not expect it to meet much resistance from a people naturally gentle and inoffensive, broken into small states, and forced into war without any hopes of gain or aggrandizement; yet none of the Hindú principalities fell without a severe struggle, and some were never entirely subdued, but still remain substantive states after the Mussulman empire has gone to ruin.

Wars with the Hindús.

This unexpected opposition was chiefly owing to the peculiar character of the Rájpúts, arising from their situation as the military class in the original Hindú system. The other classes, though kept together as *casts* by community of religious rites, were mixed up in civil society, and were under no chiefs except the ordinary magistrates of the country. But the Rájpúts were born soldiers; each division had its hereditary leader, and each formed a separate community, like clans in

The Rajpúts.

other countries, the members of which were bound by many ties to their chiefs and to each other. The rules of cast still subsisted, and tended to render more powerful the connexion just described.

As the chiefs of those clans stood in the same relation to the rája as their own retainers did to them, the king, nobility, and soldiery all made one body, united by the strongest feelings of kindred and military devotion. The sort of feudal system that prevailed among the Rájpúts [10] gave additional stability to this attachment, and all together produced the pride of birth, the high spirit, and the romantic notions so striking in the military class of that period. Their enthusiasm was kept up by the songs of their bards, and inflamed by frequent contests for glory or for love. They treated women with a respect unusual in the East; and were guided, even towards their enemies, by rules of honour, which it was disgraceful to violate. But, although they had so many of the characteristics of chivalry, they had not the high-strained sentiments and artificial refinements of our knights, and were more in the spirit of Homer's heroes than of Spenser's or Ariosto's. If to these qualities we add a very strong disposition to indolence (which may have existed formerly, though not likely to figure in history), and make allowances for the effects of a long period of depression, we have the character of the Rájpúts of the present day, who bear much the same resemblance to their ancestors as those did to the warriors of the "Mahá Bhárata." [11]

With all the noble qualities of the early Rájpúts was mixed a simplicity derived from their want of intercourse with other nations, which rendered them inferior in practical ability, and even in military efficiency, to men actuated by much less elevated sentiments than theirs.

Among the effects of the division into clans, one was, that although the Rájpúts are anything but a migratory people, yet, when they have been compelled by external force to leave their seats, they have often moved in a body like a Tartar horde; and when they occupied new lands, they distributed them in the same proportions as their former ones, and remained without any alteration but that of place.

Shortly before the time of Shaháb ud dín, the four greatest kingdoms in India were— Delhi, then held by the clan of

[10] See page 83.

[11] Their modern history is full of instances of loyalty and military honour. Their last great war was between the Rájas of Jeipúr and Jodpúr for the hand of a princess of Oudipúr. (See Tod's *Rájasthán*, and other books and official publications.)

Tomára; Ajmír, by that of Chouhán; Canouj, by the Ráthórs; and Guzerát, by the Baghilas, who had supplanted the Chalúkas: but the Tomára chief, dying without male issue, adopted his grandson Prithwí, rája of Ajmír, and united the Tomáras and Chouháns under one head.

As the rája of Canouj was also grandson of the Tomára chief by another daughter, he was mortally offended at the preference shown to his cousin; and the wars and jealousies to which this rivalship gave rise contributed greatly to Shaháb ud dín's success in his designs on India.

His first attack was on Prithwí Rája, king of Ajmír and Delhi. The armies met at Tirourí, between Tanésar and Carnál, on the great plain where most of the contests for the possession of India have been decided. The Mussulman mode of fighting was to charge with bodies of cavalry in succession, who either withdrew after discharging their arrows, or pressed their advantage, as circumstances might suggest. The Hindús, on the other hand, endeavoured to outflank their enemy, and close upon him on both sides, while he was busy with his attack on their centre. Their tactics were completely successful on this occasion: while Shaháb ud dín was engaged in the centre of his army, he learned that both his wings had given way, and soon found himself surrounded, along with such of his adherents as had followed his example in refusing to quit the field. In this situation he defended himself with desperate courage. He charged into the thickest of the enemy, and had reached the viceroy of Delhi, brother to the rája, and wounded him in the mouth with his lance, when he himself received a wound; and he would have fallen from his horse from loss of blood, had not one of his followers leapt up behind him, and supported him until he had extricated him from the conflict, and carried him to a place of safety.

A.D. 1191, A.H. 587.

Defeat of Shaháb ud dín.

The rout, however, was complete. The Mahometans were pursued for forty miles; and Shaháb ud dín, after collecting the wreck of his army at Láhór, returned, himself, to the other side of the Indus. He first visited his brother at Ghór, or Fírúz Cóh, and then remained settled at Ghazní, where he seemed to forget his misfortunes in pleasure and festivity. But, in spite of appearances, his disgrace still rankled in his bosom, and, as he himself told an aged counsellor, "he never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety."[12]

[12] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 173.

Return of Shahâb ud dín to India.

A.D. 1193, A.H. 589.

At length, having recruited an army, composed of Túrks, Tájiks,[13] and Afgháns, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold, he again began his march towards India.[14]

Prithwí Rája again met him with a vast army, swelled by numerous allies who were attracted by his former success. He sent a haughty message to Shahâb ud dín, with a view to deter him from advancing. The Mussulman general replied in moderate terms, and spoke of referring to his brother for orders; but when the Hindús, in blind reliance on their numbers, had encamped close to his army, he crossed the brook which lay between them about daybreak, and fell upon them by surprise, before they had any suspicion that he was in motion. But notwithstanding the confusion which ensued, their camp was of such extent, that part of their troops had time to form, and afford protection to the rest, who afterwards drew up in their rear; and order being at length restored, they advanced in four lines to meet their opponents. Shahâb ud dín, having failed in his original design, now gave orders for a retreat, and continued to retire, keeping up a running fight, until he had drawn his enemies out of their ranks, while he was careful to preserve his own. As soon as he saw them in disorder, he charged them at the head of 12,000 chosen horse in steel armour; and "this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins."[15]

The viceroy of Delhi and many other chiefs were slain on the field; and Prithwí Rája, being taken in the pursuit, was put to death in cold blood.

Conquest of Ajmír.

Shahâb ud dín was more sanguinary than Mahmúd. When he took Ajmír, soon after this battle, he put some thousands of the inhabitants, who opposed him, to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. After this barbarous execution he made over the country to a relation (some say a natural son) of Prithwí Rája, under an engagement for a heavy tribute.

He then returned to Ghazní, leaving his former slave Kutb ud dín Eibak, who was now rising into notice, and who afterwards mounted the throne, as his representative in India. Kutb ud dín followed up his successes with ability, and took possession

[13] [Tájik is a corruption of the Arabic *tâzi*, and is applied to the Turks who live in towns, as distinguished from those who retain their nomad life.—Ed.]

[14] This description is from Ferishta; he fixes the number at 120,000 horse.

[15] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 177.

of Delhi, and of Cóel, between the Jumna and the Ganges. and of Delhi.

Next year Shaháb ud dín returned to India, defeated Jei Chandra, the Ráhtór rája of Canouj, in a battle on the Jumna, north of Etáwa, and took Canouj and Benáres. This victory destroyed one of the greatest Indian monarchies, extended the Mussulman dominions into Behár, and opened the way, which was soon followed up, into Bengal. Notwithstanding its importance, the circumstances of the battle, the taking of the towns, the breaking of idols, and the acquisition of treasures, present so little novelty, that we are left at leisure to notice the capture of a white elephant, and the incident of the body of the rája being recognised by his false teeth—a circumstance which throws some light on the state of manners. An event of great consequence followed these victories, which was the retreat of the greater part of the Ráhtór clan from Canouj to Márwár, where they founded a principality, now in alliance with the British Government. A.D. 1194, A.H. 591. Capture of Canouj.

Shaháb ud dín having returned to Ghazní, Kutb ud dín had to defend the new rája of Ajmír against a pretender; and, after saving his government, he proceeded to Guzerát, and ravaged that rich province.

Next year Shaháb ud dín came back to India, took Biána, west of Agra, and laid siege to the strong fort of Gwáliór, in Bundélcand. It is probable that he was recalled by some attack or alarm in Khorásán, for he left the conduct of the siege of Gwáliór to his generals, and returned, without having performed anything of consequence, to Ghazní. A.D 1195, A.H. 592.

Gwáliór held out for a long time; and when it was taken, Kutb ud dín (who was still governor in India) was obliged to march again to Ajmír. The rája set up by the Mussulmans had been a second time disturbed by his rivals, and protected by Kutb ud dín; and he was now exposed to a formidable attack from the rájas of Guzerát and Nagór, supported by the Mérs, a numerous hill-tribe near Ajmír. Kutb ud dín was overpowered on this occasion, and had difficulty in making his way, covered with wounds, to Ajmír, where he remained shut up within the walls. Reinforcements, however, were speedily sent from Ghazní; the siege was raised, and, by the time he was sufficiently recovered to move, he was in a condition to retaliate on his late conquerors. He set out for Guzerát, by the way of Pálí, Nádól, and Siróhí. In the last-named district he found two great feuda-

tories of Guzerát, strongly posted on the mountain of A'bú, and in too great force to be left in his rear. He therefore entered the hills, reached and carried their position, and having dispersed their army, proceeded to Anhalwára. He took and garrisoned that capital, and, after ravaging the province, returned again to Delhi. Next year he took Cálinjer and Cálpí, forts in Bundélcand, and appears likewise to have gone against Badáún, in what is now called Róhilcand.

Conquest of Oudh, Behár, and Bengal.

The Ganges, indeed, had long ceased to be an obstacle; and, at this very period, Kutb ud dín was waited on by Mohammed Bakhtiár Khiljí,[16] who had already conquered part of Oudh and North Behár; and who, on his return to his command, reduced the rest of Behár and Bengal, taking Gour or Laknoutí, the capital of the latter province.[17]

During these transactions Shaháb ud dín was engaged in contests with the King of Khárizm (who had subverted the government of the Seljúks in Persia, and succeeded to their place as competitors with the Ghórís for the ascendancy in Central Asia). He was between Tús and Serakhs, in Khorásán, when he heard of his brother's death, and returned to Ghazní to take possession of the throne.

A.D. 1202, A.H. 599.

Ghiyás ud dín appears to have resumed his activity before his death, and to have been present in person in all the campaigns in Khorásán, except this last.[18]

Shaháb ud dín (or Mohammed) Ghórí.

Unsuccessful in wars with Khárizm.

As soon as he had arranged his internal government, Shaháb ud dín assembled an army, and proceeded to make a decisive attack on Khárizm. He gained a great victory over the king of that country,[19] besieged him in his capital, and soon reduced him to such straits as to constrain him to sue for aid to the Khitan Tartars. By their assistance he so completely changed the face of affairs, that Shaháb ud dín was obliged to burn his baggage and attempt to draw off towards his own territory. He was so hard pressed on his retreat that he could not avoid an action, and received such a defeat that it was with difficulty he made his way to Andkhó, halfway

A.D. 1203, A.H. 600

[16] Ferishta, vol. i. p. 198.

[17] Introduction to Bird's *History of Guzerát*, p. 85.

[18] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 265. Ferishta, vol. i. p. 186. D'Herbelot, article "Ghiathudin." This account is inconsistent with Ferishta (p. 180), who represents Ghiyás ud dín as merely retaining the name of king during the last years of his life; but is supported by D'Herbelot and De Guignes, who quote respectable Persian histories, and are better authority on western affairs than Ferishta.

[19] De Guignes, vol. ii. p. 265.

between Balkh and Herát. At Andkhó he made a stand, and only surrendered on condition of being allowed to depart on payment of a sum of money.

The destruction of Shaháb ud dín's army, joined as it was, at first, to a report of his death, was a signal for general confusion in a great part of his dominions. Ghazní shut her gates against him, though the governor, Táj ud dín Eldóz,[20] was one of his favourite slaves. Another of his chiefs went straight from the field of battle to Multán, and presenting himself with a feigned commission from the king, occupied the place on his own behalf. The wild tribe of the Gakkars issued from their mountains in the north of the Panjáb, took Láhór, and filled the whole province with havoc and devastation. Kutb ud dín remained faithful in India, as did Herát and other western countries, where the governments were held by three nephews of the king. Shaháb ud dín collected some adherents, and first recovered Multán. He then received the submission of Ghazní, and pardoned Eldóz. He afterwards made an attack on the Panjáb, in concert with Kutb ud dín, and not only recovered that country, but induced the Gakkars to embrace the Mahometan religion, which was the easier done, as they had a very little notion of any other. Ferishta mentions that the infidels in the hills east of Ghazní were also converted at this period.[21] Rebellions in India.

Internal tranquillity being restored, Shaháb ud dín set off on his return to his western provinces, where he had ordered a large army to be collected for another expedition to Khárizm. He had only reached the Indus, when, having ordered his tent to be pitched close to the river, that he might enjoy the freshness of the air off the water, his unguarded situation was observed by a band of Gakkars, who had lost relations in the late war, and were watching an opportunity of revenge. At midnight, when the rest of the camp was quiet, they swam the river to the spot where the king's tent was pitched, and, entering unopposed, despatched him with numerous wounds. Subdued. Death of Shaháb ud dín.

This event took place on the 2nd of Shábán, 602 of the Hijra, or March 14th, 1206. His body was conveyed, in mournful pomp, to Ghazní, accompanied by his vazír and all his principal nobles. It was met by Eldóz, who unbuckled his A.D. 1206, A.H. 602

[20] [Or more probably Yaldúz, as it is spelt on the coins. The printed text of Ferishta has 'Ildagaz. ED.]

[21] It is not improbable that the people of the inaccessible regions, now inhabited by the Jats and Turks, may not have been converted till this late period.

armour, threw dust on his head, and gave every sign of affliction for the death of his benefactor.

He left prodigious treasures, and was succeeded by his nephew Mahmúd.

The conquests of Shaháb ud dín in India far surpassed those of Sultan Mahmúd, and might have surpassed them in Persia, if the times had been as favourable. Yet, though an enterprising soldier, he had neither the prudence nor the general talents of that great prince, who was a *discoverer* as well as a conqueror, and whose attention was as much devoted to letters as to arms. Accordingly, the name of Mahmúd is still one of the most celebrated in Asia, while that of Shaháb ud dín is scarcely known beyond the countries over which he ruled.

Extent of his conquests in India.

At his death, Shaháb ud dín held, in different degrees of subjection, the whole of Hindostan Proper,[22] except Málwa and some contiguous districts. Sind and Bengal were either entirely subdued, or in rapid course of reduction. On Guzerát he had no hold, except what is implied in the possession of the capital. Much of Hindostan was immediately under his officers, and the rest under dependent or at least tributary princes. The desert and some of the mountains were left independent from neglect.

Mahmúd Ghórí.

A.D 1206, A.H 602.

Though Mahmúd was proclaimed throughout the whole of his uncle's dominions, and his sovereignty acknowledged by all the officers under it, yet the kingdom broke, at once, into separate states, which were scarcely held together, even in name, by his general supremacy.

Dissolution of the Ghórian empire.

Shaháb ud dín, having no son, was fond of bringing up Turkish slaves, and many of his training rose to great eminence. Three of these were in possession of extensive govern-

[22] [Professor Wilson (*Ariana Ant.*, p. 441) remarks that the extant coins "prove that the extension of Muhammadan conquest in India was gradual and slow, and that it was the policy of the first conquerors, the princes of Ghór, to conciliate the prejudices of their Indian subjects, when, in contradiction to the precepts of Islám and still more to its spirit, they preserved the symbols of the Hindú religion upon their coins." Thus we find the bull of Síva and the mounted cavalier (the types on the coins of the Rájpút princes) continued by the house of Ghór and the Slave Kings. At first the letters are Nágarí, then Arabic letters are adopted with one or other of the Indian types, until, at length, the purely Mussulman type becomes universal. The last specimen of the mixed type belongs to Balban's reign. "With the change of dynasty to that of Khilji, the conduct of the Muhammadan princes towards the Hindús became more intolerant and cruel." Mr. Thomas, however (*Journ. R. A. S.*, vol. ix.), thinks that it was the usual course, in the Muhammadan conquests in Central Asia, to retain the current types of coinage, as far as possible, unaltered. —Ed.]

ments at the time of his death—Kutb ud dín, in India; Eldóz, at Ghazní; and Násir ud dín Kubácha in Multán and Sind. Each of these three became really independent on their master's death; and as the subordinate principality of Bámián was held by a separate branch of his own family, Mahmúd's actual possession was confined to Ghór, with Herát Sístán, and the east of Khorásán. His capital was at Fírúz Cóh.

Mahmúd, on his accession, sent the title of king and the insignia of royalty to Kutb ud dín, to be held under him. He does not appear to have attempted to disturb Eldóz in his possession (although two sons of the prince of Bámián asserted the rights of their family, and for a time expelled Eldóz from Ghazní); but on the death of Mahmúd, which happened within five or six[23] years, there was a general civil war throughout all his dominions west of the Indus, and those countries had not recovered their tranquillity when they were all subdued by the kings of Khárizm.

Ghazní was taken by those conquerors in A.D. 1215, and Fírúz Cóh at an earlier period. Many accounts, indeed, represent Mahmud as having been killed on that occasion.[24]

[23] A.D. 1208, A.H. 605 (De Guignes). A.D. 1210, A.H. 607 (Dorn). A.D. 1212, A.H. 609 (D'Herbelot).

[24] For particulars of Mahmúd's reign, and the subsequent confusions, see De Guignes (*Kharizme*), D'Herbelot (art. *Mahmoud*), and the history of the house of Ghór, in the Annotations on Professor Dorn's *History of the Afghâns*.

The Ghóris appear to have recovered from this temporary extinction, for in the beginning of the fourteenth century, less than 100 years after the death of Chengiz Khán, we find Mohammed Sám Ghóri defending Herát against one of the successors of that conqueror (D'Ohsson, vol. iv. p. 515, &c.); and at a later period, Tamerlane, in his Memoirs, mentions Ghiyás ud dín, son of Aáz, (or Mjizz) ud dín, as ruler of Khorásán, Ghór, and Ghirjistán; and in many places calls him and his father *Ghóris*. (*Malfúzát Timúri*, p. 145.) Princes of the same dynasty are mentioned in Price, vol. ii., who calls their family Kirit, or Gueret; and all the names mentioned on those occasions are found in a list of Kurt kings given by Professor Dorn (*Annotations*, p. 92), from Jámabi, who says they are asserted to be of the Súr Alghóri.

BOOK VI.

KINGS OF DELHI TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR, A.D. 1206 TO 1526.

CHAPTER I.

SLAVE KINGS.

Kutb ud dín Eibak.

From the death of Shaháb ud dín, India became an independent kingdom; and after the disturbance occasioned by the dissolution of his empire had subsided, it ceased to have any connexion with the countries beyond the Indus.

Independence of India.

The life of Kutb ud dín, the founder of this new monarchy, affords a specimen of the history of the Túrkí slaves who rose to sovereignty throughout Asia, and who for a long time furnished a succession of rulers to India.

Progress of a Túrkí slave.

He was brought to Níshápúr in his infancy, and purchased by a wealthy person, who had him instructed in Persian and Arabic. On his death, Kutb was sold to a merchant, who presented him to Shaháb ud dín. He soon acquired his master's favour, and was in command of a body of horse, when, in some border warfare with the Khárizmians, he was taken prisoner on an occasion in which his gallantry had been conspicuous. Being afterwards recaptured, he was received with an increase of favour; and by his subsequent good conduct stood so high in his sovereign's estimation, that, after the defeat of the Rája of Ajmír, he was left in charge of all the new conquests.

His master's subsequent successes were greatly promoted, as has been shown, by Kutb ud dín's ability in his new station; and in process of time the conduct of affairs in Hindostan was almost entirely confided to his discretion. A natural manliness of character inherent in the Túrks gave to newly-raised officers of that nation an estimation among the other great men which seldom falls to the lot of the creatures of princes; and Kutb ud dín, instead of being an object of jealousy, seems to have been

generally beloved for the frankness and generosity of his disposition.

Besides the friendships formed with the great, he strengthened himself by family connexions with persons circumstanced like himself. He married the daughter of Eldóz; he gave his sister in marriage to Násir ud dín Kubácha; and he afterwards bestowed his daughter on Altamish, another rising slave, who afterwards succeeded to his throne.

Násir ud dín from the first acknowledged his superiority, and held Sind of him, under the supremacy of Mahmúd of Ghór; but Eldóz, with whom ambition had more force than family ties, affected to treat India as if it were still a dependency of Ghazní, set out with an army to enforce his claim, and almost immediately gained possession of Láhór. He was soon after driven out by Kutb ud dín, who followed up his success by the capture of Ghazní. After being some time in possession, he was expelled in his turn by Eldóz, and spent the rest of his life in the government of his own dominions, where he left a permanent reputation as a just and virtuous ruler. He had only been four years on the throne, but his administration had been known for the twenty years that he officiated as the representative of Shaháb ud dín.

A.D. 1205, A.H. 603.

A.D. 1210, A.H. 607.

A'rám.

A'rám, his son, succeeded him. He showed no capacity, and was dethroned within a twelvemonth by his brother-in-law, Altamish.

Shams ud dín Altamish.

It is related of Altamish, probably after his elevation, that he was of a noble family, but was sold, like Joseph, by his envious brothers. Sultán Shaháb ud dín, unwilling to pay the price demanded for him, allowed Kutb ud dín as a favour to purchase him for 50,000 pieces of silver. He passed through different stations, and was governor of Behár at the time of his revolt. He was invited to the throne by a party; but a numerous body of Túrkí chiefs were opposed to him, and he did not gain possession without a battle.

A.D. 1211, A.H. 607

Eldóz, in his assumed superiority, gave him investiture unasked; but being soon after driven out of Ghazní by the King of Khárizm, he made an attempt to establish himself in India. He penetrated to Tanésar, and had even made a party in Altamish's court, when he was defeated, was taken prisoner, and ended his days in confinement.

A.D. 1215, A.H. 612.

Altamish next marched against his wife's uncle, Násir ud dín Kubácha, who had asserted his independence in Sind; but, although he displayed great activity and personal gallantry, he did not succeed in establishing his sovereignty.[1]

A.D. 1217, A.H. 614.

At this time it seemed far from improbable that the Khárizmians would pursue their conquests into India, and Násir ud dín had already been engaged with bodies of their troops which had approached the Indus.

But all these alarms were suspended by an event which changed the whole face of Asia. Chengíz Khán, originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having subdued the three nations of Tartary, and swelled his bands with their united hordes, burst on the Mahometan kingdoms with an army that never was equalled in numbers either before or since.

Conquests of the Moguls under Chengiz Khan.

This irruption of the Moguls was the greatest calamity that has fallen on mankind since the deluge. They had no religion to teach, and no seeds of improvement to sow, nor did they offer an alternative of conversion or tribute; their only object was to slaughter and destroy, and the only trace they left was in the devastation of every country which they visited. The storm first fell on the Sultan of Khárizm, who had drawn it on himself by the murder of Chengíz's ambassadors. His armies were defeated, his cities demolished, his country laid waste, and a great part of his subjects either massacred or reduced to slavery. He himself died of a broken heart, in an inaccessible retreat on an island in the Caspian, and his son and successor, Jelál ud dín, was driven into the eastern extremity of his dominions.

This prince defended his country gallantly to the last. He gained a victory near Candahár, and another still farther to the east; but these successes did not even retard his ruin. His last battle was on the Indus, where, after displaying the most obstinate valour, and witnessing the total destruction of his army, he swam the river with seven followers amidst a shower of arrows from his enemies, whom he left in admiration of his intrepidity.[2]

A.D. 1221, A.H. 618.

In the course of the night and next day he was joined by 120 of his soldiers, and before many days were passed, he had assembled 4,000 horse. The Moguls threatening

King of Khárizm pursued into India.

[1] Ferishta, in his *History of Sind*, vol. ii. p. 414, makes only one expedition; in his *General History*, vol. i. p. 208, he makes two; but in the second there is a confusion regarding the Khiljis which throws the whole into doubt.

[2] De Guignes, vol. iii. pp. 58, 59. D'Herbelot. Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 415.

to cross the Indus,[3] he fled towards Delhi, and applied to Altamish for assistance, or at least for an asylum. Altamish sent a courteous answer, but was too prudent to draw on himself the resentment of the Moguls; Jelál ud dín, left to his own resources, formed an alliance with the Gakkars, drew together an army by means of plunder, and at length attacked Násir ud dín Kubácha, and forced him to take refuge in Multán. After this he kept no measures with any one: he ravaged the country on the Indus, invaded and conquered Sind, and would, perhaps, have maintained himself in the possession of it, if some hopes in Persia had not induced him to pass into Kirmán.

Returns to Persia. A.D. 1223, A.H. 620.

Finding the Mogul armies withdrawn from Persia, he again established his power in that country, opposed them with vigour in a new invasion, and was killed at last in Mesopotamia,[4] ten years after his passage of the Indus.[5]

During his abode in Sind, Ferishta relates that a Mogul army[6] came in pursuit of him, laid siege to Multán, and, being repelled by Násir ud dín, continued their march to Sind, which Jelál ud dín had quitted. They conducted themselves with their usual barbarity throughout; and finding provisions scarce in their camp before they departed, they put to death 10,000 Indian prisoners, when they would have been equally relieved by setting them free.

After he was delivered from this succession of enemies, Násir ud dín was again invaded by Altamish, who this time was more successful than before. Násir ud dín was constrained to retreat to Bakkar; and on attempting, afterwards, to continue his course to Sind, he was drowned with all his family, in a sudden squall on

[3] [India thus just escaped the storm of Moghul barbarism, which laid waste Central and Western Asia. Chengiz Khán's empire was divided at his death, A.H. 624, among his four sons; Júji (or rather *his* son Bátú, at his father's untimely death) had Kipchák, i.e., the country north of the Aral and Caspian to the Black Sea; Chaghatái Khán had the country to the east of Kipchák, i.e., Independent Tartary north of the Tibet mountains and Hindú Kush; Octái Khán had the original country of the Moghuls, and fixed his seat at Karakorum, and this branch was at first acknowledged as the head of the empire; Túlí Khán took China. In Persia the descendants of Húlákú Khán succeeded in establishing a fifth dynasty. The kingdom of Chaghatái was at last divided into Moghulistán and Transoxiana; Timúr crushed the rebellious Amírs of the latter dynasty, then in its extreme decline; and after affecting to be only minister to the descendant of Chaghatái, himself seized the throne in A.D. 1370. See Erskine's *Baber and Humáyun*, vol. i.—ED.]

[4] [His army was dissolved and some of his Turkmáns engaged under the Seljuk Sultán of Iconium; and among these were the obscure fathers of the Ottoman line. Othman seized Nicomedia in 1299. Bajazet was his great-grandson, and *his* great-grandson was Mohammad II., who took Constantinople. See Gibbon, ch. lxiv.—ED.]

[5] D'Herbelot, art. *Gelaleddin*.

[6] Ferishta says, under Chaghatái Khán in person, but—probably a detachment.

A.D. 1225, A.H. 622. the Indus, and the whole of the territory subject to him submitted to the victor.

The country to the south of Tatta seems to have maintained its independence from the time of Mohammed Cásim to that under discussion. It may perhaps have acknowledged the superiority of some of the intermediate dynasties during the interval, but the internal government was never out of the hands of the Súmera Rájpúts.

In the same year with this expedition to Sind, Altamish marched against Bakhtiár Khiljí, who looked on Behár and Bengal as his own conquest, and though he professed obedience to Kutb ud dín (to whose daughter he was married), openly disclaimed all dependence on his successor. Altamish was successful in this undertaking; he deprived Bakhtiár of Behár (the government of which he conferred on his own son), and obliged him to hold Bengal under the crown of Delhi. Bakhtiár made a subsequent attempt to retrieve his losses, was defeated by the prince who governed Behár, and lost his life in the conflict.

Altamish was now occupied for upwards of six years in reducing the part of Hindostan which had remained independent. He began by taking Rintambór, which, though so much in the line of former conquests, had been protected by its mountainous situation. He next took Mandú, a town of great extent and natural strength in Málwa; Gwáliór, which had revolted, was next recovered; Bhílsa was likewise taken; and the occupation of the ancient capital Ujein, with the destruction of its celebrated temple, completed the conquest of Málwa.

A.D. 1226, A.H. 623, to A.D. 1232, A.H. 630

All Hindostan, except some insulated portions, now acknowledged the government of Delhi; but the obedience of the different portions was in different degrees, from entire subjection to very imperfect dependence: and in this state, with various fluctuations, it remained till the end of the Mogul empire. In a succession of strong reigns the subject country would greatly exceed the rest, and the princes, who retained the internal government of their territories, would be quite submissive and obedient in general politics: but two or three weak rulers would again throw all into confusion; new princes would start up, and the old ones would become unruly, till the next vigorous monarch had almost to begin the conquest anew.

State of Hindostan.

Death of Altamish. After these victories Altamish returned to Delhi,

and died in April, 1236, as he was about to set out on a journey to Multán. A.D. 1236, A.H. 633, Shaban 2).

During the course of his reign he received investiture from the Calif of Baghdád, the most authoritative recognition of a new government that could take place among Mussulmans.

His vazír was a man of great eminence, and had been long in one of the highest employments under the Calif. The author of the "Jámi ul Hikáyát," a very popular collection of historical anecdotes in Persian, resided at his court.

The beautiful column called the Kutb, or Cútab Mínár, near Delhi, was completed in the reign of Altamish. It is in the form of a minaret, with galleries; the shaft is fluted in a manner peculiar to itself, and ornamented with the richest effect. It is 242 feet high, although injured by an earthquake, and is still, I believe, the highest column in the world. Near it is an unfinished mosque, which for grandeur of design and elegance of execution is equal to anything in India. It is ascribed in an inscription to Shaháb ud dín Ghórí.

Rukn ud dín.

At the death of Altamish the contest with the Hindús was at an end; and the period which followed was occupied by a succession of plots, mutinies, and revolutions, equally destitute of present interest and permanent effects.

Rukn ud dín, who succeeded his father, lavished his treasures on dancing-women, buffoons, and musicians, and left the government to his mother[1]; and her tyranny and cruelty soon drove all ranks into rebellion. He was deposed after a reign of seven months, and his sister Rezía was raised to the throne in his place.

Sultána Rezía.

"Rezía Bégum," says Ferishta, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinize her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman."[1] If not distinguished for literature, she read the Koran correctly; and such was her talent for business, that Altamish, when absent on his southern campaigns, left her in charge of his government in preference to his sons. Her conduct on the throne did not disappoint the expectations entertained of her. Of the two separate factions which had concurred in dethroning her brother, one was opposed to the elevation of the sultána. The vazír of A.D. 1236, A.H. 634. Her virtues.

[1] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 217.

the two last kings was at the head of the latter faction, and they were strong enough to appear before Delhi, and to defeat an army that was coming to its relief. But the queen's arts were more effectual than her arms. She succeeded so well in sowing dissensions among her enemies, that the whole confederacy dissolved, and left the individuals composing it at her mercy. Some were put to death, and others conciliated; and in a short time quiet was perfectly restored.

The internal administration of Rezía did not fall short of her political address. She appeared daily on her throne in the usual habit of a sultan,[8] gave audience to all comers, reformed the abuses which had crept in under the last government, revised the laws, decided suits of importance, and evinced all the qualities of a just and able sovereign. But her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from the effects of a single weakness. It was shown in the extraordinary marks of favour which she showered on her Master of the Horse; who, to make her partiality more degrading, was an Abyssinian slave. It does not appear that her fondness was criminal, since the greatest breach of decorum alleged against her is her allowing the Abyssinian to lift her on her horse. It was, however, imprudent in the highest degree; for, by raising her favourite to the office of Amír al Omará,[9] which gave him rank over all other courtiers, she at once disgusted her nobility, and furnished them with a plausible ground for exciting a clamour against her.

and weakness

The first who openly rebelled was a Túrkí chief called Altúnía. The queen immediately marched against his fort of Batinda; but her army mutinied, her favourite was killed in a tumult, and she herself, being made prisoner, was consigned to Altúnía, as the safest hands in which she could be placed; while her brother Behrám was raised to the vacant throne.

Rebellion.

Rezía, when force failed her, had again recourse to art; and she so far gained over Altúnía, by the influence of love or of ambition, that he agreed to marry her, and to assert her rights against his former confederates. Aided by her new consort, the queen assembled an army, and advanced to Delhi; and it was not till after two bloody battles that she was made prisoner along with her husband, and both were put to death. Her reign lasted for three years and six months.

The queen defeated and put to death.

[8] "She discarded her female apparel and veil, wore a tunic and cap like a man, gave public audience, and rode on an elephant without any attempt at concealment." (Sir H. Elliot's *Historians*, vol. i. p. 283.)—Ed.]

[9] Literally, "Commander of Commanders;" that is, General-in-Chief.

Móizz ud dín Behrám.

The new king endeavoured, by treachery and assassination, to rid himself of the nobles who, for their own purposes, had raised him to the throne. Before he had attained his end, his dominions were invaded by a body of Moguls, who penetrated to Láhór; and the assemblage of troops which followed led to new plots and seditions, which ended in his imprisonment and death, after he had reigned two years and two months.

A.D. 1239, A.H. 637.

Mogul irruption into the Panjáb.

Alá ud dín Masaúd.

The reign of the next sultan, a son of Rukn ud dín, was a repetition of the same scenes, increased by the cruelty and licentiousness of the king, until, at the end of little more than two years, he was deposed and put to death.

A.D. 1241, A.H. 639.

The only remarkable events of his reign were two irruptions of the Moguls: the first through Tibet into Bengal,* the only one recorded from that quarter during the period of authentic history; and the other by a division of the army of Mangú Khán into the north-western part of the kingdom. The first of these invasions was defeated by the local officers; the second advanced no farther than Uch, on the joint rivers of the Panjáb to the south of Multán.

Mogul irruptions.

A.D. 1244, A.H. 642.

Násir ud dín Mahmúd.

The twenty years' reign of Násir ud dín was full of disturbances, foreign and domestic, though none sufficient to overturn the government. He was the grandson[10] of Altamish, had been imprisoned immediately after that prince's death, and, though he had been for some time released and intrusted with a government, he retained the retired and studious habits of his youth. He reposed with entire confidence on the conduct of his vazír, whose name was Ghiyás ud-dín Balban. This minister was a Túrkí slave of Altamish, and had been honoured by that monarch with the hand of one of his daughters, the aunt of the reigning king.

A.D. 1246, A.H. 644.

Ghiyás ud dín Balban vazír.

The great danger was now from the Moguls, who were in possession of all the countries west of the Indus. To guard against it, Balban formed the frontier provinces into one great govern-

[10] [His father had died, while governor of Behár and Bengal.—ED.]

* [For the history of this error, which appears to have arisen from the mis-transcription of the original text of the Tabakát-i Násari, see Thomas, *Chronicle of Pathán Kings*, p. 121, Chengiz Khán has been substituted for Jájnagar.—ED.]

ment, at the head of which he placed his relation, Shír Khán, who, like himself, had been a slave. He then advised the king to proceed in person to the Panjáb. While in that province he severely chastised the Gakkars, for their co-operation with the Moguls in their inroads, and compelled the jágírdárs,[11] who had long neglected their duty, to furnish their contingents with regularity.

A.D. 1247, A.H. 646, to A.D. 1248, A.H. 649.

He next turned his arms against different Hindú rájas, whom the weakness of the preceding reigns had tempted to revolt. In the first campaign he restored the royal authority in the country on both sides of the Jumna, from opposite Delhi to Cálinjer in Bundélcand; and in the three following years he settled the hilly country of Méwát, extending from near Delhi to the Chambal, the neighbouring territory of Rintambór, and the more remote one of Chítór. He afterwards took the strong fort of Narwar, in Bundélcand, reduced Chandérí, and recovered all the revolted part of Málwa. In an interval of these expeditions he quelled a rebellion of the governor of Uch; and during the same period, Shír Khán, governor of the Panjáb, not only kept the Moguls out of his province, but invaded their territory and took possession of Ghazní.

Removal of Balban.

During most of these operations the king accompanied the army, and was the ostensible author of all its success. He nevertheless began to feel uneasy in the secondary place which he really occupied, and was induced by the insinuations of Imád ud dín, an artful courtier, who had risen by the favour of the vazír, to remove that minister from his post, and to confer it on his secret accuser.

A.D. 1253, A.H. 651. Discontents and intrigues. Balban restored.

All the vazír's immediate adherents were soon after displaced; and the misgovernment which followed created extensive discontents, and afforded a pretext to ten governors of provinces, who probably were in league with Ghiyás, to unite their troops, and address a remonstrance to the king, followed up by a demand, in respectful but firm terms, for the dismission of the new minister. No mention was made of the displaced vazír, but the object of the confederacy was obvious; and, as resistance would have been hopeless, the king recalled Ghiyás ud dín who thenceforth was the real head of the government.

A.D. 1255, A.H. 653, to A.D. 1257, A.H. 655.

Imád ud dín now raised a rebellion, in which he involved a relation of the king's; and although he was himself soon taken and put to death, yet a confederacy had been formed, including the Hindú rája of a place called

[11] Holders of land on military service. See page 81.

Satnúr, and the king's governor of Sind. This rebellion was not entirely quelled till the end of the second year.

During the same time another Mogul attack on the Panjáb was repelled, and an expedition was afterwards undertaken against the revolted governor of Karrah Mánikpúr. A more difficult task was to put down the inhabitants of Méwát. The vazír went against them, and it was not without great exertion and some danger that he vanquished them in battle, and ultimately reduced their country. Ten thousand of the insurgents are said to have been slain. The fierce and turbulent mountaineers of Méwát, though their frontier was within twenty-five miles of Delhi, were never entirely quieted until the establishment of the British Government. A.D. 1258, A.H. 656. A.D. 1259, A.H. 657.

The last event of the reign was the arrival of an ambassador from Húlákú Khán,[12] grandson of Chengíz Khán, and himself a very powerful monarch. Every exertion was made to give him an honourable reception, and the splendour of the court is described as worthy of the best days of the monarchy. No other occurrence is recorded until the death of the king, in February 1266. A.D. 1266, A.H. 664.

Násir ud dín's private life was that of a dervise. He defrayed all his personal expenses by copying books: his fare was of the humblest description, and was cooked by the queen, to whom he allowed no female servant; he had only one wife, and no concubines. He was an eminent patron of Persian literature. The "Tabakáti Násirí," a general history of Persia and India, which still retains the highest celebrity, was written at his court, and takes its name from him.

An instance is told of his temper and courtesy. On showing one of the books he had transcribed to a nobleman of his court, the nobleman pointed out several mistakes, which the king immediately corrected. When the nobleman was gone, he was observed to erase the corrections and restore the old reading; and when asked his reason, he said he knew that the copy was right all the time, but thought it better to make the corrections than to hurt the feelings of a well-intentioned adviser.

Ghiyás ud dín Balban.[13]

Balban, being already in possession of all the powers of king, found no difficulty in assuming the title. A.D. 1266, A.H. 664

[12] [He was the son of Túlí Khán, and brother of Mangú Khán. He sacked Baghdád in A.D. 1258, and abolished the Khalifate, putting the last Khalif to death.—ED.]

[13] Often called Balín by English writers.

He had been brought up from infancy at the court of Altamish, and had taken an active part in all the intrigues and revolutions of the succeeding reigns. During the life of Altamish, he had entered into a covenant for mutual support with forty of the king's other slaves, most of whom had attained to high stations. Having gained his own object, he desired to put an end to a system which would have endangered the succession of his family. He therefore, on various pretexts, made away with his surviving confederates (some of them his own near connexions by marriage), and he henceforth made it an invariable rule to confer no office but on men of family. So ostentatiously did he exercise his new policy, that he affected a repugnance even to ordinary intercourse with people of low origin. He also made it a rule to exclude Hindús from all offices of trust. All his other acts partook of the same contracted spirit. He established laws for the preservation of game round his capital; and having exceeded in wine in his early life, he severely punished even the moderate use of it after he had reformed. In cases of rebellion, not satisfied with chastising the leaders, as had been usual, he extended capital punishment to the meanest of their vassals and retainers. Stories are told of his inflexible justice; but they consist in publicly whipping governors of provinces, and sometimes having them beaten to death in his presence.

Balban puts down the influence of the slaves.

His character.

This narrow-minded and selfish tyrant was raised, by circumstances, to the appearance of a liberal and enlightened monarch. The horrors of the Mogul invasion drove men of eminence from the countries to which it extended; and Balban's being the only Mahometan government that was not subverted, his court was filled with illustrious exiles of that religion. He used to boast that no less than fifteen sovereign princes had been dependent on his hospitality: he gave the names of their territories to the streets which they inhabited, and his capital long preserved those memorials of Rúm, Ghór, Khárizm, Baghdád, and other kingdoms.

The number of literary fugitives was naturally still more considerable; and as the king's eldest son, Prince Mohammed, was a young man of the greatest accomplishments, his palace was the resort of all the famous authors of that age. The chief, among many names well known in Persian literature, was the poet Amír Khusrou, on the possession of whose society the prince was congratulated by Sádí,[14] who sent him a copy of his works,

[14] The celebrated moral poet; perhaps the best author Persia ever produced.

and regretted that his extreme old age prevented his accepting an invitation to Delhi. Balban himself had a turn for pomp and magnificence, so that his court was surrounded by an external splendour which blinded strangers to its real character.

He was disturbed by Hindú insurrections on the banks of the Jumna and Ganges, as well as in the mountains of Júd and Méwát. They were created by banditti for the sake of plunder: and here his exterminating system, backed by the erection of garrisons and other prudent precautions, seems to have operated effectually. In Méwát he is said to have put 100,000 persons to the sword, but he also cut down the forest over a great extent of country; and from that time it afforded support to the husbandman, instead of an asylum to the robber. A.D. 1266, A.H. 665.

His only serious rebellion was in Bengal. The governor, Tughral, having made a successful expedition against Jájnagar beyond the river Megna,[15] had refused to send any portion of the booty to Delhi, and soon after assumed the title of king. He totally defeated the first army sent against him, on which the king hanged the unsuccessful general. Another army having been routed in spite of this severity, he at length moved in person to put down the rebellion. He acted on this occasion with the vigour and ability in which he never was deficient: he set out without waiting till the end of the periodical rains, marched straight to Súnárgong[16] (or Sundergong), then capital of the eastern district of Bengal, and struck such terror into the rebel, that he evacuated the open country, and withdrew, with a strong body of troops, into the forests. His retreat was discovered by one of the king's chiefs, who came unexpectedly on the camp, and, though at the head of only forty men, took the desperate resolution of entering it in open day. His small troop advanced without attracting observation till they reached Tughral's tent, when they rushed on with loud shouts. Tughral and those around him fled with precipitation, imagining the whole of the royal army was upon them: the panic spread to the troops — the whole dispersed in confusion; and Tughral himself was overtaken and slain as he was endeavouring to swim his horse over a river, on his flight towards Jájnagar. Revolt of Bengal. A.D. 1279, A.H. 678.

[15] Now Tipperah. (Hamilton's *Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 178.) Jájnagar has been taken for Jájpúr in Cattack, which never was the head place of a district. (See Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 274.)

[16] It has since been swept away by the Ganges. (Buchanan, quoted by Hamilton, *Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 187.)

The king punished this rebellion with more than his usual severity, and was only prevented going on with his executions, after he had returned to his capital, by the intercession of the Cázís, Muftís, and other learned and venerable men.

Suppressed.

Not long after this he had the misfortune to lose his eldest son, a calamity to his people no less than to himself. The prince's death was worthy of the high character he had acquired. An army of Moguls belonging to Arghún Khán,[17] then king of Persia, had invaded the Panjáb; and Prince Mohammed, who was governor of the province, hastened thither from the capital, where he had gone to meet his father. He defeated the invaders, and had recovered all the country they had overrun, when a fresh army arrived of chosen troops under a celebrated general named Tímúr Khán. A sanguinary conflict took place, and the prince gained a complete victory; but was killed by a body of the enemy, who had kept together during the pursuit. Amír Khusrou, the poet, his constant companion, was taken prisoner on the same occasion.[18]

Mogul irruption.

Victory and death of the heir apparent.

This loss drew tears from the meanest soldier in the army, and touched the heart even of Balban. That monarch had now reached his eightieth year, and was fast sinking under the affliction that had fallen on him, when he summoned his second son, Bakarra Khán,[19] to attend him on his deathbed. His son, finding him in less immediate danger than he expected, returned without leave to his province of Bengal; and Balban was so much offended that he sent for Kei Khusrou, the son of Prince Mohammed, and immediately declared him his heir. Soon after this act the king died. The ministers, desirous of averting a civil war, proclaimed Kei Kobád, the son of Bakarra Khán, and restored Khusrou to his father's government of Multán.

Death of Balban.

Both the losing claimants appeared to acquiesce in this arrangement, and Kei Kobád mounted the throne without opposition.

A.D. 1286, A.H. 685.

Móizz ud dín Kei Kobád.

The new king, who was in his eighteenth year at his accession, gave way, without restraint, to the pleasures natural to his age. He was encouraged in his vices by

A.D. 1286, A.H. 685.

[17] [The grandson of Húlákú Khán.—Ed.]

[18] He was kept a prisoner in Balkh for two years. He afterwards wrote a celebrated elegy on the prince's death. Sir G. Ouseley's *Biog. Notices.*—Ed.]

[19] [More properly Baghrá Khán; he was also called Násir ud dín.—Ed.]

his vazír, Nizám ud dín, who entertained hopes of securing the crown for himself. As Kei Khusrou stood immediately in the way of his design, he took advantage of some imprudence on his part to render him an object of jealousy to the king; and being thus secure of impunity, he procured his assassination. By similar arts he brought about the death or disgrace of all the ministers who were not his own creatures; and as his wife's ascendancy was as great in the harem as his was in the court, he held the king entirely cut off from all knowledge but what he thought proper to impart.

Intrigues and power of the vazír.

Many Mogul adventurers had, at this time, taken service at Delhi: it was an object to Nizám ud dín to alienate these useful auxiliaries from the king; and he worked on that prince's fears by pretending a correspondence between them and their hostile countrymen, until he induced him to invite their chiefs to a banquet, and put them treacherously to death.

Massacre of Mogul mercenaries.

Before his schemes were matured, he was interrupted by the approach of the king's father, Bakarra Khán, who, hearing of the state of affairs, marched with an army to look after the interests of his family. The vazír easily prevailed on the king to move out to oppose him; but when the armies drew near, Bakarra Khán appealed so strongly to his son's affections that the minister could no longer prevent an interview. He endeavoured to frustrate the effects of it by imposing many humiliating ceremonies on Bakarra Khán, to all which that prince submitted; until, after repeated obeisances, he found the king remaining unmoved on his throne, when, shocked by this unnatural behaviour, he burst into tears. This sight overpowered all the king's resolutions: he leaped from his throne, and ran to throw himself at his father's feet; and, the father hastening to prevent him, he fell on his neck, and they remained for some minutes weeping in each other's arms, while the whole court was almost as much affected as themselves. When the first transport was over, Kei Kobád seated his father on the throne, and showed him every mark of love and reverence.[20] All thoughts of war were now at an end; but, after repeated interviews, Bakarra Khán found that the vazír's vigilance, and his power over the enfeebled mind of the king, rendered it impossible to subvert his authority by peaceful means;

King's interview with his father.

[20] [Amír Khusrau has taken this history as the subject of his poem, the *Kirán us Sa'dain*, in 4,000 couplets. For an analysis of it see *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* 1860.—ED.]

and being unwilling, or unable, to resort to force, he returned to Bengal, and left his son to his fate.

Kei Kobád plunged anew into all sorts of debauchery, and to such excess that, at that early age, he entirely broke his constitution, and brought on an attack of palsy. Being now driven on reflection, he perceived all the dangers of his situation; and, unable to rid himself of his minister by honourable means, he had recourse to the lessons with which he had been made familiar, and succeeded, before long, in taking him off by poison.

Murder of the vazír.

The removal of this predominating influence served only to let loose a number of other enemies, all eager to seize on the power which the king was unable himself to retain.

The ascendancy of the slaves about the court had been destroyed by the policy of Balban, and the contest was now between the principal military leaders; and as the native Indians were not yet of sufficient importance to form a party, the only competitors were the Tartar chiefs and those of the old kingdom of Ghazní or Ghór. The Khiljís seem, from the ability of their chief, or some advantage of their own, to have been at the head of the latter class: they prevailed over the Tartars, and Jelál ud dín Khiljí was raised to the throne, after the way had been opened for him by the assassination of Kei Kobád.[21]

The king dethroned and put to death. A.D. 1288, A.H. 687.

HOUSE OF KHILJÍ.

CHAPTER II.

Jelál ud dín Khiljí.[1]

Jelál ud Dín was seventy years of age when he came to the government. A.D. 1288, A.H. 687.

[21] Ferishta calls the competitors of the Khiljís, *Moguls*;* but it is impossible to believe in the ascendancy of that tribe, any more than in the disappearance of the Túrks, at so early a period. The pretender set up by the Tartars was, moreover, the son of Kei Kobád, a natural object of choice to them for his Túrkí descent, but of aversion to the Moguls for his father's massacre of their chiefs.

The succession of kings of Delhi which commenced with Kutb ud dín, is by some considered as a continuation of the line of Ghór; but most oriental writers include those princes, along with Eldóz and one or two others, in a dynasty to which they give the name of "The Slaves of the Sultans of Ghór."

* [The original has *atrák* 'Túrks,' wrongly translated "Moguls." Zíá ud dín Barní (p. 171) expressly says that it was a contest between the Turk and non-Turk party, the latter being headed by the Khiljís. He adds, that "from the day of the death of Kai Kobád the kingdom passed from the house of the Turks."—Ed.]

[1] For the origin of the Khiljís, see

He affected extreme regret at having his high office forced on him, and professed the utmost respect and attachment for the memory of Ghiyás ud dín. He overacted humility so far as to refuse to enter the royal palace on horseback, and to stand at his usual station in the court instead of occupying the throne. But he kept the infant son[a] of the late king in custody, and put him to death as soon as he felt strong enough for such a measure.

If this last atrocity be imputed to him on false grounds, which is not improbable, we should be inclined to acquit him of hypocrisy in all his former professions; for, during the rest of his reign, his lenity to his enemies, both open and secret, was carried even to a fault; and he continued to retain the simplicity of his manners, and to associate with his old friends, on the same footing of familiarity that he did when a private man. He had frequent parties of those friends, together with men eminent for wit or literature; and, on those occasions, he carried conviviality beyond the limits of the Mahometan law, though never beyond those of sobriety.

Mild government of Jelál ud dín.

He had soon occasion to display his clemency. Malik Jahjú, a nephew of Ghiyás ud dín, rebelled against him in his government of Karrah, and was joined by all the adherents of the house of Balban. They were soon strong enough to march to Delhi, but were defeated by the king's second son, Arkalí Khán; and all the chiefs, including Malik Jahjú, were made prisoners.

The king immediately released them all, and sent Malik Jahjú to Multán, where he allowed him a liberal establishment for the rest of his days. He soon after showed equal magnanimity towards a body of chiefs of his own tribe, who were detected in a plot against his life. Unfortunately, he did not confine his lenity to personal injuries, but allowed so general an impunity to offenders, that the whole frame of the government became relaxed; governors withheld their tribute, neglected their duty, and abused their power; the roads and highways were infested by robbers, and bands of plunderers and insurgents interrupted the communication between different parts of the kingdom.

He marched, himself, into Málwa, to quell an insurrection of a more general character. He was successful in the main; yet from

Book v. ch. ii., note near the end of the chapter. Though Túrks by descent, they had been so long settled among the Afgháns that they had almost become identified with that people; but they probably mixed more with other nations, or at least with their Túrkí brethren, and would be more civilized than the generality of Afghán mountaineers.

[a] [The other party had tried to raise him to the throne under the name of Shams ud dín.—ED.]

A.D. 1292, A.H. 691. his aversion to shed blood, combined with the feebleness of age, he hesitated to attack the principal fortresses of the rebels, and left his suppression of the revolt incomplete. He showed more vigour soon after, on an invasion of the Punjáb by a numerous host of Moguls, whom he engaged in person, and totally defeated. With characteristic moderation, he granted peace to the vanquished enemy, and allowed the wreck of their army to retire unmolested. Three thousand Moguls on this occasion joined his standard, and soon after embraced the Mahometan religion. A place in the suburbs of Delhi, still called Moghulpúr, was assigned for their residence.

In the next year he made another march to Málwa, which was A.D. 1293, A.H. 692. as inconclusive as the first. His own weakness, however, began at this time to be made up for by the energy of his nephew, Alá ud dín, governor of Karrah, a man of vigour and ability, quite exempt from all the scruples which sometimes obstructed his uncle's success. Having obtained permission to act against the insurgents in Bundélcand and the east of Málwa, he not only restrained their turbulence, but took several forts, which had before been left to dependent princes, and gained such a booty as enabled him to make considerable additions to his army. The king received the intelligence of his success with great satisfaction; and although his favourite wife endeavoured to put him on his guard against the ambition of Alá ud dín, he gave him the government of Oudh, in addition to that which he before possessed, and allowed him to assemble an army, and to entertain many of the old adherents of the Balban family.

Vigour of Ala ud din, the king's nephew.

Alá ud dín's first employment of his force justified his uncle's confidence, and opened a new era in the history of India. He resolved to attempt the hitherto untried adventure of an invasion of the Deckan; and setting out with 8,000 chosen horse from Karrah, made his way through the extensive forests that still fill the space between that place and Berár; threw the princes whose country he was approaching off their guard, by pretending to have left his uncle in disgust; and, having thus reached E'llichpúr, he turned to the west, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Deógiri, the main object of his expedition. Deógiri (now Doulatábád) was the capital of Rámdeó, a prince of so great power that the Mahometans looked on him as King of the Deckan, and who, in fact, was Rája of Maháráshtra, or the country of the Marattas.

Alá ud dín's invasion of the Deckan. A.D. 1294, A.H. 693.

It was probably owing to the natural indolence of the Rájpúts,

and their deeming it dishonourable to attack each other without warning, that the Mussulman invaders so often found them unprepared for defence. Their example seems to have infected the other Hindú chiefs, for, on this occasion, the rája was in all the security of profound peace. He had no troops about him, and his wife and son had gone out of the city to a neighbouring temple. In the consternation which ensued, Rámdeó preserved presence of mind sufficient to assemble a body of 3,000 or 4,000 citizens and domestics. With these he made head against the enemy, and afforded some little time for defensive arrangements. He was obliged to give way before long, and retired into the strong hill-fort close to the city, into which some provisions had hastily been thrown. The town was taken without resistance, and was given up to pillage. The merchants were tortured to make them disclose their treasures (the first instance mentioned in Mussulman history of this species of barbarity); and forty elephants, with some thousand horses of the rája, fell into the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile the fort was invested; and Alá ud dín having given out that his army was only the advanced guard of the king's, the arrival of which would speedily render all opposition unavailing, the rája became impatient to come to terms, and had actually concluded a treaty very favourable to the invaders, when his son, who had escaped being shut up with his father, returned at the head of an army, suddenly assembled, but far exceeding that of the Mussulmans in numbers. Trusting to this superiority, he disregarded the remonstrances of his father, and attacked Alá ud dín. The result would have gone hard with the invader, if a small body of troops which he had left to observe the garrison had not opportunely fallen on the enemy, and, being taken for the expected main army under the king, created a confusion which could not be retrieved. After this victory Alá ud dín raised his demands; and as the rája expected reinforcements from his allies, the affair might have been prolonged more than was safe for Alá ud dín, had not the garrison unexpectedly discovered that, in the hurry of victualling the fort, sacks of salt had been taken by mistake instead of sacks of grain, and consequently that their provisions were already nearly exhausted. This discovery made the rája more compliant: he agreed to an immense payment in money and jewels, besides the cession of Elichpúr and its dependencies; after which Alá ud dín drew off through Khándésh into Málwa.

Submission of Deogiri.

Alá ud dín's march to Deógiri was about 700 miles, great part of it through the mountains and forests of the Vindhya range,

which so completely separates Hindostan from the Deckan. The narrow and intricate paths, the want of supplies, and the danger of exposure to the arrows of the mountaineers, made the passage difficult for a small force, and impossible for a large one; while the entry into so great and populous a country as the Deckan, with no more than 8,000 men, seemed an act of rashness rather than of courage.

To have surmounted these dangers, and obviated, by exploring a new route, the increased difficulty of returning by the same, give a high impression of the military talents of Alá ud dín. The pretext he used on his advance, that he was on his way to enter the service of the Hindú rája of Rájamandri, shows how much religious distinctions were weakened since the settlement of the Mahometans in India.

His Return to Hindostan.

This expedition had been undertaken without leave; and as all communication had been cut off while it continued, Jelál ud dín remained in suspense and anxiety, both as to the fate and the designs of his nephew; and when he heard that he was on his return, loaded with treasures and covered with glory, he felt nothing but delight at the intelligence. The more sagacious of his advisers took a different view of the matter; and, seeing fresh proofs of the daring spirit of Alá ud dín, as well as of the resources at his disposal, they advised the king to adopt such measures of precaution as, without showing distrust, should prevent his assembling another army when the present should have dispersed to lay up their spoils. The generous temper of the king led him to disregard all these admonitions, and laid him open to the insidious designs of Alá ud dín, who now affected alarm from the cabals of his enemies, and fear of the king's displeasure for his unauthorized expedition. He sent his brother, Alaf Khán,[1] as crafty an intriguer as himself, and remarkable for his insinuating address, to deprecate his uncle's resentment, and induce him to meet Alá ud dín in such a manner as, under pretence of affording security to his nephew, should, in fact, leave none to himself. By degrees, he was persuaded to move with his army towards Karrah, then to advance with a small escort, and at last to cross the Ganges almost alone. Alá ud dín fell at his feet, and the affectionate old man was patting him on the cheek, and reproaching him with having distrusted an uncle who had brought him up from his infancy, and loved him better than his own sons, when Alá ud dín made a signal to assassins posted for the purpose, who rushed forward and stabbed the king to the heart. His head was stuck

Assassination of Jelál ud dín

[1] [Ziá ud dín Barní calls him Alagh Khán. Ed.]

on a spear, and carried aloft through the camp and the city. Ferishta shows a natural pleasure in relating the calamities which pursued the subordinate actors in this horrid tragedy to their graves; but that retribution affords little satisfaction while we continue to witness the uninterrupted prosperity of the parricide in whom the whole of this detestable act of perfidy had its rise. A.D. 1295, July 19; A.H. 694, Ramazan 17.

As Jelál ud dín had reigned upwards of seven years, he must have been more than seventy-seven when he was killed.

A singular incident occurred in this reign, which shows the credulity of the Asiatics even at a period not remarkable for superstition. A dervise named Sídí Moula, a native of Persia, who had travelled through many countries, and was acquainted with most men of eminence in his day, arrived at Delhi, and instituted a school and an almshouse, where travellers, religious mendicants and persons of all descriptions were entertained at his expense. He lived on rice alone, and had neither wife nor slaves of either sex, yet his expenses were such as would have exceeded the means of the wealthiest nobleman. Besides his profuse dispensation of charity, he entertained the great men with splendour at his house, and did not hesitate to bestow sums of two or three thousand pieces of gold to relieve noble families in distress. Although he held some peculiar opinions, and among others never attended public worship, yet his piety remained unquestioned; and even among the suspicions to which his conduct gave birth, the cry of heresy was never raised against him. The first surmise regarding him was that he possessed the philosopher's stone; the next took a more dangerous form, and represented him as aiming at the crown;[4] and this at last appeared in the definite shape of an accusation that he had prepared assassins to make away with the king, and had 10,000 of his votaries ready to profit by the confusion. The mysterious nature of the danger seems to have frightened the king out of his natural moderation. On the accusation of an alleged accomplice he apprehended Sídí Moula and his most considerable associates; and, being unable to convict them on the evidence of one suspected witness, he ordered a large fire to be made on a plain before the town, to allow them to prove their innocence by an ordeal which they probably had appealed to. When the time came, the ministers raised their voices against the pro- Singular instance of credulity and injustice.

[4] [Zíá ud dín Barní says that he was joined by many of the old nobles, who had been supplanted in the court by the Khiljí party.—ED.]

ceeding, as equally opposed to Mahometan law and to natural reason; and the king, giving way to their remonstrances, ordered the accused persons to be kept in confinement. As they were leading them away to prison, some kalandars (a sort of religious mendicants), countenanced if not instigated by the king, fell on Sídí Moula, and put him to death in the royal presence. With his last breath he protested his innocence, and denounced the curse that impended over his oppressor. Jelál ud dín was greatly troubled at the moment: a dark whirlwind which happened just then to arise increased the general horror; and the death of the king's eldest son, which took place soon after, together with a failure of the rains and a famine which followed, as well as the awful termination of the monarch's own life, and the exclusion of his immediate family from the throne, were ascribed to the Divine vengeance for this act of impiety and injustice.

Alá ud dín.

When the accounts of the late king's death reached Delhi, his widow made a feeble attempt to set up her own son, an infant, in his place: on the approach of Alá ud dín she fled to Multán, where the only other surviving son of Jelál ud dín was governor; but the whole family were inveigled from this asylum by means of a fallacious promise, when the two princes were put to death and the queen imprisoned.

A.D 1295. A.H 695.

Alá ud dín studiously endeavoured to recover the goodwill of his people, by his just exercise of the power he had obtained by so many atrocities. He was liberal in bestowing wealth and honours, and was profuse in gifts as well as in shows and magnificence: but as in the midst of his course of conciliation he could not refrain from acts of rapacity, and never repressed his arbitrary temper, he was only partially successful in his attempts to gain popularity; and although his reign was long and glorious, he was always disturbed by conspiracies and rebellions, and disquieted by suspicions even of his own family and of those most trusted by him.

His first great undertaking was an expedition to Guzerát. Shahráb ud dín's garrison had long been withdrawn, and the rája had recovered his independence. The present conquest was final. Alaf Khán, the king's brother, and his vazír, Nusrat Khán, who were at the head of the army, almost immediately took possession of the province; the rája flying to Baglána, the nearest part of the Deckan.

A.D 1297. A.H 697. Expedition to Guzerat

A harsh attempt to compel the troops to give up their plunder, while on their return towards Delhi, brought on a dangerous mutiny, in which the vazír's brother and the king's nephew lost their lives. It was at last quelled, and many of the mutineers were killed; the survivors took refuge with the rája of Rintambór. Their families, including the women and children, were massacred by the king's order. The fugitives themselves, who appear to have been Mogul converts (always the chief actors in scenes of turbulence in those days), were put to death when Rintambór was taken.[5]

Mogul incursions.

During the preceding year an incursion of the Moguls into the Panjáb had been repulsed with loss, and another, equally unsuccessful, took place about this time. It was followed up by a more serious invasion, apparently designed for conquest as well as plunder.[6] The commander was Kutlugh Khán, whom Ferishta describes as the son of Dáúd Khán, king of Transoxiana. He marched straight to Delhi, the Indian army which had been sent to oppose him retreating as he advanced, and the whole population of the surrounding country flying to the capital.

Serious invasion by the Moguls.

So great was the crowd of fugitives that all communication through the streets was interrupted; the provisions were almost immediately consumed, and in a few days famine was added to the miseries and terrors of the inhabitants.

Alá ud dín was forced in these circumstances to give up his intention of declining an action. He moved out at the head of

[5] The Emperor Báber, who, though a Túrk, was himself descended by the mother's side from Mogul ancestors, gives the following account of the Moguls in his service:—"The horde of Moguls have uniformly been the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation: down to the present time they have five times rebelled against me." (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 69.)

[6] At least eleven of these invasions are mentioned by Ferishta, not one of which is noticed by De Guignes, D'Herbelot, or Price, in their accounts of the Mogul transactions; and although there is a long list in D'Ohsson (vol. iv. p. 559), yet they are all given on the authority of Ferishta.

It is not improbable that the cruel ravages by which they were marked may have led the Indian historians to overrate the importance of the ordinary incursions; but in some instances, especially in the present one, the silence of the European writers may perhaps be ascribed to the imperfect information they possessed respecting Mogul affairs in the east of Persia and in Transoxiana.

The commander of the last expedition is called Chóldí Khán by Ferishta; and Touldai Khán was one of the officers of Gházán Khán, then king of Persia. (Price, vol. ii. p. 605.) The most conspicuous general of the same monarch was Kutlugh Sháh, who was at Herát in this year, A.D. 1297 (Price, vol. ii. p. 616, and De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 270), and might possibly have led an expedition to India, though circumstances make it improbable. Opposed to this coincidence of names, which would lead us to suppose these invasions to have been made by the Moguls of Persia, is the positive assertion of Ferishta, that they and all the subsequent inroads originated in Dáúd Khán [Dawá Khán], king of Transoxiana, who, by his account, was the father of Kutlugh Khán. Dáúd Khán is evidently the Douzi or Davat Khán mentioned by De Guignes (vol. iii. p. 311, and note) as king of Transoxiana; and Kutlugh is so common a Mogul name, that two persons may very probably have borne it at the same time. There does not, therefore, seem to be any ground for doubting Ferishta's account.

all the troops he could collect; and Ferishta alleges that the number of men assembled on both sides exceeded all that ever appeared in one place in India up to the time when he wrote.

Their defeat at Delhi.

This most important contest was gained by Alá ud dín, almost entirely from the skill displayed by Zafar Khán, who was before the most distinguished of his generals. But the great services of that gallant chief had already rendered him an object of jealousy to Alá ud dín, and no less to Alaf Khán, who purposely left him unsupported during the pursuit; and the Moguls, perceiving his reduced numbers, turned upon him, and cut him to pieces with his detachment, after a resistance worthy of his former exploits.

A.D. 1299, A.H. 699.

About a year after this deliverance, Alá ud dín despatched an army, under his brother and the vazír, to reduce the hill-fort of Rintambór.[7] They took a place called Jháyin, not far from Rintambór, and proceeded to lay siege to that fortress. In the commencement of the operations the vazír was killed by a stone from an engine; and the garrison, making a sally, compelled the besiegers to fall back on Jháyin, and wait for reinforcements from Delhi. Alá ud dín, on this,

Designs of the king's nephew.

determined to prosecute the siege in person, and had made some progress on his march, when he had nearly fallen a victim to a crime of which he had himself set the example. His nephew, Prince Soleimán, who held one of the highest offices in the state, reflecting on the resemblance between his own situation and that from which the present king had risen to the throne, was led to think that a similar attempt on his part might be attended with equal success. A favour-

His attempts to assassinate the king.

able opportunity soon presented itself, when the king was hunting at a distance from the camp, and was left with only two or three attendants, in consequence of the occupations of the chase. At this moment, Soleimán approached him with some of the newly-converted Moguls; and, before he had any suspicion of their purpose, they discharged their arrows at him, with such effect that he fell senseless on the ground. Soleimán, conceiving that his object was accomplished, galloped directly to the camp, announced the king's death and his own accession, and directed himself to be formally proclaimed. While he was seated on his throne, and receiving the homage of the great officers, Alá ud dín came gradually to himself; and, after his wounds were bound up,

[7] It does not appear when this place was lost. It was besieged by insurgents, and defended by the king of Delhi's troops, in A.D. 1259.

determined to proceed to join his brother at Jhâyin. He was dissuaded from this by one of his officers, who advised him not to give his nephew time to establish his authority, but to show himself to the army, whose fidelity he had no reason to distrust. Alá ud dín saw the wisdom of his advice, and mounting his horse, wounded as he was, he proceeded towards the camp. He met some foraging-parties ,on his way, by which his retinue was increased to about 500 horse. With this escort he presented himself on an eminence, in full view of the camp, and displayed the white umbrella, which was then the sign of sovereignty. He was no sooner perceived than the whole army flocked to join him; and the usurper, finding himself left almost alone, mounted his horse, and sought for safety in a precipitate flight. He was overtaken, and his head brought to the king, who put the other conspirators to death.

His failure and death.

The king then proceeded to join his brother, and soon after resumed the siege of Rintambór. But his utmost efforts were insufficient to take the place; and, before long, he received intelligence of the revolt of two of his other nephews, at Badáún. He did not think it necessary to move himself on this occasion: he suppressed the rebellion by means of his officers; and when his nephews were sent to him, he first put out their eyes, and afterwards ordered them to be beheaded.

Other disturbances quelled.

The ill-success of these rebellions did not prevent the occurrence of another, of a still more extraordinary character. Hájí Moulá, a young slave of one of the principal families in Delhi, took advantage of some discontent against the chief magistrate of police to collect a mob and put him to death, under pretence of an order from the king; and having thus got a body of infuriated followers, he proceeded to take possession of the city, to release the prisoners, distribute the royal arms and treasures among his adherents, and to set up a prince of the royal family for king. The decided conduct of a local officer prevented the ill effects of this explosion. He contrived to introduce a body of troops into the capital, killed Hájí Moulá, dispersed his rabble, and put his new king to death.

Many executions followed by the king's order; and, amongst others, the whole family of Hájí Moulá's former master, men, women, and children, were slaughtered, without a charge against them.

At length Rintambór fell, after a siege of more than a year. The rája, with his family, and the garrison were put to the sword.

Fall of Rintambór.

A.D. 1300, A.H. 700.

In the year 1303, Alá ud dín went, in person, against Chítór,

a celebrated hill-fort in Méwár, and the principal seat of the Rájpút tribe of Sesódia. He took the fort, made the rája prisoner, and left the eldest of his own sons as governor. Next year the rája escaped, and made himself so formidable, that Alá ud dín found it prudent to make over the fort to another Rájpút prince, named Máldeó, who, by Ferishta's account, was a nephew of the rája, but who is represented by the Rájpúts as a person of another family. Máldeó remained tributary to Delhi until near the end of Alá ud dín's reign, when he was expelled by Hamír, a son of the former rája.[8]

A.D. 1303, A.H. 703. Capture of Chitór.

Alá ud dín was recalled from these conquests by a new Mogul invasion and another attack on Delhi. His force was so much weakened by detachments, that when he arrived at the capital he was unable to meet the enemy in the field, and obliged to intrench his camp. The Moguls, who probably were not prepared for protracted operations, withdrew without a battle; and their retreat was ascribed, by the piety of the age, to a panic sent among them on the prayer of Nizám ud dín Oulia, a celebrated saint then alive. In the next two years there were three Mogul inroads, one of which penetrated, by the north of the Panjáb, into Róhilcand. On all those occasions the prisoners were sent to Delhi, where the chiefs were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood.[9]

Unsuccessful invasions of the Moguls.

A.D. 1304-5, A.H. 704-5.

These were the last Mogul invasions for many years. Though Alá ud dín's continual occupation since his accession had, in some measure, withdrawn his attention from the Deckan, he had not forgotten the scene of his early exploits. At the time of his own expedition to Chítór (A.D. 1303, A.H. 703), he sent an army through Bengal, to attack Warangal, the capital of Télingána, situated to the south of the river Godávérí; and he now prepared a great force, for the purpose of reducing the Rája of Deógiri, who had of late withheld his tribute. Malik Cáfúr, who commanded this army, was a eunuch, and had been the slave of a merchant at Cambay, from whom he was taken, by force, during the conquest of Guzerát. Having come into the king's possession, he so completely won his master's affections that he rose to the highest offices, and excited the utmost disgust among the nobles by his rapid promotion from so base an origin. He now proceeded through Málwa, and by Sultánpúr in Kháńdésh, to Deógiri. Before he commenced the siege, he overran the

Discontinuance of their incursions.

Expedition to the Deckan.

A.D. 1306, A.H. 706

[8] The descendant of this family is now Ráná of Oudipúr, the chief of the Rájpút princes.

[9] Ferishta says 9,000 on one occasion.

greater part of the Maratta country; and so impressed Rámdeó with the impossibility of resistance, that he came out of his fortress, and agreed to accompany Cáfúr to Delhi. He was there received with favour, returned loaded with honours, and from that time forward remained faithful to the Mussulmans. A circumstance occurred during this expedition which deserves to be mentioned. Alp Khán, governor of Guzerát[10] (who must be distinguished from Alaf Khán, the king's brother), had been directed to march to Deógiri, to co-operate with Cáfúr. His road lay through Baglána, where the fugitive rája of Guzerát had taken refuge as has been related. This rája's wife, Caulá Dévi,[11] had been taken prisoner during his flight, and having been carried to Alá ud dín's harem, had gained a great share of his favour by her beauty and talents. On hearing of the intended march of these forces, she entreated that means might be taken to recover her daughter by the rája, who still remained with the exiled prince. Alp Khán was enjoined to attend to this object, and endeavoured, by the offer of favourable terms, to prevail on the rája to give up his daughter. The rája rejected his overtures, and Alp Khán marched against him. The princess, whose name was Dewal Dévi, had long been sued for by the son of Rámdeó, the rája of Deógiri; but her father, considering a Maratta, however high in station, as an unworthy match for the daughter of a Rájpút, had rejected all his offers. In the present extremity, however, he gave a reluctant consent, and the princess was sent off, with an escort, to Deógiri. Immediately after her departure, Alp Khán succeeded in defeating and dispersing the rája's army. His victory afforded him little satisfaction, when he found that the princess had escaped him; and knowing the influence of Caulá Dévi, and the impetuous temper of the king, he gave up his whole attention to the means of accomplishing an object which they had both so much at heart. His utmost efforts were not attended with success; and he had arrived within a march of Deógiri without hearing any tidings of the princess, when a party who had gone from his camp to see the caves of Ellóra happened, by mere chance, to fall in with her escort; and being under the necessity of fighting in self-defence, they dispersed the escort, and captured the princess, before they were aware of the importance of their acquisition. Alp Khán, delighted with his prize, immediately marched with her to Delhi. Her beauty made such an impression on the king's eldest son, Khizr Khán, that he soon after married her; and their

Story of the Princess Dewal Dévi.

[10] [He was the queen's brother, cf. Ferishta, *Pers. text*, p. 176, l. 4, and p. 216, l. 16. The king's brother had died in A.H. 700. ED.]

[11] [Ferishta's text has Kanwalá Devi, *i.e.* Kamalá Devi?—ED.]

loves are the subject of a celebrated Persian poem, by Amír Khusrou.

This incident is remarkable, as showing the intermixture which had already taken place between the Hindús and Mahometans; and also as leading to the first mention of the caves of Ellóra, which have been compared, as works of labour, to the pyramids of Egypt, and which, in reality, far surpass them as specimens of art.

During this expedition of Cáfúr, the king, in person, reduced Jhálór and Sewána, places in Márwár, to the north of Guzerát.

A.D. 1309, A.H. 709. Failure of an expedition to Télingána.

After the return of Cáfúr, according to Ferishta, Alá ud dín received accounts of the failure of his expedition to Warangal. He had been induced to send it by an unexplored route from Bengal, in consequence of the solicitation of the Rája of Orissa, who had become jealous of the extention of his neighbour's power.[12] It is not recorded how it failed, or how the contest was so long protracted. Cáfúr was sent to retrieve the disaster. He marched by Deógiri, ravaged the north of Télingána, gained a great victory in the field, took the strong fort of Warangal after a siege of some months, and compelled the rája to pay a large contribution and submit to permanent tribute.

A.D. 1310, A.H. 710. Conquest of Carnata,

Next year Cáfúr was again sent to the Deckan, against the Ballál rája of Carnáta.[13] He marched by Deógiri, crossed the Godáverí at Peitan, and penetrated, after a great battle, to Dwára Samudra, the capital, which he took; and, having made the rája prisoner, put an end to the dynasty of Ballál.[14] He does not appear to have invaded the western part of the Ballál possessions; but he reduced the whole of their eastern territory, including Maáber on the seacoast, as far south as Rámésh war, or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon. He there built a mosque, which was still standing when Ferishta wrote.[15]

and of Maáber, up to Cape Comorin.

[12] Wilson's *Introduction to the Mackenzie Catalogue*, p. cxxxii. For an account of the principality of Warangal, see Book iv. ch. ii.

[13] See Book iv. ch. ii.

[14] Wilson's *Introduction to the Mackenzie Catalogue*, p. cxiii. Dwára Samudra was situated in the heart of Carnáta, about 100 miles north west of Seringapatam, where its ruins still remain. (Buchanan's *Journey*, vol. iii. p. 391.)

[15] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 373. Maáber (the place of crossing over) has very generally been supposed to be Malabár, as well from the resemblance of the names as from the position of the latter country in reference to Arabia; but there is no doubt that the appellation really applies to the tract on the opposite coast, extending north from Rámésh war. (See Marsden's *Marco Polo*, p. 626, note.) That Maáber in this sense was included in the Ballál kingdom, appears from Professor Wilson's *Introduction to the Mackenzie Catalogue*, vol. i. p. cxi. It remained united to Delhi for twenty or thirty years, till near the middle of the fourteenth century; about which time Ibn Batúta crossed from Ceylon to Maáber, and found it in the possession of a Mahometan family, who had shortly before acquired it in consequence of the revolt of Jelál ud dín Hasan, a sherif or seind, who had been a subject of Mohammed

After this expedition Cáfúr returned, with vast treasures, to Delhi.[16] It seems to have been about this time that Alá ud dín at once discharged the whole of the Mogul converts from his service. Though habitually turbulent, they seem to have given no immediate occasion for this violent and imprudent measure. Being now driven to despair, some of them entered on a plot to assassinate the king; and on its being detected, the king ordered the whole of them (amounting, according to Ferishta, to 15,000) to be massacred, and their families to be sold for slaves.

Massacre of Mogul converts. A.D. 1311, A.H. 711.

Rámdeó had died before, or during, Cáfúr's last expedition; and his son, who succeeded him, was already suspected of disaffection. He now withheld his tribute; and some disturbances having likewise taken place in Carnáta, Cáfúr once more set out to quell them. He put the rája of Deógiri to death, and carried his arms over all Mahárashtra and Carnáta, compelling those princes who still retained their territories to pay tribute; and, after accomplishing all the objects of his expedition, he returned again to Delhi.

A.D. 1312, A.H. 712. Taking of Deógiri, and conquest of Mahárashtra.

Alá ud dín's constitution had by this time yielded to a long course of intemperance. His ill-health made him more suspicious and irritable than ever; and, like most people who distrust the bulk of mankind, he was the dupe of one artful individual. This was Cáfúr, the extent of whose abilities was equalled by the depravity of his principles. The use he made of his influence was to destroy all who he thought might rival him in favour, and afterwards to irritate the king against his sons, and the queen their mother, who might otherwise have found means to reconcile him to his children. Cáfúr first encouraged him in the notion that he was slighted and neglected by them in his illness, and at last infused suspicions that they were plotting against his life. Alá ud dín, notwithstanding his unfeeling nature, seems to have had some affection for his offspring; so

Intrigues and influence of Cáfúr.

Tughlak. The revolt of Seiad Hasan in Maabar against Mohammed Tughlak is also mentioned by Ferishta. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 423.) It is not probable that Cáfúr conquered the western territory of the Ballals, because it appears from Wilks' *Mysore*, that the remains of that family retired to Tómúr near Seringapatam; and Ibn Batuta found Malabár, (which he visited on his way to, and on his return from, Maábar) in the hands of Hindú princes, except Honáwar, which was held by a Mussulman under the sovereignty of a Hindú. The Mussulman religion had been introduced in that quarter from Arabia, some centuries before Alá ud dín's invasion of the Deckan; and it did not become the dominant one until the conquest of Malabár by Heider Ali.

[16] Ferishta states that, at this time, there was no silver coinage in the Carnatic: and Colonel Briggs observes that the same was true to a certain extent, till very lately: the common coin was the pagoda, and there was a small coin called a gold fanam, as low in value as a sixpence.

that it was not till near his end that Cáfúr prevailed on him, by innumerable artifices, to commit the two eldest princes and the queen to prison. At the same time Cáfúr procured an order to make away with Alp Khán, whose power he dreaded, and thus to remove the only remaining obstacle to his seizing on the government on his master's death.

Meanwhile the king's blind subjection to his favourite, and the increased tyranny of his administration, excited general discontent. The nobles of the court were disgusted. Guzerát broke into open rebellion. It was at this time that Chítór was recovered by Ráná Hamír; and Harpál, the son-in-law of Rámdeó, raised an extensive insurrection in the Deckan, and expelled many Mahometan garrisons.

Revolt of Guzerát.
Recovery of Chítór by the Rájpúts.

The paroxysms of rage produced by a succession of these tidings increased the king's sufferings, and soon brought him to the brink of the grave. His end is said to have been accelerated by poison, administered by Cáfúr.

Death of Alá ud dín. A.D. 1316, Dec. 19; A.H. 716, Shawwál 6.

So great is the effect of vigour in a despotism, that although Alá ud dín was ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and tyrannical, yet his foreign conquests were among the greatest ever made in India; and his internal administration, in spite of many absurd and oppressive measures, was, on the whole, equally successful. Quiet and security prevailed throughout the provinces; wealth increased, and showed itself in public and private buildings, and in other forms of luxury and improvement. Alá ud dín was so absolutely illiterate, that he began to learn to read after he had been for some time on the throne; yet so arrogant, that his most experienced ministers durst not venture to contradict him, and the best-informed men about his court were careful to keep their knowledge to the level of his acquirements. Nor did this presumption wear off with his youth: it increased in his latter days to such a pitch, that every word he uttered was considered as irrevocable. In the commencement of his career of prosperity, he entertained thoughts of setting up for a prophet, and founding a new religion; and when he had laid aside that fancy, he assumed the title of "The Second Alexander," and publicly discussed a project of universal conquest. Some curious features are preserved of his policy, and that of his age.

His character.

His internal policy.

At the time when he had been so often threatened by conspiracies, he called his counsellors together, to consider the causes and the remedy. They traced his danger to three principal

sources:—convivial meetings, where men opened their secret thoughts to each other; connexions between great nobles, especially by intermarriages; and, above all, the unequal distribution of property, and the accumulation of wealth by governors of provinces. The king concurred in these opinions: he forbade the use of wine, and prohibited all private meetings and political discussions among the nobles of his court, till, at length, no man could entertain his friends without a written order from the vazír. No marriage among the nobility was allowed without a licence from the crown. Farmers were limited to a certain quantity of land, and a certain number of cattle and servants. Graziers, in like manner, were restricted as to the number of their flocks and herds. Official emoluments were reduced; the land-tax was increased, and more rigorously exacted; and, at last, the king became so rapacious, that the private property both of Mussulmans and Hindús was confiscated without a cause, so that men were almost reduced to a level over all the empire.[17]

Among other measures of Alá ud dín, one was for fixing rates for the prices of all articles. This plan originated in a wish to reduce the pay of the troops, which the king thought would be unjust unless the expense of living was lowered likewise. Accordingly, prices were fixed for grain, cattle, horses, &c., and for all other commodities, which were classed for the purpose.[18] Everything was included except labour. Public granaries were constructed; importation was encouraged, exportation forbidden; money was advanced to merchants to enable them to import goods. Wholesale purchases were not allowed; hours were fixed for opening and shutting shops; and the whole was rendered effective by public reports to the king, and the employment of spies and informers to detect breaches of the regulation.

A dearth which ensued soon after occasioned a relaxation in enforcing the rules about grain; and the others, though not rescinded till the next reign, were probably in a great measure neglected after the king had cooled on his scheme.

One of Alá ud dín's maxims was, that "religion had no connexion with civil government, but was only the business, or rather amusement, of private life;" and another, that "the

[17] It is difficult to reconcile this statement, the last words of which are Ferishta's, with the same author's glowing account of the general prosperity; but it is probable the unfavourable picture only applies to the last years of the reign.

[18] Tables of the prices are given in Ferishta, and would be interesting if the value of the coins could be better ascertained.

will of a wise prince was better than the opinions of variable bodies of men." Alá ud dín had reigned upwards of twenty years.

Mobárik Khiljí.

On the death of Alá ud dín, Cáfúr produced a pretended will of that prince, appointing his youngest son, an infant, to be his successor, under the guardianship of Cáfúr.

Having thus gained possession of the government, Cáfúr put out the eyes of the king's two eldest sons, and not long after sent assassins to murder the third son, Mobárik. The assassins, however, were won over and induced to spare him; and before Cáfúr had time to take further measures, he was himself assassinated by the royal guard, headed by their commander and his lieutenant.

Mobárik was immediately raised to the government. He did not assume the title of king for two months, at the end of which time he deprived his infant brother of sight, and sent him to a hill-fort for life.

A.D. 1317, March 22; A.H. 717, Moharrem 7.

He next put to death the two officers who had placed him on the throne, and broke up the guard. He raised several of his slaves to high rank and office, and made one of them (a converted Hindú, to whom he gave the title of Khusrou Khán) his vazír; so that his first acts gave an earnest of the bloody and licentious reign which was to follow.

These misdeeds were not entirely unmixed with good actions; he set free all prisoners, to the number of 17,000—a sweeping measure, which could only have been commendable after a reign like the preceding. He restored the lands confiscated by Alá ud dín, removed his oppressive taxes, and abolished his restrictions on trade and property.

His military proceedings in the early part of his reign were not less meritorious. He sent an army to reduce Guzerát, and marched, himself, to the Deckan, where he took Harpál prisoner, and inhumanly ordered him to be flayed alive. Having completely restored tranquillity, he returned to Delhi, and gave himself up to a course of the most degrading and odious debauchery. One of his amusements was to accompany a troop of actresses in a female habit, and to dance along with them at the houses of the nobility. He was in a constant state of intoxication, and his chief delight appeared to be to display his worst vices to the public. It is not surprising that under such a prince there should be a continual

A.D. 1318 A.H. 718

succession of conspiracies and rebellions, each of which was followed by tortures and executions, and each gave rise to fresh suspicions and additional acts of tyranny.

During his expedition to the Deckan, he sent his favourite Khusrou to conquer Malabar, which he effected in the course of a year, and brought a great treasure to Delhi. Conquest of Malabar. The whole administration of the government was then confided to him, and every man's life and fortune was at his mercy. A.D. 1319, A.H. 719. He put some of the nobility to death, and struck such a terror into the rest, that they thought themselves fortunate in being allowed to quit the court, and leave the king to the machinations of his favourite. Influence of Khusrou, and ascendancy of a Hindú party at court. The opportunity was not lost on Khusrou, who surrounded the king with his creatures, and filled the capital with Hindú troops of his own cast;[19] until at length, when his plot was matured, he perpetrated the murder of his infatuated master, and at once assumed the vacant throne. A.D. 1321, March 24; A.H. 721, Rabí ul awwal. He put to death all the survivors of the family of Alá ud dín, and transferred Dewal Dévi to his own seraglio. His other measures were in the same spirit. Murder of Mobárik, and extirpation of his family. But, notwithstanding his infamous character and his manifold crimes, he did not fail to obtain adherents, and to strengthen his party. He not only brought his own low creatures into power, but endeavoured to gain over the established nobles, by investing them with some of the highest offices. Among this number was Júná Khán, the son of Ghází Khán Tughlak, governor of the Panjáb, whose reputation and influence made it of the utmost consequence to conciliate him. In this Khusrou failed. Júná Khán fled from the court, and Ghází Khán went into open rebellion; and, marching to Delhi with the veteran troops of the frontier, he gained a victory over the dissolute and ill-commanded bands opposed to him, and put an end to the reign and life of the usurper, to the universal joy of the people. A.D. 1321, Aug. 22; A.H. 721, Rejeb 30. On entering Delhi, Ghází Khán made a declaration that his only object was to deliver the country from oppression, and that he was willing to place any of the royal line on the throne. No member of the Khiljí family was found to have survived, and Tughlak was himself proclaimed under the title of Ghiyás ud dín.

[19] [He was a converted Parwárí slave of Guzerát; this cast is one of Hindú outcasts, deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town. See Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 387.—ED.]

CHAPTER III.

HOUSE OF TUGHLAK, SEIADS, AND HOUSE OF LÓDÍ.

HOUSE OF TUGHLAK.

Ghiyás ud dín Tughlak.

Ghiyás ud dín Tughlak was the son of a Turkí slave of Ghiyás ud dín *Balban*, by an Indian mother.[1] His whole reign was as commendable as his accession was blameless. He began by restoring order in his internal administration, and by putting his frontier in an effective state of defence against the Moguls. He then sent his son, Júná Khán, to settle the Deckan, where affairs had fallen into disorder. Júná Khán's operations were successful, until he reached Warangal, on the fortifications of which place he was unable to make any impression: the siege was protracted until the setting-in of the hot winds, and perhaps till the first burst of the rainy season; a malignant distemper broke out in his camp; and his troops, already depressed by these disasters, were alarmed by false reports of the death of the king, and a revolution at Delhi. At length, some of his principal officers deserted him with their troops; and the prince himself, endeavouring to retreat with the rest, was pressed by the Hindús, and pursued, with great slaughter, towards Doulatábád. He only brought back 3,000 horse, out of his whole army, to Delhi. Júná Khán proved himself so indiscreet and selfwilled in his own reign, that it is difficult to help ascribing a share of his failure, in this instance, to himself. He was more successful in his next attempt; he took Bídar, a place of strength and importance; and afterwards reduced Warangal, and brought the rája prisoner to Delhi.[2]

A.D. 1321, A.H. 721.

A.D. 1322. A.H. 722. Failure of an expedition to Télingána.

Conquest of Telingána; capture of Warangal, the capital. A.D. 1323, A.H. 723

[1] [Ferishta says that she was a woman of the Jat tribe.—Ed.]

[2] The rája was afterwards released and restored.

After this the king proceeded in person to Bengal, where Bakarra Khán, the father of the former king, Kei Kobád, still retained his government, after a lapse of forty years. He was now confirmed in possession, and permitted the use of royal ornaments, by the son of his father's former slave. A.D. 1324-5, A.H. 724-5.

The king also settled some disturbances in Súnárgong (now Dacca[3]), which seems to have been a province independent of Bengal. On his way back, he reduced Tirhut (formerly Mithilá), and took the rája prisoner.

As he approached the capital he was met by his eldest son, Júná Khán, who received him with magnificence in a wooden pavilion erected for the occasion. During the ceremonies the building gave way, and the king, with five other persons, was crushed in its fall. This misfortune may have been purely accidental; but the unusualness of erecting such a structure at all, the opportune absence of the eldest prince at the moment, and the circumstance of the second, who was his father's favourite, being involved in the same calamity, fixed strong suspicions on the successor, in whose favour everything turned out so well.[4] Death of the king. A.D. 1325, February; A.H. 725. Rábí ul awwal.

The fort or castle of Tughlakábád, which is remarkable even at Delhi for its massive grandeur, was built by Ghiyás ud dín.

Mohammed Tughlak.

Júná Khán, who assumed the name of Sultán Mohammed, took possession of his dignity with extraordinary magnificence; and distributed gifts and pensions to his friends, and to men of learning, with a profusion never before equalled. He established hospitals and almshouses on the same liberal scale; and throughout his whole reign his munificence to the learned was such as to deserve and to obtain their warmest expressions of praise. A.D 1325, A.H. 725. Character of Mohammed Tughlak.

It is admitted, on all hands, that he was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his age. His letters, both in Arabic and Persian, were admired for their elegance, long after he had ceased to reign. His memory was extraordinary: and besides a thorough knowledge of logic, and the philosophy of the Greeks, he was much attached to mathematics, and to physical science; and used himself to attend sick persons, for the purpose of watching the symptoms of any extraordinary disease. He was regular in his devotions, abstained from wine, and conformed in

[3] Hamilton's *Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 187. [4] See *Ibn Batúta*, p. 130.

his private life to all the moral precepts of his religion. In war he was distinguished for his gallantry and personal activity, so that his contemporaries were justified in esteeming him as one of the wonders of the age.

Yet the whole of these splendid talents and accomplishments were given to him in vain: they were accompanied by a perversion of judgment which, after every allowance for the intoxication of absolute power, leaves us in doubt whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity. His whole life was spent in pursuing visionary schemes, by means equally irrational, and with a total disregard of the sufferings which they occasioned to his subjects; and its results were more calamitous than those of any other Indian reign.

His first act was one which neither his virtues nor defects would have led us to anticipate. An army of Moguls, under a very celebrated general, Tímúrshín Khán,* having entered the Panjáb, he bought them off by the payment of an immense contribution; and this first instance of such policy in India was not, as might have been expected, followed by fresh invasions.

His next measure was equally inconsistent with his character, for it was perfectly rational and well-judged. He completed the reduction of the Deckan, and brought his most remote provinces into as good order as those near his capital.

Wild schemes of Mohammed.

He then plunged into the career which seemed naturally suited to his genius.

He first determined on the conquest of Persia, and assembled

Projected conquest of Persia.

a vast army;† which, after it had consumed his treasures, dispersed for want of pay, and carried pillage and ruin to every quarter.

His next undertaking was to conquer China, and fill his ex-

Attempt to conquer China.

hausted coffers with the plunder of that rich monarchy. With this view he sent an army of 100,000 men through the Himálaya mountains; but when the passage was effected, the Indians found a powerful Chinese army assembled on the frontier, with which theirs, reduced in numbers and exhausted by fatigue, was unable to cope. Their provisions likewise failed; and the approach of the rainy season did not admit of a moment's delay in falling back.

During their retreat they were harassed by the mountaineers, slaughtered by the pursuing enemy, and worn out by famine. The Chinese were at last checked by the torrents of rain which

* [Ferishta calls him Turmushzín.—Ed.]

† Ferishta makes it amount to 370,000 horse.

began to fall, and the Indians, in time, made their way through the mountains; but they now found the low-country inundated, and the hills covered with impervious jungle. So terrible were the calamities of their retreat, that at the end of fifteen days scarcely a man was left to tell the tale; and many of those who had been left behind in garrisons, as the army advanced, were put to death by the king, as if they had contributed to the failure of this ill-starred expedition.

As this expedient had failed to relieve the king's wants, he had recourse to another, almost equally ill-contrived. He had heard of the use of paper-money in China,[6] and he now introduced the system into his own dominions, substituting copper tokens for paper. The king's insolvency, and the instability of his government, destroyed the credit of his tokens from the first; foreign merchants refused to take them, and all attempts at compulsion were evaded, even at home; trade, in consequence, was at a stand, and confusion and distress were spread throughout all ranks. The king gained, to appearance, in the payment of his debts, but his receipts were diminished in the same proportion; the roots of his revenue were struck at by the impoverished condition of his subjects; and the result of all this sacrifice of the fortunes of the people was to leave his own in greater embarrassment than ever.

Introduction of paper money.

The king's exactions, which were always excessive, were now rendered intolerable by the urgency of his necessities:[7] the husbandmen abandoned their fields, fled to the woods, and in many places maintained themselves by rapine; many towns were likewise deserted, and Mohammed, driven to fury by the disorders which he had himself occasioned, revenged himself by a measure which surpassed all his other enormities. He ordered out his army as if for a grand hunt, surrounded an extensive tract of country, as is usual on the great scale of the Indian chase; and then gave orders that the circle should close towards the centre, and that all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants) should be slaughtered like wild

Tyranny and exactions of the king.

[6] [A paper-currency appears to have existed in China two centuries before the Moghul conquest; and we find it in full force under the successors of Chengiz Khán, as it is described by Marco Polo, who resided in the court of Kublái Khán from about A.D. 1274 to 1291, and Ibn Batúta, who visited China as Muhammad Tughlak's ambassador about A.D. 1345. Kai Khátú, the Moghul ruler of Persia, tried to introduce the same system there in A.D. 1294, but failed. (See *Journal R.A.S.*, 1860.) Muhammad Tughlak issued copper tokens instead of the paper notes (called *chaus* in Persia from the Chinese word), and many of them are still extant. Mr. Thomas, by a comparison of the extant coins, fixes their issue as having continued from A.H. 730 to A.H. 732. ED.]

[7] [Zíá ud dín Barní says that he increased the land-tax of the Doáb district ten and twentyfold (p. 473).—ED.]

beasts. This sort of hunt was more than once repeated; and on a subsequent occasion there was a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Canouj. These horrors led in due time to famine, and the miseries of the country exceeded all power of description.

All this oppression was not allowed to pass without attempts to shake it off. Mohammed's own nephew first revolted in Málwa, and, being pursued by the king into the Deckan, was taken and flayed alive. Malik Behrám, the old friend of the king's father, whom he had helped to mount the throne, next rebelled in the Panjáb, and was also subdued and put to death.

Rebellions.

A.D. 1338. A.H. 739.

A.D. 1339, A.H. 740.

Bengal soon after revolted under a Mussulman officer, and was never again subdued. The country on the coast of Coromandel[8] almost immediately followed the example, and had the same success.

Permanent revolt of Bengal, about A.D. 1340, A.H. 741; and of the coast of Coromandel.

The king went in person to put down this last rebellion, but his army was attacked by a pestilence at Warangal, and suffered so much by its ravages, that he was obliged to return to Deógiri. On his way he had occasion to have a tooth drawn, and he buried it, with great ceremony, under a magnificent tomb.

Meanwhile the Afgháns crossed the Indus and ravaged the Panjáb; when they retired they were succeeded by the Gakkars, who took Láhór, and completed the ruin of the province.

The rájas of Carnáta and Télingána now formed a combination to recover their independence. The former was the founder of a new dynasty, erected on the ruins of that of Ballál, which fixed its capital at Bijayanagar,[9] and maintained a nearly equal struggle with the Mussulmans until near the end of the sixteenth century; the latter regained possession of Warangal, while Mohammed's garrisons were expelled from every part of their dominions.

Restoration of the Hindú kingdoms of Carnáta and Telingana. A.D. 1344, A.H. 744.

[8] [In Ferishta it is called Ma'bar (see *suprà*, p. 397); it revolted in 1341, under Sayyid Hasan. Ed.]

[9] [This revolt is an era of some importance in Hindú literary history, as it was accompanied by a temporary revival of Hindú learning. Tradition in the Deckan ascribes the founding of Vijayanagara to two princes, Bukkaráya and Harihara, with the aid of a learned Brahman, Mádhava Vidyáranya. The common date of the founding is 1258 of the Śálivâhana era (A.D. 1336), but this is probably too soon. The earliest copper land-grant extant of Bukkaraya is dated A.D. 1370, the latest A.D. 1375; some traditions give him thirty-four years' reign, others only fourteen. Mádhava, who appears to have been also called Sáyana, was his prime minister, and we owe to him a series of commentaries on the Vedas, philosophical systems, law, and grammar. Mádhava always mentions his patron's name in the commencement of his works. See Wilson's *Mackenzie MSS.*; Colebrooke, *Essays*, ii. 255. A.C. Burnell, preface to the *Vansa-brâhmana*.—Ed.]

The famine in Hindostan being at this time at its height, the governor of Sambal became unable to collect his revenue, and, dreading the king's violence, went into rebellion. He was soon crushed, as was a similar insurgent at Bídar, in the Deckan; but a new rebellion almost immediately followed in the latter place by one of the chiefs of converted Moguls, or, as they were now called, Amír Jadída, or new nobility. The present revolt was quashed, but their other chiefs remained as ready as ever to profit by any new disturbance.

Other rebellions. A.D. 1345, A.H. 745. A.D. 1346, A.H. 746.

The next rebellion was that of Ein ul Mulk, who, being removed from his government of Oudh to that of the Deckan, suspected the king's intentions, and threw off his allegiance. He was soon reduced, but, contrary to all expectation, was pardoned, and restored to his office.

The governor of the Deckan, who had hitherto made head against his continually increasing difficulties, was afterwards removed; and the country was placed under the king's son-in-law, Imád ul Mulk, while a great addition was laid on the revenue of the province.

Málwa likewise was put under a new governor of low origin, who showed his zeal by a treacherous massacre of seventy of the Mogul Amírs, on which the officers of the same nation in Guzerát prevailed on the rest of the troops to join them in rebellion. The king suppressed this insurrection in person, and ravaged his own province as if it had been an enemy's, giving up the rich towns of Cambay and Surát to plunder.

Rebellion of the Mogul troops in Guzerát. A.D. 1347, A.H. 748.

Some of the rebels of Guzerát, having taken refuge in the Deckan, were protected by the Mogul Amírs in that province, which Mohammed so highly resented that he ordered those chiefs to be made prisoners. They soon after effected their escape, raised a general rebellion, and proclaimed Ismaíl Khán, an Afghán general, king. Mohammed Tughlak, with a courage and activity worthy of a better cause, hastened to the Deckan, defeated the insurgents, and shut up the chiefs and their king in the fort of Deógiri. Before he could complete his success by the capture of that fortress, his presence was required by a new revolt in Guzerát; and as he was marching to suppress it, the people of the Deckan rose on his rear, and plundered his baggage and elephants. The disturbance in Guzerát was, however, got under, and the chiefs compelled to take refuge with the Rájpút princes of Tatta in

General revolt of the Deckan. Vigour and activity of the king

Sind, when intelligence arrived from the Deckan that things had there assumed a more formidable shape than ever. The rebel king had abdicated in favour of Hasan Gángú (who founded the new dynasty of Bahmaní), and under his auspices the insurgents had defeated and slain Mohammed's son-in-law, Imád ul Mulk, and not only recovered the Deckan, but induced the governor of Málwa to join in their insurrection. Mohammed, now sensible of his error in hastening to oppose every new revolt, and not first settling that on hand, determined to place Guzerát on a secure footing before he ventured to confront the increased difficulties which threatened him in the Deckan. Although already in precarious health, he set out after the fugitives to Sind. He was opposed by the rebels on the Indus, but crossed the river in defiance of them; and had reached Tatta, when he had an accession of illness, and died in that city, leaving the reputation of one of the most accomplished princes and most furious tyrants that ever adorned or disgraced human nature.

Death of Mohammed Tughlak. A.D. 1351, March 20; A.H. 752, Moharram 21.

Among the many projects of Mohammed, none occasioned so much misery, or gave rise to so much complaint, as that of transferring the capital from Delhi to Deógiri. The design was by no means unreasonable in itself, if it had been begun without precipitancy, and conducted with steadiness. But Mohammed, as soon as the fancy struck him, ordered the whole of the inhabitants of Delhi to remove to Deógiri, to which he gave the name of Doulatábád.[10] After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it: one of these movements took place during a famine, and caused a prodigious loss of life, and all were attended with ruin and distress to thousands. The plan entirely failed in the end. Another of his whims was to acknowledge the sovereignty of the nominal calif in Egypt, to solicit investiture from him, and strike out of the list of kings all who had not received a similar confirmation of their title.[11]

Removal of the capital to Deogiri, and other caprices of Mohammed.

Another very expensive one was to divide the country into

[10] On this occasion he completed the present fort, which still affords a stupendous proof of the great scale of his undertakings. The rock round the hill is cut perfectly smooth and perpendicular for 180 feet, the only entrance being through a winding passage in the heart of the rock. The whole is surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, cut also in the solid rock.

[11] [After the fall of the Khalifate of Baghdád, in A.D. 1258, the Sultáns of Egypt had recognised an Abbáside as Khalif; and his descendants continued to exercise a nominal authority in Egypt, until it was conquered by the Ottoman empire in A.D. 1517. For a full account of Muhammad Tughlak's proceedings in this matter, see Zíá ud dín Barní, pp. 491—496. He placed the Khalif's name on his coins instead of his own.—Ed.]

districts of sixty miles square, that the cultivation might be carried on under the management of the government.

Many particulars regarding this reign are given by Ibn Batúta, a native of Tangiers, who travelled over all Asia, and visited the court of Mohammed about A.D. 1341, and who could have no interest in misrepresentation, as he wrote after his return to Africa. He confirms to their full extent the native accounts both of the king's talents and of his crimes, and gives exactly such a picture of mixed magnificence and desolation as one would expect under such a sovereign. He found an admirably regulated horse and foot post from the frontiers to the capital, while the country was so disturbed as to make travelling unsafe. He describes Delhi as a most magnificent city, its mosque and walls without an equal on earth; but, although the king was then repeopling it, it was almost a desert. "The greatest city in the world (he says) had the fewest inhabitants." Foreign accounts of his court and government

The king being absent, he was carried, with some other noble and learned strangers who arrived along with him, to the court of the queen-mother, where they were received and entertained with respect and attention, and dismissed with robes of honour. He had a house allotted him, with an ample supply of provisions and everything he could desire, and 2,000 dínárs were given to him "to pay for his washing." His daughter happening to die, it was privately reported to the king by post; and when the funeral took place, he was surprised to find it attended by the vazír, and performed with all the ceremonies usual for the nobles of the country. The queen-mother sent for his wife to console her, and presented her with dresses and ornaments.

The king's own manners, when he returned, were as courteous as his previous proceedings. Ibn Batúta went out to meet him, and was graciously received, the king taking him by the hand and promising him every kindness. He afterwards made him a judge, conversed with him in Arabic on the duties of the office; and when Ibn Batúta hesitated, on account of his ignorance of the Indian language, the king, though somewhat ruffled by his starting difficulties, answered his objections with temper, and assigned him a most liberal salary. He afterwards paid his debts, to the amount of 55,000 dínárs,[12] on his requesting it in an Arabic poem. But Ibn Batúta soon found the

[12] The dínár, at this period, seems to have been a very small coin; but I do not know its precise value. [Muhammad Tughlak's dínár was a gold coin weighing 200 grains.—ED.]

dangerous ground he stood on. A particular dervise near Delhi falling under the king's suspicions, he immediately put him to death, and seized all persons who had frequented his cell. Among the number was Ibn Batúta, who was one of the very few who escaped with their lives. After this he took an early opportunity of resigning his office; but the king, instead of being offended, attached him to an embassy which he was sending to China, in return for a very splendid one which had just reached his court.

The Mahometan empire to the east of the Indus was more extensive in the early part of this king's reign than it ever was at any other period, but the provinces now lost were not all retrieved till the time of Aurangzíb; and, even in those which did not revolt, the royal authority received a shock from which it did not recover till the accession of the Mogul dynasty.

The Mahometan territory in India at its greatest extent in this reign.

There is in general so little scruple about getting rid of a bad king in the East, that it is seldom such extensive mischief is brought about by the misgovernment of one man.

Fírúz Tughlak.

On the death of Mohammed Tughlak the army fell into disorders, in which, as usual, the Moguls[13] were the principal actors. The Indian chiefs (now mentioned for the first time) succeeded in repressing them, and raised Fírúz ud dín, the late king's nephew, to the throne. He left a detachment to settle Sind, and marched along the Indus to Uch, and thence to Delhi, where he overcame an opposition set up in the name of a child, the real or supposititious son of his predecessor.

A.D. 1351, A.H. 752.

Three years after his accession he made an attempt to recover Bengal, and overran the whole province, but was not able to reduce his enemy, until the rains setting in compelled him to retreat.

A.D. 1353, A.H. 754.

At a later period he received embassies both from Bengal and the Deckan, and thus acknowledged the independence of both monarchs, though, perhaps, without renouncing his nominal superiority. Whether the treaty with Bengal was merely personal, or whether the death of the first king was a temptation for infringing it, we find the war almost immediately renewed with his successor, Sécander, against

A.D. 1354, A.H. 755. Independence of Bengal and the Deckan recognised.

[13] [These were the Moghul mercenaries. The Indian chiefs, of Briggs' translation of Ferishta, are the Turk and Pathán nobility of the court.—Ed.]

whom Fírúz marched in person to the extreme south-east of Bengal. He afterwards renewed his treaty with Secander, whose independence was no longer questioned. Several years after this adjustment, some provocation from Jám Báni, the Rájpút prince of Tatta,[14] induced the king to march in person to Sind; and although his expedition was unsuccessful, his failure was softened by the nominal submission of the Jám. From Sind he went to Guzerát, where he left a new governor. In the course of a few years the death of this officer led to another appointment, and a rebellion of no long duration. A.D. 1372, A.H. 773.

Other affairs of less importance kept Fírúz in activity till A.D. 1385, when, having reached his eighty-seventh year, he became incapable, from his infirmities, of conducting his government, and it fell by degrees entirely into the hands of his vazír. The enjoyment of power tempted that minister to secure its permanence by plotting against the heir-apparent. He had nearly succeeded, through the usual calumnies, in paving his way to the succession by the removal of the king's eldest son, when that prince took the bold measure of secretly introducing himself into the seraglio, and throwing himself on the affection of his father. Fírúz, either from conviction or weakness, gave up the vazír, and soon after openly invested his son with the whole powers of the state.

The king's infirmities. A.D. 1385, A.H. 787.

Rivalries at his court.

The prince, whose name was Násir ud dín, showed so little ability in the exercise of his authority, that in little more than a year he was displaced by two of his cousins. They raised a sedition in the capital, and, making use of the name of the old king, whose person they had secured, obliged Násir ud dín to fly to the mountains of Sarmór, between the upper courses of the Jumna and Satlaj. They then announced that Fíráz had abdicated in favour of his grandson, Ghiyás ud dín.

Almost immediately after this revolution Fírúz died, at the age of ninety.[15]

His death A.D. 1388, Oct. 23; A.H. 790, Ramazan 3.

His reign, though not brilliant in other respects, was distinguished for the enlightened spirit of his regulations, and the extent and utility of his public works. He limited the number of capital punishments, and put a stop to the use of torture and the practice of mutilation; which last prohibition was the more meritorious, as it was at variance with

His laws.

[14] [This was a prince of the Samma dynasty, who had recently expelled the Súmras. See Sir H. Elliot's *Arabs in Sind*, p. 194. ED.]

[15] [Ferishta says that Fírúz was the first of the Delhi kings who brought forward, by his patronage, the race of Afghans, as before his time they were not held in estimation.—ED.]

the Mahometan law. He abolished a great number of vexatious taxes and fees, put an end to all fluctuating and precarious imposts, and fixed the revenues in such a manner as to leave as little discretion as possible to the collectors, and to give precision and publicity to the demands of the state. He in some measure fell into the spirit of his times in punishing atheism by banishment, but showed his usual good sense in discouraging luxury in apparel by his own example rather than by sumptuary laws.

His public works.

The following list is given of his public works, for the maintenance of which lands were assigned:—50 dams across rivers, to promote irrigation; 40 mosques, 30 colleges, 100 caravanserais, 30 reservoirs for irrigation, 100 hospitals, 100 public baths, 150 bridges—besides many other edifices for pleasure or ornament.

The round numbers, as well as the amount of some of the items, suggest doubts of the accuracy of this list; but the works of Fíróz that still remain afford sufficent evidence of the magnitude of his undertakings. The most considerable of these is not specified in the list: it is a canal, from the point in the Jumna where it leaves the mountains, by Cárnál, to Hánsi and Hissár. It reaches to the river Gágar, and in former times was again connected with the Satlaj, the nearest of the rivers of the Panjáb. It seems to have been intended for irrigation; but as it has been disused, perhaps since the death of Fíróz, we can only judge of it by the part restored by the British Government, which takes in the whole to beyond Hissár, a distance of 200 miles. This portion now turns mills for grinding corn (which before were not used in India), and is also employed in saw-mills and oil and sugar-mills. It floats down rafts of wood from the mountains, and is capable of conveying merchandise in boats of a certain construction; but its great object is irrigation, by means of which it has fertilized a large tract, and turned the inhabitants from pastoral life to agriculture.[16]

Ghiyás ud dín Tughlak II.

A.D. 1389, February; A.H. 791, Safar.

Ghiyás un dín soon quarrelled with his kinsmen, by whom he had been raised; and was deposed and murdered at the end of five months.

Abúbekr Tughlak.

Abúbekr, grandson of Fíróz by another son, was next made king; and he had reigned for a year, when Násir ud dín left the

[16] Major Colvin, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ii. p. 105.

mountains, where he had remained since his expulsion, returned at the head of an army, and recovered the capital. A contest followed, and lasted for several months, during which time Delhi was more than once lost and recovered, until at length Násir ud dín obtained permanent possession, and soon after made his rival prisoner. It was a remarkable circumstance in this contest, that a Hindú chief named Rái Sarwar was among the most important of the adherents of Násir, and that the Hindús of Méwát took an active part for his opponent. The household troops, who were all foreigners, having shown particular hostility to the conqueror, were banished the city; and as some endeavoured to conceal their character, recourse was had to a test like the Jewish shibboleth, and all were treated as foreigners who could not pronounce a certain letter peculiar to the languages of Hindostan.[17] From these circumstances we may judge of the increased importance of the Hindús, and of the *native* Mahometans, since the separation of the kingdoms of Ghór and India.

A.D. 1389, November; A.H. 792, Zí Haj.

A.D. 1390, August; A.H. 793, Ramazán.

Násir ud dín Tughlak.

The second reign of Násir ud dín, though it presented a scene of general disorder, was marked by few great events.

Farhat ul Múlk, the governor of Guzerát, revolted, and was reduced by Mozaffer Khán, who revolted himself in the next reign. There was also a rebellion of Ráhtór Rájpúts beyond the Jumna; and the weakness into which the royal authority had fallen became everywhere apparent.

This king's vazír was a Hindú convert, and was put to death on the accusation of his own nephew, an unconverted Hindú.

On the death of Násir ud dín, his son Humáyún succeeded, but died at the end of forty-five days, when his younger brother Mahmúd was placed on the throne.

Mahmúd Tughlak.

The young king was a minor, and little qualified to restore the lost authority of the crown. Mozaffer Khán, the governor of Guzerát, began to act as an independent

A.D. 1394, A.H. 796.

[17] ["The king issued an order to the effect that those only were natives who could say the words *K'hará K'hará*; and when the others did not pronounce the words as the king required, but uttered them after the fashion of the men of the East (*Púrb*) and Bangála, they were put to death." (*Ferishta.*) General Briggs, in a note to his translation, thinks that it refers to the letter *r*, but this would present no more difficulty to a native of Bengal than to a Hindústání. Can it refer to the inherent vowel, which a Bengálí would naturally pronounce as o—*K'hará K'hará*?—ED.]

prince. Málwa, which had been reannexed to the crown after the separation of the Deckan, now permanently threw off the yoke, as did the little province of Khándésh; and these new kingdoms remained independent until the time of Akber.

Dissolution of the monarchy.

The king's own vazír also seized on the province of Jounpúr, and founded a kingdom. Meanwhile the capital was torn by sanguinary broils between factions. The remaining provinces looked on with indifference, or fell into disputes among themselves; and while the attention of all parties was absorbed in these fierce commotions, the invasion of Tamerlane burst upon their heads, and overwhelmed the contending parties in one common ruin.

Invasion of Tamerlane.

Tamerlane had united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent, as Chengíz Khan; and, like him, he had carried his destructive inroads into all the surrounding countries. Though a Túrk and a Mussulman,[18] and born in a comparatively civilized country, he was almost as barbarous in his mode of war, and at least as shortsighted in his policy, as the Mogul. His empire was even more transient, since he did not attempt to retain the greater part of the countries he overran; and if some of the fragments that remained to his family became flourishing provinces, it was because the character of his descendants formed almost a contrast to his own. He had conquered Persia and Transoxiana, and ravaged Tartary, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with parts of Russia and Siberia, before he turned his arms, without the pretext of a quarrel, on the distracted empire of Hindostan.

A.D. 1398, A.H. 800.

Early in the spring of A.D. 1398,[19] Pír Mohammed, the grandson of Tamerlane, who had been employed in reducing the Afgháns in the mountains of Soleiman, crossed the Indus in a line with Uch, and soon after laid siege to Multán, an operation which occupied him for upwards of six months.

Meanwhile, Tamerlane passed the Hindú Cush by the usual route to Cábul,[20] left that city in August, and marched by Haryúb and Bannú to Dínkót on the Indus.[21] He crossed that

[18] Tamerlane, or the Amír Timúr, as he is called in Asia, was born at Késh, near Samarcand, where the languages are Túrkí and Persian, and where his family had been settled for 200 years. He claimed a remote descent from the same stock with Chengíz Khán; but all that is certain is, that his grandfather was chief of the tribe of Berlás.

[19] Tamerlane's proceedings are from Price, vol. iii. p. 219, &c., Rennell's *Memoir*, p. 115, &c., and Briggs' *Ferishta*.

[20] His previous expedition into the mountains of the Siápósh Cáfirs will be read with interest in Price, from Mirkhónd.

[21] The exact position of Dínkót is not known, but it must be to the south of the salt range.

river by a bridge of rafts and reeds, and marched to the Hydaspes, and down its banks to Tulamba, reducing the country as he passed. He levied a heavy contribution on Tulamba, which was afterwards sacked, and the inhabitants massacred by the troops,—it is said without his orders.

By this time Pír Mohammed had taken Multán by blockade; but the rains having set in, he lost his horses, and was at length obliged to shut himself up in the town. On the approach of Tamerlane, he set out to meet him, leaving a garrison in Multán, and joined his father on the Gára or Satlaj. A.D. 1398, Oct. 25.

Tamerlane thence proceeded with a light detachment to Adjudin, where he met with no sort of resistance; and as the town was famous for the tomb of a Mahometan saint, "out of respect for his memory, he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place." He then proceeded to Batnér, and massacred the country-people who had taken refuge under the walls. The place afterwards surrendered on terms; Nov. 9. but, by one of those mistakes which so constantly accompanied Tamerlane's capitulations, the town was burned, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. He then marched to Sámána, where he joined his main body, having slaughtered the inhabitants of every place he passed. From Sámána the towns were deserted, and consequently there were no more general massacres. Many prisoners were, however, taken; and on reaching Delhi, Tamerlane put to death all of them above Dec. 12. fifteen years of age (to the number, according to the exaggerated accounts of the Mussulman historians, of 100,000).

The Indian army, which was inferior in numbers and divided in councils, being defeated and driven into the town, Mahmúd Tughlak fled to Guzerát; Delhi surrendered, under a solemn promise of protection; and Tamerlane was publicly proclaimed Emperor of India. Defeat of the Indian army. Dec. 17.

What follows is so constant a concomitant of Tamerlane's promises of protection, that we are at a loss whether to ascribe it to systematic perfidy, or to the habitual ferocity and insubordination of his troops. On this occasion, the most credible accounts attribute *the commencement* to the latter cause.[22] Plunder and violence brought on resistance: "this led to a general massacre; some streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead; and the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army gained admittance, and a scene of horror ensued easier to be imagined than described." Sack, conflagration, and massacre of Delhi.

[22] Briggs' *Ferishta*.

For five days Tamerlane remained a tranquil spectator of the sack and conflagration of the city, and during that time he was celebrating a feast in honour of his victory. When the troops were wearied with slaughter, and nothing was left to plunder, he gave orders for the prosecution of his march; and on the day of his departure he "offered up to the Divine Majesty *the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise* in the noble mosque of polished marble," erected on the banks of the Jumna by Fírúz.[23]

A.D. 1398, Dec. 31.

The booty carried off from Delhi is said to have been very great, and innumerable men and women of all ranks were dragged into slavery. Tamerlane secured to himself the masons and workers in stone and marble, for the purpose of constructing a mosque at Samarcand.

He then marched to Mírat, where there was a general massacre; and afterwards crossed the Ganges, and proceeded up its banks to near Hardwár, where that river leaves the mountains. Several affairs took place with bodies of Hindús in the skirts of the hills, in which Tamerlane exposed his person like a private soldier, and underwent fatigues the more extraordinary as he had reached the age of sixty-three. He marched along the foot of the mountains to Jammú (or Jummoo, north of Láhór); then turned to the south, fell into the route by which he first advanced, and quitted India, leaving anarchy, famine, and pestilence behind him.[24]

Tamerlane returns from India.

A.D. 1399, March; A.H. 801.

We must estimate Tamerlane's character from his actions, and not from the motives assigned to him by panegyrists, nor from maxims drawn up by his orders according to his idea of a perfect government. His own memoirs of his life throw a true light on his character.[25] They are written in the plain and picturesque style of Túrkí autobiography; and if there was a doubt that they were from Tamerlane's dictation, it would be removed by the unconscious simplicity with which he relates his own intrigues and perfidy, taking credit all the time for an excess of goodness and sincerity which the boldest flatterer would not have ventured to ascribe to him. The mixture also of cant and hypocrisy, with real superstition and devotion, could not have been exhibited by any hand but his own; and these traits, with his courage, prudence,

His character.

[23] Price, apparently from Mirkhónd.

[24] About the 10th of March 1399, A.H. 801. He was now marching on his famous expedition against Bajazet.

[25] *Malfúzát Tímúrí*, translated by Major Stewart.

and address, his perfect knowledge of mankind, and his boldness in practising on their weakness, make one of the most extraordinary pictures ever presented to the world. The commanding language of barbarous conquerors, contrasted with the evasions of the princes whom they threaten, leads us to figure them as rude and artless soldiers; but the essential character of Tamerlane was that of a wily politician, and probably it was to similar talents that the other Tartar conquerors owed their ascendancy over so many chiefs, who were their equals in merely military qualities.

There is a resemblance between the histories of Chengíz Khán and Tamerlane; but of those two enemies of mankind, the first was perhaps the most violent, and the second the most perfidious.

For two months after Tamerlane's departure Delhi remained without a government, and almost without inhabitants. A struggle then took place for the possession of it, in which a chief named Ecbál, who had been in power under Mahmúd, was at last successful. He failed in various attempts to extend his authority beyond the districts round the capital, and, at last, was killed on a distant expedition towards Multán.

Anarchy at Delhi. A.D. 1400, A.H. 802.

Mahmúd had returned from Guzerát, and for some time lived as a pensioner at Delhi; then at Canouj, a city belonging to the king of Jounpúr, on which Ecbál made several attempts; at last, on that chief's death, he was restored to the possession of Delhi. He died there, after a nominal reign of twenty years, and was succeeded by Doulat Khán Lódí, who, at the end of fifteen months, was expelled by Khizr Khán, the governor of the Panjáb.

A.D. 1405, A.H. 808. A.D. 1412, A.H. 814. A.D. 1414, A.H. 817

GOVERNMENT OF THE SEIADS.

For thirty-six years after this, there was no kingdom of India, either in name or in reality. Khizr Khán affected to regard Tamerlane as emperor, and to govern in his name, without the title or forms of royalty. He was a descendant of the Prophet, though himself a native of India; and, with three of his descendants who succeeded him, forms what is called the dynasty of the Seiads. He obtained scarcely any territory with Delhi:

Seiad Khizr Khan A.D. 1414, A.H. 817. Seiad Mobárick A.D. 1421, A.H. 824. Seiad Mohammed A.D. 1435, A.H. 839.

his original province of the Panjáb soon revolted, and his family had to struggle for the possession of a part of it during the whole period of their government. They, however, made some spirited attempts to extend their territory, and made incursions into Málwa and the borders of Rájpútána; but in the time of Seiad Alá ud dín, the last of the race, the frontier came in one place to within a mile of the city-walls, and nowhere extended beyond twelve. But Alá ud dín possessed Badáún, a town about one hundred miles east of Delhi; and to it he at length retired, making over his former capital and his pretensions to Behlúl Khán Lódí, who assumed the title of king.

Seiad Alá ud dín. A.D. 1444, A.H. 849.

A.D. 1450, A.H. 854.

HOUSE OF LÓDÍ.

Behlúl Lódí.

The ancestors of Behlúl had been enriched by commerce, and his grandfather was governor of Multán under Fírúz Tughlak, who was the first great patron of the Afgháns. Behlúl's father and several of his uncles held commands under the Seiad rulers; and one of them, Islám Khán, was so considerable, that he had 12,000 men of his own nation in his pay. The power of the family, together with the calumnies of a disaffected relation, at length excited the jealousy of Seiad Mohammed, and the Lódís were persecuted and driven into the hills. They continued to resist the Seiads' authority, until Behlúl had an opportunity of occupying, first Sirhind, and afterwards the whole of the Panjáb.

Rise of the family of Lódí.

Behlúl had been invited to Delhi by Hamíd, the vazír of his predecessor; but, finding himself overshadowed by this powerful subject, he seized his person by a stratagem, and after he had broken his influence, allowed him to retire to private life.

Behlúl's accession again brought back the Panjáb to Delhi. Multán had become independent during the time of the Seiads, and Behlúl had marched against it, when he was recalled by an attack of the king of Jounpúr, who had laid siege to Delhi. A war now commenced with that prince, which was continued, with short intervals of hollow peace, for twenty-six years, and ended in the conquest of Jounpúr, which was permanently reannexed to Delhi. Behlúl survived this long war for ten

Panjáb reannexed to Delhi

A.D. 1451, A.H. 855

Recovery of Jounpúr A.D. 1478, A.H. 883.

years, and made other conquests on a smaller scale; so that at his death he left a territory extending from the Jumna to the Himálaya mountains as far east as Benáres, besides a tract on the west of the Jumna extending to Bundélcand. A.D. 1488, A.H. 894.

Secander Lódí.

Secander's accession was disputed by some chiefs on the part of his infant nephew. It was afterwards contested in the field by two of his brothers, one of whom maintained an obstinate struggle. Secander was successful on all these occasions, and treated the inferior rebels with clemency, and his relations with affection. He reannexed Behár as far as the frontiers of Bengal to Delhi, and also extended his territories in the direction of Bundélcand.[26] His internal administration was just and vigorous, and he seems, in all other respects, to have been a mild and excellent prince. But he was one of the few bigots who have sat on the throne of India. He destroyed the temples in towns and forts that he took from Hindús, and he forbade the people performing pilgrimages, and bathing on certain festivals at places on the sacred streams within his own dominions. On one occasion he carried his zeal to cruelty and injustice; for a Bramin having been active in propagating the doctrine that "all religions, if sincerely practised, were equally acceptable to God," he summoned him to defend this opinion, in his presence, against twelve Mahometan divines; and, on his refusing to renounce his tolerant maxims, put him to death.[27] Good administration of Secander. His bigotry

A holy man of his own religion having remonstrated with him on his prohibition of pilgrimages, Secander drew his sword, exclaiming, "Wretch, do you defend idolatry?" He was appeased by the answer,—"No; but I maintain that kings ought not to persecute their subjects."

When marching against one of his brothers, a kalandar addressed him with prayers for his success, on which he said, "Pray for victory to him who will best promote the good of his subjects."

[26] ["But the monarchy was only a congeries of nearly independent principalities, jágírs, etc.; all offices were committed to Afgháns, and men of the Lodi, Fermali, and Lohání tribes held all the principal jágírs." (Erskine's *Babar and Humayun*, vol. i. p. 406.)—ED.]

[27] The Bramin was probably a disciple of Kabir, a Hindú philosopher, who taught similar doctrines at an earlier period in this century. (See Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 55.) [See his *Religious Sects*, in his collected works, vol. i. ED.]

Secander was a poet, and a great patron of letters. He died at Agra, after a reign of twenty-eight years.[28]

Ibráhím Lódí.

Ibráhím, who succeeded, had none of his father's virtues. He disgusted his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it one of his brothers was proclaimed king at Jounpúr, was subdued in the course of a twelvemonth, and was privately executed by Ibráhím, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Islám Khán next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion; some were secretly made away with, after being imprisoned; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of Ibráhím's dominions threw off its obedience, and formed a separate state under Deryá Khán Lohání, whose son afterwards took the title of king. Doulat Khán Lódí, the governor of the Panjáb, dreading the fate of so many other chiefs, revolted, and called in the aid of Báber, who had for some time reigned in Cábul. Báber had before invaded the Panjáb, which he claimed as part of the inheritance of Tamerlane, and he now gladly availed himself of this invitation; but some other Afghán chiefs, either from attachment to Ibráhím, or aversion to a foreigner, drove out Doulat Khán, and opposed Báber in the field. They were totally defeated near Láhór, and that city was reduced to ashes by the victors. Dípálpúr was next stormed, and the garrison put to the sword; and at this place Báber was joined by Doulat Khán. He had reason, soon after, to suspect the intentions of this person, and threw him and his sons into confinement. Relenting subsequently, he released them, treated them honourably, and granted them a jágír. He did not, however, succeed in removing their distrust: by the time he had reached Sirhind, on his advance towards Delhi, Doulat Khán and one of his sons revolted, and fled to the hills.[29] Unwilling to

Discontents and rebellions.

Invasion of Babar.

A.D. 1524, A.H. 930

[28] He died A.D. 1517, or 1518. See Erskine's *Baber and Humayun*, vol. i. p. 407. Ed.]

[29] The other son whose name was Dilawar, adhered to Baber, and had a high place in his confidence. He had the title of Khání Khánán, the second in the Court of Delhi, and continued to be a person of great authority in his reign and Humáyún's.

leave such dangerous enemies behind him, Báber determined to return to Cábul. He nevertheless kept his hold on the country he had reduced, and left persons on whom he could depend in the principal places. At Díbálpúr he left Alá ud dín, an uncle of King Ibráhím, who seems to have escaped from confinement, and who had joined Báber. Doulat Khán now returned to the Panjáb, and overran great part of it, Alá ud dín flying to Cábul, but in the end Doulat Khán was entirely defeated by one of Báber's generals; and as that monarch himself was engaged in defending Balkh against the Uzbeks, he sent Alá ud dín to India, with orders to his own chiefs to assist him. Thus supported, Alá ud dín advanced to Delhi, and, from the general disaffection, his army was soon swelled to 40,000 men. With this force he engaged Ibráhím under the walls of Delhi, and was totally defeated. By this time Báber had settled Balkh, and was advanced as far as Láhór on his way into India. From Láhór he marched into the hills in pursuit of Doulat Khán, who submitted and gave up his fort;[30] after which Báber continued his route through the hills to Rópúr on the Satlaj, above Lodiána, and from thence nearly by the direct road to Delhi. At Pánípat he found himself in the neighbourhood of Ibráhím, who had come out to meet him at the head of an army amounting, as it was represented to Báber, to 100,000 men, with 1,000 elephants. On the approach of this force, Báber took up a position, linked his guns together by ropes of twisted leather, and lined them with infantry further protected by breastworks. He likewise strengthened his flanks with fieldworks of earth and fascines. His army, including followers, amounted to no more than 12,000 men. When Ibráhím drew near, he also fortified his position; but had not steadiness enough to adhere to his plan of awaiting an attack, and in a few days led out his army to storm Báber's lines. As soon as he was engaged with the front, Báber ordered his right and left wings to attack the flanks and rear of the enemy. They accordingly advanced, and plied them with their arrows, until the Indian troops, after attempting, in a few feeble charges, to drive them off, fell into disorder; when Báber, who had hitherto been annoying them with his cannon, ordered his centre to move forward, and completed the rout of the enemy. Ibráhím was killed, and the Indian army, having been nearly

He retreats from Sirhind.

Return of Baber. December.

Defeat and death of Ibrahim, A.D. 1526, April 21

[30] His son Ghází Khán fled, and Báber took possession of his library, in which he found a number of valuable books. One would have thought the Korán a sufficient library for an Afghán chief of those days.

surrounded during the battle, suffered prodigious loss in the defeat. Báber judged from observation that 15,000 or 16,000 lay dead on the field, of whom 5,000 or 6,000 lay in one spot around their king. The Indians reported that not less than 40,000 perished in the battle and pursuit.

This action does not give a high idea of the military character of either party. It lasted from soon after sunrise till noon, during which period, Báber observes, with satisfaction, that his guns were discharged *many times* to good purpose.[31] The service of artillery would not in that age have been much better in Europe; but although Báber's plan of harassing the enemy's flanks and rear with arrows seems to be justified by its success, it does not appear remarkable either for skill or spirit, or likely to have been carried on with impunity against an active enemy.

Occupation of Delhi and Agra. May 10.

Delhi was surrendered, and Báber advanced and took possession of Agra, which had lately been the royal residence.

From a list of Ibráhím's nobles, given by Ferishta, they appear all to have been of the Afghán tribes of Lódí or Lohání, or of that called Fermalí, who were mixed with the Afgháns, like the Khiljís, if indeed they are not a portion of the latter people.

The rája[32] of Gwáliór, who was reduced to submission during the last reign, accompanied Ibráhím's army, and fell along with him in the battle.

Báber reviews his own conquest with much complacency, and compares it to those of Sultán Mahmúd and Shaháb ud dín; and although we must not confound the acquisition of the few distracted provinces held by Ibráhím with the subjugation of India, yet it must be admitted that his enterprise was as glorious in its achievement as it was memorable in its effects. His force seemed insufficient even to occupy the territory he had to subdue, and it was drawn with difficulty from his own dominions, still threatened by the Uzbeks, whose power the combined force of the whole House of Tamerlane had proved unable to withstand.

Báber's conduct to the places where he met with resistance was as inhuman as that of Tamerlane, who was naturally his model.

The smallness of his force was some justification of the means

[31] [In a later series of sketches Báber remarks that one of his pieces proved remarkably well, "the first day it was discharged eight times, the second sixteen times, and the same rate continued for three or four days." (Erskine, vol. i. p. 486.) Ed.]

[32] *Ibn Batuta*, p. 133.

he took to strike a terror, but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him. His natural disposition was remarkably humane; and although we cannot help being shocked at these occurrences, and at two or three cruel executions mentioned in his memoirs, yet they prove no more against his personal character in this respect, than his slaughtering Gauls or crucifying pirates against Cæsar's clemency.

Báber was the founder of a line of kings under whom India rose to the highest pitch of prosperity, and out of the ruins of whose empire all the existing states in that country are composed.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF BÁBER TO THE ACCESSION OF AKBER.

HOUSE OF TÍMÚR.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF BÁBER.

THE early life of Báber[1] was a tissue of surprising vicissitudes and romantic adventures.[2] He was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane. The extensive dominions of his grandfather, Abúsaíd, were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. One of them, Ahmed Mírzá, obtained Samarcand and Bokhárá; Balkh (or Bactria) fell to another, Mahmúd Mírzá; and Cábul to a third, whose name was Ulugh Bég. Omar Shékh Mírzá, the fourth son, and the father of Báber, had at first been in charge of Cábul; but was transferred during his father's lifetime to Ferghána,[3] on the upper course of the Jaxartes, a small but rich and beautiful country, of which

Descent and early life of Báber.

[1] [His real name was Zahír ud dín Muhammad; Báber "the lion" was his Tartar sobriquet. ED.]

[2] The account of Báber is taken from his own *Memoirs*, translated by Mr. Erskine. It differs, in some respects, from that given by Ferishta. [Mr. Erskine subsequently published a history of the reigns of Báber and Humáyún in two volumes, which may be said to have fully and finally elucidated this part of Muhammadan Indian history. ED.]

[3] [Now Kokan. ED.]

Báber always speaks with fondness. The mother of Báber was a *Mogul*, the sister of Mahmúd Khán, a descendant of Chaghatái Khán, and head of *his* branch of the empire of Chengíz Khán. This connexion does not seem to have inspired any attachment on the part of Báber towards the Mogul nation, of whom he never speaks in his memoirs but with contempt and aversion.[4]

His wars and adventures in his youth.

Báber was only twelve years old at the death of his father and his own accession (A.D. 1494). Omar Shékh Mírzá had just been involved in a war with his brother, Ahmed Mírzá, of Samarcand, and his brother-in-law, Mahmúd Khán, the Mogul; and those princes showed no disposition to relent in favour of their youthful nephew. They, however, failed entirely in an attack on his capital, and shortly after Ahmed Mírzá died. He was succeeded by his brother, the king of Bactria. He also died soon after, and was succeeded by his son, Báisanghar Mírzá. Confusions ensued, and Báber was induced to attempt the conquest of Samarcand for himself. Though he had for some time conducted his own government, he was as yet only fifteen; and considering that circumstance, together with the insignificance of his means, it is much less surprising that he more than once failed in this undertaking, than that his spirit and perseverance were at last rewarded with success (A.D. 1497).

The possession of the capital of Tamerlane, which seemed a step to the sovereignty of all Transoxiana, proved in itself to be more than Báber had strength to maintain. The country of Samarcand was exhausted by long disorders, and afforded no means of paying his troops, who, in consequence, began to desert in great numbers. They spread their discontent among those left in Ferghána, and at last openly revolted, under Ahmed Tambol, one of Báber's principal leaders, in the name of his younger brother, Jehángír Mírzá. Such a rebellion at home allowed no time for delay, and Báber left Samarcand, after a reign of a hundred days: on his departure the inhabitants immediately threw off their obedience to him. An unfortunate illness, which he with difficulty survived, so retarded his operations, that, by the time he had abandoned Samarcand, he found

[4] "Under these circumstances," observes Mr. Erskine, "it may seem one of the strangest caprices of fortune, that the empire which he founded in India should have been called, both in the country and by foreigners, the empire of the Moguls; thus taking its name from a race which he detested." (Erskine's *Babar*, p. 236.) [Cf. the passage quoted in p. 391.] The reason is, that the Indians call all northern Mussulmans, except the Afgháns, Moguls: they now apply the term particularly to the Persians.

he had lost his hereditary dominions. On this he had recourse to his Mogul uncle, and, sometimes with slender aid from him, but oftener with his own resources alone, he made various attempts, not without partial success, both on Samarcand and Ferghána. At length, in 1499, he succeeded in recovering his native kingdom; but he had not entirely subdued the rebels, when he was tempted by strong invitations from Samarcand to set out for that capital. Before he reached his destination, he learned that both Samarcand and Bokhárá were occupied by the Uzbeks, then founding the dominion which they still possess over Transoxiana.[5]

Meanwhile Tambol had again seized on Ferghána, and Báber was compelled to take refuge in the almost inaccessible mountains to the south of that country. While there he learned that Sheibání Khán, the chief of the Uzbeks, had left Samarcand on an expedition; and, with characteristic spirit of enterprise, he determined to avail himself of the opportunity to attempt to surprise that city. He set off with only 240 men; escaladed the walls in the night, overpowered the guards, and magnified the impression of his numbers by boldness and rapidity, until the citizens rose in his favour, and massacred the Uzbeks wherever they were to be found. Sheibání Khán hastened back on this intelligence, but found the gates shut against him, and ultimately withdrew to Bokhárá.

The whole of Sogdiana now declared for Báber. He remained for six months in quiet possession, and employed the interval in endeavours to form a combination among the neighbouring princes, by impressing them with a sense of their danger from the Uzbeks. His exertions were fruitless, and he was obliged to encounter alone the whole power of Sheibání. The hopes of success, which even then he continued to cherish, were frustrated by the baseness of some Mogul auxiliaries, who left the battle for the purpose of plundering his baggage. The consequence was a total defeat, and Báber was obliged to retire, with the few troops that adhered to him, within the walls of Samarcand. He resolved to defend that place to the last extremity, and repelled various assaults that were made on him by the

[5] The Uzbeks (so called from one of their khans) were a mass of tribes of Túrki, Mogul, and probably of Fennic origin, moulded into one people, but with a great preponderance of Túrks. They had before been settled on the Jaik, and had been in possession of a large tract in Siberia. (Erskine's *Báber*, Introduction, pp. lix. lx.) [They embraced Muhammadanism, under their chief Uzbek Khán, about 1340. They had received a great defeat from the father of Mahmúd Khán, in 1473, but they were now reunited under Sheibání, whom Mahmúd Khán had made his governor in Turkistán.—ED.]

Uzbeks. Sheibání had then recourse to a blockade, and in four months reduced his enemies to all the miseries of famine. The inhabitants perished in great numbers; the soldiers let themselves down from the walls, and deserted; and Báber, who had shared in all the privations of the people, was compelled at last to evacuate the town.

After this he spent nearly two years in the utmost poverty and distress, sometimes in the mountains, and oftener in his uncle's camp, where he remained in such a state of destitution that his very servants left him from absolute want. He seems to have been almost reduced to despondency by his repeated misfortunes, and once resolved to withdraw to China, and pass his life in obscurity and retirement. Occasional openings in Ferghána served to keep alive his hopes; and at length, with the help of his uncle, he recovered the capital,[6] and was joined by his brother Jehángír, who had hitherto been his nominal rival. Tambol, in this strait, called in the formidable aid of the Uzbeks. Báber was overpowered, compelled to fly, after a desperate conflict in the street, and so hotly pursued that his companions, one by one, fell into the hands of the enemy, and his own horse was so much exhausted that he was overtaken by two of Tambol's soldiers. They endeavoured to persuade him to surrender; and Báber, while he kept up the parley, continued to push on towards the mountains. At length he thought he had succeeded, by arguments and entreaties, in bringing over the pursuers to his interest, and they took a solemn oath to share his fortunes; but whether they were originally insincere, or lost heart when they contemplated the prospect before them, they ended by betraying Báber to his enemies, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he again recovered his freedom. He only escaped to a condition almost as hopeless as captivity. His uncle's Mogul army had been defeated by Sheibání, and himself made prisoner; while the whole of Transoxiana, except that annexed to Bactria, fell into the hands of the Uzbeks.

He is driven out of Transoxiana.

All his prospects being thus extinguished, Báber bade a last farewell to his native country of Ferghána, and set out to try his fortune in new scenes beyond the range of the Hindú Cush.

After all that he had done and suffered (enough to fill up an eventful life), Báber was yet only in his twenty-third year. He bore his numerous reverses with the elasticity of youth. He himself tells us that he often shed many tears, and composed

[6] [Andejún was the chief town of Ferghána, but Báber's father had made Akhsi his capital.—Ed.]

many melancholy verses; but in general his cheerful temper buoyed him up, and enabled him to enjoy the present, and to entertain favourable prospects of the future. He says he never had more perfect pleasure than for a few days after he evacuated Samarçand, when he first got a full meal, a quiet night's rest, and a temporary freedom from labour and anxiety. He had often similar moments of enjoyment, thanks to his sociable habits, and his relish for simple pleasures. He pauses, in relating one of his desperate expeditions, to describe a particular sort of melon with which he had been struck: if ever he had an interval of rest, he was occupied with plants and gardening; and during all his marches, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away on him. It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can enter as into Báber's.

Bactria was now in the hands of Khusrou Sháh, a favourite of Báber's late uncle, and afterwards minister to his cousin, Báisanghar Mírzá, the same whom he had driven out of Samarcand. Khusrou Sháh had since murdered his master, and was in possession of what remained of his dominions. He endeavoured to conciliate Báber, and received him with a show of hospitality when he entered his territory His professions arose from a sense of his own insecurity; it was not long ere all the Moguls in his employment proffered their services to Báber; and, before they had openly declared themselves, Khusrou's own brother, Báki, came over to the same side, and was followed by the whole of the army. When Báber approached Khusrou's frontier he had between two and three hundred followers, many of them armed with clubs; and only two tents, the best of which was allotted to his mother. He now set out to invade Cábul, at the head of a regular and well-equipped army. His uncle, Ulugh Bég, the king of that country, had expired two years before; his son and successor had been expelled by his minister; and *he*, in his turn, had been dispossessed by the Mogul or Túrkí family of Arghún, who had been for some time in possession of Candahár. Báber occupied Cábul almost without opposition (A.D. 1504); and, regarding the original owner as completely ejected, he took possession in his own name, and subsequently resisted an attempt of his cousin to regain his inheritance. He afterwards lost Bactria, which was recovered by Khusrou Sháh, and ultimately conquered by the Uzbeks. Báber's connexion with the country beyond the mountains was therefore entirely cut off. He was

now king of Cábul, over which country he reigned for twenty-two years before his conquest of India, and which was enjoyed by his descendants till the end of the seventeenth century.

Acquires the kingdom of Cábul.

But though Báber had gained a fixed establishment, he was by no means in a state of repose. He had, in fact, only changed the character of his toils and perils. He was still threatened from without, by an enemy who had hitherto proved irresistible; and within, a great part of his territory was in the hands of independent tribes, and so strong that he could not hope to subdue it, while part of the rest was possessed by personal enemies and rivals. His title was doubtful; he had no minister whom he could trust; his brother Jehángír had but lately joined him, after having been long in rebellion; and his army was an assemblage of adventurers, strangers to him, and traitors to their former masters.

His first years were spent in the conquest of Candahár, in expeditions into the mountains of the Afgháns and Hazárehs, and in a dangerous journey to Herát, to concert measures with that branch of the house of Tamerlane for their common defence against the Uzbeks. On these occasions he underwent the usual risks and more than the usual hardships of war, and had once nearly perished in the snow, during a winter march through the mountains of the Hazárehs.

In this period his brother Jehángír revolted (A.D. 1506), but was subdued and pardoned: a more serious insurrection took place while he was at Herát, when his Mogul troops set up one of his cousins as king, who was also defeated and pardoned (A.D. 1507); and he was afterwards brought to the brink of ruin by a conspiracy of the Moguls, who had come over from Khusrou Sháh. These men, from two to three thousand in number, gave the first sign of their disaffection by an attempt to seize Báber's person; and when he had escaped, and fled from Cábul, they called in Abd ur Razzák, the son of Ulugh Bég, whom Báber had supplanted in the government (A.D. 1508). The right of this young man had probably little influence, for all the princes of the house of Tamerlane seemed to consider that conqueror's dominions as a common prize, from which each might take what share he could: his strength lay in the connexions he possessed in a country where his father had reigned, and those were so powerful that Báber found himself deserted by the whole of his troops, except about 500 men. A moment's despondency at this crisis would have been fatal, but Báber

made up for his small force by the boldness and activity of his enterprises; he led his troops to repeated encounters, exposed himself in the hottest of every engagement, and, almost entirely by his personal courage and exertions, at last retrieved his affairs.[7]

His most important wars were with his old enemies the Uzbeks. Sheibání Khán, after the conquest of Transoxiana, invaded Khorásán, took Herát, and extinguished the principal branch of the house of Tamerlane.[8] He then advanced to Candahár, and took the city. He was drawn off by distant troubles before he had reduced the citadel; but left it so weakened that it fell into the hands of its old possessors the Arghúns, who had remained in the neighbourhood, and who now retained it for several years (from A.D. 1507 to 1522). What might have been Báber's fortune if the Uzbeks had continued their progress, it is not easy to surmise. It is possible he might have shared the fate of so many princes of his family, had not Sheibání Khán encountered a new enemy, whose success put a stop to the career of Tartar conquest. This was Sháh Ismaíl Safaví, king of Persia, with whom Sheibání went to war about this time, and by whom he was totally defeated and slain (A.D. 1510).

His death opened a new field to Báber, or rather recalled him to that which had been the scene of his earliest exploits. He immediately occupied Bactria, made an alliance with Sháh Ismaíl, and, with the aid of a Persian force, took Bokhárá, and again obtained possession of Samarcand (A.D. 1511).

But he was destined never to be long successful in Transoxiana: before the end of a twelvemonth he was driven out of Samarcand by the Uzbeks; and although he maintained the contest, with the support of the Persians, for two years longer, yet he at last suffered a total defeat, and lost all his acquisitions except Bactria[9] (A.D. 1514).[10]

It was after this failure that he turned his serious attention

[7] Mr. Erskine, from Khafí Khán and Ferishta. Báber's Memoirs break off in the beginning of the insurrection, and are not resumed for some years. The intervening portion seems never to have been written. (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 236.

[8] [The great sultán, Husain Mirzá Baikará, had died in 1506; his sons were quite unfit for the emergency, and the whole family were killed or driven into exile. In 1507 Sheibani had conquered Samarcand, Ferghána, Hissár, Kharizm, and Khorásán, and ruled from beyond the Jaxartes to the Hindú Kush.—ED.]

[9] [Balkh was held by the King of Persia. Báber had Kunduz, and his cousin Mirzá Khan held Badakhshan under him. (Erskine, vol. i. p. 424 ED.]

[10] [In 1522, Báber gains possession of Candahár by a capitulation; and Shah Beg Arghún establishes himself in Upper Sind, Jam Firuz, the reigning king, being confined to Lower Sind. The capital of the former is Bhekor, that of the latter Tatta. His son, Shah Hasan Arghún, adds Lower Sind to his previous dominions; and the Arghún dynasty holds Sind until Akber's time.—ED.]

His views on India.

to India, and began those enterprises, the result of which has already been related.

A.D. 1526, A.H. 933. Báber's proceedings after his victory over Ibráhím.

After the taking of Agra, Báber's first act was to distribute the captured treasures to his adherents. He gave his son Humáyún a diamond, which was esteemed one of the finest in the world; and he sent a present of a shábrukhí each to every man, woman, and child, slave or free, in the country of Cábul.[11]

But, although in possession of the capital, Báber was far from having conquered the kingdom. He only occupied the part to the north-west of Delhi, with a narrow tract along the Jumna to Agra. The whole of the country to the east of the Ganges had become independent, in Ibráhím's time, under Deryá Khán Lohání. His son took the title of king, by the name of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, and seems to have possessed Behár on both sides of the Ganges. Many places on the west of the Jumna had also been in rebellion in Ibráhím's time, and many of those which had been obedient now held out, under the Afghán and Fermalí chiefs belonging to the late government. Nor was this the only opposition with which Báber had to contend: a strong dislike and hostility at first subsisted between his troops and the Indians, the villages round his camp were deserted, and it became a matter of great difficulty to procure grain or forage for the army. In addition to this, the summer, always nearly intolerable to natives of cold countries, was in that year unusually oppressive, and so affected his troops that all ranks began to murmur, and at length to clamour to be led back to Cábul: some even made preparations for returning without leave. On this Báber assembled the officers, and pointed out to them that, as the conquest of India had long been the great object of their labours, it would be weakness and disgrace to abandon it, now that it was achieved: that *he*, therefore, was determined to remain in India; that all who chose to return were at liberty to do so at once, but that henceforth he would hear of no remonstrances against his resolution. This address induced the greater part to give up their discontents. Khája Kilán, however, one of his best and most confidential chiefs, was among those that decided to return, and was accordingly appointed to a government beyond the Indus, and dismissed with honour to his new charge.

Discontent of his troops.

[11] The shábrukhi is only 10*d*. or 11*d*., but the whole sum must have been very great; and this injudicious expenditure justifies the nickname of "the Kalandar," given to him at the time, from a religious order, whose practice it is to keep nothing for to-morrow. He could not always have been so profuse, though always generous; for after he once got Cábul, we hear of no financial embarrassments.

The determination so strongly expressed had an effect even on the enemy; and many, who had hitherto expected Báber to withdraw, as Tamerlane had done, now made their submission; detachments were sent to reduce others; and, in the course of the next four months, not only had the country held by Sultán Ibráhím been secured, but all the revolted provinces ever possessed by the house of Lódí, including the former kingdom of Jounpúr, were brought into subjection by an army under Prince Humáyún, Báber's eldest son.

The last places which submitted were Biána, Dhulpúr on the Chambal, and Gwáliór beyond that river. A.D. 1526. July to Oct.; A.H. 932.

After he had thus been acknowledged by all the Mussulmans, Báber had to commence a war with the Hindús, who, contrary to their usual practice, were on this occasion the aggressors. His war with Sanga, rána of Méwár.

Hamír Sing, the Rájpút prince who recovered Chítór in the reign of Alá ud dín Khiljí (A.D. 1316), had, in the course of a long reign, re-established the Rájpút dominion over all Méwár, to which his son had added Ajmír.[12] After the separation of Málwa from Delhi, the new kings of that country were engaged in frequent hostilities with the rájas of Méwár; and, immediately before the time of Báber, Mahmúd, king of Málwa, had been defeated and taken prisoner by Sanga, the Rájpút prince[13] (A.D. 1519).

Sanga, the sixth in succession from Hamír, possessed all the hereditary dominions of Méwár, and likewise held the eastern part of Málwa, as far as Bhílsa and Chándérí,[14] in dependence. He was recognised as their leader by the rájas of Márwár and Jeipúr, and all the other Rájpút princes.[15]

Being a natural enemy to the King of Delhi, he had opened a friendly communication with Báber while he was advancing against Ibráhím; and for the same reason he began to form combinations against him, as soon as he found him established in the former position of that prince. Besides his Hindú allies, Sanga was on this occasion accompanied by Mahmúd, a prince of the house of Lódí,[16] who had assumed the title of king, and, though possessed of no territory, was followed by 10,000 adherents. The Lódí chiefs formerly driven out by Humáyún also returned to their former possessions, or raised men in other places to co-operate with the rája. Great efforts were made on

[12] Colonel Tod's *Rajasthán*, vol. i. p. 274.

[13] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 261.

[14] Báber's *Memoirs*, p. 312.

[15] Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 299.

[16] [A brother of the late Sultán Ibráhim.—ED.]

both sides to secure the alliance of Hasan Khán, rája of Méwát, who, by his name, must have been a converted Hindú. His territory is that hilly tract extending towards the river Chambal, from within twenty-five miles of Delhi, and including the petty state which is now called Machéri or Alwar.

The son of this chief being a hostage in Báber's hands, he adopted the liberal policy of sending him to his father, as the true way to gain his sincere co-operation. His generosity did not make the desired impression, for Hasan Khán was no sooner set at ease about his son than he openly joined the enemy. Rája Sanga immediately advanced to support his ally, and soon arrived at Biána, within fifty miles of Agra. He drove the garrison of that place, with loss, into their fort, and cut off all communication between them and the capital. Báber, on this, sent forward a detachment to observe the enemy, and soon after moved out with all his forces. He had reached Síkrí,[17] about twenty miles from Agra, when he found himself in the neighbourhood of the Hindú army. His advanced guard was immediately attacked, and, though reinforced from the main body, was defeated with heavy loss. If the rája had pressed on during the first panic, it is probable he would have obtained an easy victory; he chose to withdraw to his encampment after his success, and thus allowed Báber ample time to take up a position and to fortify his camp, so as to make it a difficult matter to assail him.

February 18 or 19.

Báber's troops had looked on this contest in a very serious light from the first; and the reports of fugitives, together with the disaster which had taken place almost before their eyes, had made a very deep impression on them; when, by ill-luck, a celebrated astrologer arrived from Cábul, and loudly announced, from the aspect of Mars, the certain defeat of the king's army, which happened to be in the quarter opposite to that planet. The consternation occasioned by these real and imaginary terrors was so general, that even the officers of the highest rank were infected, lost all courage and decision in council, and could scarcely even maintain an appearance of firmness before their men. Báber's Indian troops began to desert; some of them went over to the enemy; and the rest of the army, though faithful, was completely dispirited and alarmed. Báber himself, though he despised the prediction of the astrologer, was not insensible to the dangers of his situation: he tells us that he repented of his sins, forswore wine, and gave away his gold and

[17] Now Fattehpúr Síkrí.

silver drinking-vessels, to the poor; he also made a vow to let his beard grow, and promised to remit the stamp-tax on all Mussulmans, if it should please God to give him victory. But he was too much used to danger to be depressed; and that he might infuse some of his own spirit into his troops, he assembled his officers of all ranks, and without touching on the usual topics of necessity, or of spoil and conquests,—scarcely even on that of religion,—he made a direct appeal to their sense of honour, and set the chance of glory against the risk of death. His theme seems to have been well chosen, for the whole assembly answered him with one voice, and accompanied their acclamations with an oath on the Koran to conquer or die. This scene revived the courage of the army; and, as every day brought in accounts of some fresh disorder in the provinces, Báber determined no longer to avoid an action, but to bring things to an immediate crisis. With this view, he drew up his army in front of his entrenchments, and after arranging his guns, and making his other preparations, he galloped along the line from right to left, animating his soldiers by short addresses, and instructing the officers how to conduct themselves in the battle. The Hindús, it appears, were equally ready for a decisive effort; but so anxious is Báber to do justice to the great occasion, that, instead of his own account of the action, he gives us the elaborate despatch of his secretary, from which we can barely discover, in many pages of flowery declamation, that Báber gained a great victory, that Rája Sanga escaped with difficulty, and that Hasan Khán and many other chiefs were slain. Báber (to return to his own narrative) could now relieve his heart by a torrent of abuse against the astrologer, who came to congratulate him on his victory, and whom he inveighed against as a perverse, conceited, and insufferable evil-speaker: he was an old servant, however, and Báber made him a liberal present, while he desired him to quit his dominions.

Battle of Sikrí; victory of Báber. A.D. 1527, March 16; A.H. 933, Jamádi-l-a's Sani 13.

After this victory, Báber proceeded to reduce Méwát, and brought it into greater order than it ever had been in under the former government. Having promised, before the great battle, that he would allow anyone who pleased leave of absence to Cábul; he formed all who desired to avail themselves of that permission into a detachment, and sent them back under the command of Humáyún.

Settlement of the country.

He spent the next six months in internal arrangements, and restoring order throughout the provinces that had been disturbed

during the doubtful period of his contest with Rája Sanga; and by the end of the year his authority was everywhere re-established, except on Oudh, beyond the Ganges. A body of Afgháns still remained in arms in that province, and a detachment had been sent against them.

About the beginning of the next year Báber marched against Chándérí, on the borders of Bundélcand and Málwa. It was held by Médní Rái, a Rájpút chief who had risen to great power under Mahmúd II., king of Málwa. He had afterwards usurped the government; and, on being expelled by Mahmúd with the aid of the king of Guzerát, established himself at Chándérí, under the protection of Rája Sanga. He had made good his retreat after the late battle, and now offered a desperate resistance. But the Rájpúts, as usual, showed more valour than skill or perseverance. On the second day of the siege they gave up all for lost, and Báber witnessed one of those extraordinary instances of self-devotion which are so common in Rájpút history. His troops had already mounted the works, when the garrison put their women to death, and rushed forth naked, not to conquer, but to die. They drove the Mussulmans before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued their charge with unabated fury until they were overpowered and destroyed: 200 or 300 had remained to defend Médní Rái's house, most of whom slew each other, each contending who should be the first victim.

A.D. 1528, A.H. 934. Siege of Chándérí.

A.D. 1528, January 20.

During the siege of Chándérí, Báber received intelligence of the defeat of his detachment in Oudh by an Afghán chief named Bában, or Bibán, and immediately marched, himself, in that direction. The Afgháns having taken post at the passage of the Ganges, Báber threw a bridge over the river, under the fire of his artillery, and ultimately compelled the enemy to retire beyond the Gógra, whither he marched in pursuit of them. He seems to have compelled the rebels to take refuge in the territories of the King of Bengal, and it was probably on this occasion that he reduced Behár, if that was not done before by Humáyún: but in this place there is an interruption in the Memoirs, which is not filled up by any other historian.

Afghán insurrection.

For some months after this Báber seems to have been in bad health, and to have indulged in a longer course of relaxation than often fell to his lot. His Memoirs (which are now resumed) are filled with descriptions of Hindú forts and temples, and of fountains and cascades that he had visited; as well

as of his own gardens and improvements, and of the jugglers, wrestlers, and other sources of amusement peculiar to India.

Even during this period he made the important acquisition of the fort of Rintambór: it was made over to him by the second son of Rája Sanga, that prince having died, and having been succeeded by the eldest son.

His attention was at last effectually roused by the intelligence that the province of Behár had been seized on by Sultán Mahmúd, the same Lódí prince who had been present at the defeat of Rája Sanga. Mahmúd seems to have been supported from Bengal; and, being joined by the Afgháns in Behár and the adjoining provinces, his army soon swelled to such an extent as to be called 100,000 men. With this force he had advanced to Benáres, by the time when Báber reached the junction of the Jumna and Ganges, now Allahabad. The approach of Báber, however, dissolved this hasty assemblage, which was already a prey to dissension.[18] They had attempted to storm the hill-fort of Chunár; and a repulse they met with, though not in itself considerable, was sufficient, in the present state of their minds, to break up the army. Mahmúd retreated with such portion as he could keep together. He took up a position behind the river Són (Soane), and many of the chiefs who had quitted him made their submission to Báber. Báber continued his advance; and Mahmúd, finding it in vain to oppose him, sought for safety in flight.

All Behár south of the Ganges was now in Báber's hands; North Behár was still in possession of the King of Bengal, who had a considerable army on foot in that quarter. His object appears to have been to have retained that portion of the Delhi territories without quarrelling with the possessor of the rest; and he kept an ambassador in Báber's camp, to amuse him with negotiations, until Báber lost patience, crossed the Ganges, and advanced against the Bengalese army.

Defeat of the King of Bengal, May, 1529.

He had still to pass the river Gógra, on which the enemy were encamped, near its junction with the Ganges. He was, however, well provided with boats, and drove away those of the Bengalese, which might otherwise have obstructed his passage. The Bengalese then moved down to oppose his crossing, and a cannonade was kept up on both sides. As Báber's divisions

[18] [There were many partisans in favour of Jalál ud dín Lohání, the son of Muhammad Sháh Lohání. Erskine says, "the feuds between the Lohání and Lódí factions in the eastern provinces were fatal to the national interest of the Afgháns."—ED.]

landed in succession, they charged the different parties opposed to them, and at last drove the enemy from the field. Soon after this the King of Bengal consented to terms of peace. Báber was preparing to return to Agra, when he heard that a body of Afgháns, who had separated from the Bengal army, under Bában and another chief, named Báyazíd, had crossed the Gógra, and taken Lucknow. He immediately marched in that direction, and on the retreat of the Afgháns, sent a detachment in pursuit of them. It followed them across the Ganges and Jumna, and had completely dispersed them in Bundélcand, when the setting-in of the rainy season put an end to all operations.

Sickness of Báber.

For the last fifteen months of his life Báber's health seems to have been greatly broken: the silence of his diary gives a proof of his diminished activity, and some circumstances lead to a belief that his authority began to be weakened by the prospect of its speedy cessation. Humáyún left his government of Badakhshán without leave, and Khalífa, Baber's prime minister, on being selected to replace him, found means to excuse himself, and remain at court. Notwithstanding Humáyún's unlooked-for return, he was affectionately received; and a dangerous illness, with which he was soon after attacked, was the immediate cause of the death of Báber.

When it was announced to him that the physicians had given over all their efforts, declaring that medicine could no longer avail, Báber seized on the only hope that remained, and, in conformity with a superstition which still prevails in the East, he determined to devote his own life for that of his son. His friends, who had as little doubt of the efficacy of this substitution as he had himself, entreated him to forbear from a sacrifice involving the happiness of so many; but Báber's resolution was unmoved. He walked three times round the bed of the dying prince (a solemnity usual on such occasions), and then spent some moments in earnest prayer to God; at the end of which, he was filled with such assurance, that he more than once exclaimed, "I have borne it away—I have borne it away!" And so powerful was the impression, both on his mind and his son's, that all the historians agree that Humáyún began from that time to recover; while it is certain that Báber, who was already ill, and whose health must have been severely shaken by his anxiety and agitation, began visibly to decline. It soon became evident that his end was approaching. He called his sons and ministers about him, explained his dying wishes, and enjoined concord among all, and affection among his children.

But Khalífa, his minister—whose influence, for some unexplained reason, was at that time irresistible—had already resolved to overturn the dearest of his plans. Desirous of keeping power in his own hands, he determined to set aside Báber's own sons, and to give the crown to his son-in-law Mehdí Khája, a young man whose thoughtless and flighty disposition made it seem easy to keep him in perpetual dependence.[19] Mehdí Khája was at no pains to undeceive him in these expectations, and was now considered, by himself and others, as assured of the succession the moment that Báber should breathe his last. As that moment approached, however he was suddenly seized by Khalífa, put into confinement, and cut off from all communication with those around. The cause of this revolution is explained in a narrative referred to by Mr. Erskine, which is given on the authority of Mohammed Mokím, the father of the author. Khalífa, it seems, was on a visit to Mehdí Khája, with no person present but Mokím: he was suddenly summoned to Báber, who lay at the last extremity. Mehdí Khája attended him with great respect to the door, and stood looking after him, so that Mokím could not follow without pushing by him. "As soon as Khalífa was fairly gone, he muttered to himself, 'God willing,' I will soon flay your hide off, old boy!' and, turning round at the same instant, saw my father. He was quite confounded; but immediately seizing my father's ear, with a convulsive eagerness, twisted it round, and said, hurriedly, 'You, Tájik! the red tongue often gives the green head to the winds.'" Mokím lost no time in apprising Khalífa of what had passed; and the result was, his immediately transferring his allegiance to Humáyún.

Intrigues regarding the succession.

In the midst of these intrigues, with which he was probably unacquainted, Báber expired,—the most admirable, though not the most powerful, prince that ever reigned in Asia.

Death of Báber.

He died at Agra, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.[20] His body was

A.D. 1530, Dec. 21; A.H. 937.

[19] Khalífa was one of Báber's old officers; but it is not easy to conjecture how he could acquire so inordinate a power under so able a sovereign as Báber, and with an experienced heir-apparent like Humáyún. Equally extraordinary does it seem that, from this time forward, he disappears, and is not mentioned in Ferishta or Abúl Fazl, either under his own name of Khalífa, or his title of Nizám ud dín.

[20] [At his death, his dominions included, beyond the Hindú Kush, Badakhshán and Kundúz, and all the districts to the south of the Oxus, as low down as the borders of Balkh. To the south of the mountains he had Kábul, Ghazni, and Kandahár, but most of the mountainous region of Afghánistan was only nominally subject. In India he held the Panjáb, and all Hindustan between the Himaláya and Rájputana; and most of Behar

buried, by his own desire, at Cábul, and on a spot which it is probable that he had himself selected.[21]

His character. Báber's character is best shown in his actions, but something remains to be said of his private life and his writings. His Memoirs are almost singular in their own nature, and perfectly so if we consider the circumstances of the writer. They contain a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour.[22]

The style is plain and manly, as well as lively and picturesque; and being the work of a man of genius and observation, it presents his countrymen and contemporaries, in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia; for the ordinary writers, though they give pompous accounts of the deeds and ceremonies of the great, are apt to omit the lives and manners even of that class, while everything beneath their level is left entirely out of sight. In Báber the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters.[23] His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising.[24]

But the great charm of the work is in the character of the

owned his authority. (*Erskine*, vol. i. p. 527.)—Ed.]

[21] "He had directed his body to be interred in this place, to him the choicest in his wide dominions. . . . A running and clear stream yet waters the fragrant flowers of the cemetery, which is the great holiday resort of the people of Cábul. In the front of the grave is a small but chaste mosque of white marble. . . . . There is a noble prospect from the hill that overlooks Báber's tomb," etc., etc. (Burnes' *Travels*, vol. i. p. 141.)

[22] In this last respect they are a contrast to those of Tamerlane, which, with all their simplicity of language, are evidently written for effect. "One day, having unintentionally trodden on an ant, I felt as if my foot had lost all its power." (*Memoirs of Timúr*, p. 30.) Who can imagine this to be natural, even if the author had been a Bramin ascetic instead of the most sanguinary of conquerors?

[23] These portraits, however, are necessarily confined to the inhabitants of the courts and camps where Báber passed his days: in the countries which he has so well delineated, he only gives such remarkable particulars about the natives as would strike a stranger, without attempting a detailed account of their way of life, with which he must necessarily have been unacquainted.

[24] Compare his descriptions of the countries through which he fought his way with those of Ibn Batúta, himself a writer of remarkable merit, and a professed traveller and inquirer. Or compare his geography with that of any Asiatic who has written expressly on the science.

author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out on his career; and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished the sensibility to the enjoyment of nature and imagination.

"It is a relief," says his translator, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood." He speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fireside, and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, relates their adventures, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities.

After a letter, on the affairs of his government, to his most confidential counsellor, Khája Kilán (then at Cábul), he tells him little anecdotes of their common acquaintances, which he thinks will amuse him, and adds, "For God's sake excuse all these fooleries, and do not think the worse of me for them!" He endeavours afterwards to persuade Khája Kilán to leave off wine, as he had done; and says in substance, "Drinking was a very pleasant thing with our old friends and companions; but now that you have only Shír Ahmed and Heider Kulí to take your wine with, it can be no great sacrifice to leave it off." In the same letter, he says how much he envies his friend his residence at Cábul, and adds: "They, very recently, brought me a single musk-melon:[25] while cutting it up, I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it."

It would have been fortunate if Báber had left off wine sooner, for there seems good reason to think his indulgence in it tended to shorten his days. Many a drinking-party is recorded in his Memoirs, with at least as much interest as his battles or negotiations; and, unsuitable as they are to his station, they are not the least agreeable scenes in Báber's history. The perfect ease and familiarity among the company makes one forget the prince in the man; and the temptations that generally lead to those excesses—a shady wood, a hill with a fine prospect, or the idleness of a boat floating down a river—together with the amusements with which they are accompanied—extemporary verses,

[25] This fruit had not then been introduced into India.

recitations in Túrkí and Persian, with sometimes a song, and often a contest of repartee—take away all the coarseness that might attach to such scenes of dissipation.

The unsettled nature of his life is shown by his observing, near the end of it, that since he was eleven years old he had never kept the fast of the Ramazán twice in any one place; and the time not spent in war and travelling was occupied in hunting and other sports, or in long excursions on horseback about the country. On his last journey, after his health had begun to fail, he rode, in two days, from Cálpí to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for despatch; and on the same journey he swam twice across the Ganges, as he said he had done with every other river he had met with. His mind was as active as his body; besides the business of the kingdom, he was constantly taken up with aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, as well as introducing new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to compose many elegant Persian poems and a collection of Túrkí compositions, which are mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his own country.[26]

CHAPTER II.

FIRST REIGN OF HUMÁYÚN.[1]

Baber left three sons besides Humáyún: Cámrán, Hindál, and Mírzá Askarí.

[26] Almost all that has been said of Báber has been drawn from Mr. Erskine's admirable translation of his *Memoirs* from the Túrkí. The notes and supplements which accompany that work remove the obscurities which, without such assistance, would beset us in every page; and the preliminary dissertation gives a complete view of the state of Asia in Báber's time, and contains the best account of the geography of the countries which were the scene of his exploits, and the clearest exposition of the divisions of the Tartar nations. The translation seems to have imbibed the very spirit of the original. The style is singularly happy, strikingly characteristic, though perfectly natural, and equally remote from the usual inflated language of the East, and from the imitation of Scriptural simplicity into which other translators of similar works have fallen.

[1] The narrative of the reign of Humáyún (where not otherwise specified) is taken from Ferishta, the Memoirs of Humáyún, and Abúl Fazl. Ferishta is peculiarly defective at this period, which was too remote to admit of his conversing with eyewitnesses, and too recent to allow him to benefit by written histories.

The Memoirs are written by a person named Jouher, who was a menial servant of Humáyún, and whose duty it was to carry an ewer for his master to wash his hands. He was in constant attendance on Humáyún, and although unacquainted with his political relations and secret designs, was a minute and correct observer of all that came within his reach, and describes what he saw with simplicity and

Cámrán was governor of Cábul and Candahár, and the other two were unemployed in India. From his having assigned no shares to his younger children, it is probable that Báber did not intend to divide the empire; but Cámrán showed no disposition to give way to his brother; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Humáyún, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his new and disaffected provinces. Arrangements of the king's brother.

In these circumstances, Humáyún thought it prudent to yield with a good grace, and give up the Panjáb, and the country on the Indus, in addition to Cámrán's former territories. At the same time he gave the government of Sambal to Hindál, and that of Méwát to Mírzá Askarí. By the cession to Cámrán, Humáyún was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been retained; but as he still possessed Báber's veteran army, and profited by the impression of his power, the effects of the dismemberment did not at first appear. Separation of Cábul from India.

Humáyún was engaged in the siege of Cálanjer, in Bundélcand, when he received intelligence that Bában and Báyazíd, the Afghán chiefs, whose party was formerly broken up by Báber, were again in rebellion in Jounpúr. He defeated and dispersed this assemblage, and then went against the hill-fort of Chunár, near Benares, at that time held by his future rival, Shír Khán. Shír Khán submitted, on condition of retaining the fort, and Humáyún returned to Agra. Afghán insurrections in India. A.D. 1532, A.H. 939.

Some time before this period, a brother-in-law of Humáyún,

distinctness. He was devoted to Humáyún, and anxious to put all his actions in the most favourable light; but he seldom imagined that anything in his master's conduct required either concealment or apology.

Abúl Fazl was the well-known minister and favourite of Akber, and was a man of enlarged views and extraordinary talents; but he was a professed rhetorician, and is still the model of the unnatural style which is so much admired in India; he was, besides, a most assiduous courtier, eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes, and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested. His dates and his general statement of events are valuable; but he requires constant attention, not so much to guard against his barefaced partiality, as against the prejudice which he draws on his favourites by his fawning and fulsome commendations of them, and against the suspicions which he excites by his dishonest way of telling a story, even in cases where the action related was innocent or excusable. His narrative is florid, feeble, and indistinct, overloaded with commonplace reflections and pious effusions, generally ending in a compliment to his patron. In this part of his writings I have generally availed myself of Major Price's *History*, which, though it does not profess to be a translation, is often a literal version, and always a full and faithful abstract of the original.

who had been engaged in plots against his life and government, had taken refuge with Bahádur Sháh, king of Guzerát; and the refusal of that monarch to comply with Humáyún's demand for his surrender led to irritation and hostile feelings between the two kings. Bahádur, whose native kingdom always occupied a high rank among those formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi, had lately extended his power much beyond its former limits. The kings of Khándésh, Bérár, and Ahmednagar had agreed to do him homage for their crowns; and he had completely conquered the kingdom of Málwa, and annexed it to his own.

Disputes with Bahádur Sháh, king of Guzerát. A.D. 1532, A.H. 940.

While his discussion with Humáyún was at its height, Alá ud dín, the uncle of Sultán Ibráhím Lódí, who acted so conspicuous a part in the former reign,[2] having quitted the residence assigned to him by Báber, in Badakhshán, threw himself on the protection of the King of Guzerát; and Bahádur, whose family had risen to greatness under the house of Lódí, and who had himself found an asylum at the court of Ibráhím—being at once incited by favour for his hereditary patrons, resentment at Humáyún, and pride in his own power and prosperity—was tempted into measures as inconsistent with sound policy as with justice. Without any open declaration of war with Humáyún, he liberally supplied Alá ud dín with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Agra, under his son Tátár Khán. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed; and Tátár Khán fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful in the general desertion.

A.D. 1534, A.H. 941.

Encouraged by this success, or perhaps in pursuance of plans already determined on, Humáyún marched from Agra to revenge the injury he had received from Bahádur Sháh. That prince was now at war with the Rána of Méwár, and, being entirely occupied by the siege of Chitór, was particularly exposed to the attack of an enemy; but Humáyún, moved by his remonstrances against the impiety of molesting a Mussulman prince while engaged in war with the infidels, or influenced by his own dilatory habits, retarded his march until the place was taken, and the besieger prepared to receive him in an entrenched camp at Mandesór. Bahádur had chosen this course on account of the superiority of his artillery, commanded

Invasion and conquest of Guzerát. A.D. 1534, November; A.H. 941, Jamádi'l awwal.

A.D. 1535, March; A.H. 941, Ramazan.

[2] [Vide *supra*, p. 421. Alá ud dín had a nominal command under Báber at Pánipat and Sikri; but he afterwards fell into disgrace, and was confined in a fort in Badakhshán.—Ed.]

by a Constantinoplitan Turk, and partly served by Portuguese prisoners. These advantages availed him little: his position was rendered untenable by the enemy's cutting off his supplies; and, finding that famine would soon force him to surrender, he blew up his guns, and fled in the night, almost alone, to Mandú, leaving his army to provide for its own safety.

The army immediately dispersed, and Bahádur, being hard pressed at Mandú, continued his flight to Chámpánír, and thence to the seaport of Cambay. Humáyún was by this time in pursuit of him in person, with a light detachment, and reached Cambay on the evening of the day on which Bahádur had quitted it for his final place of refuge at Diú, in the most remote part of the peninsula of Guzerát.[3]

Having failed in his immediate object, Humáyún quitted the peninsula, and proceeded to occupy the settled part of Guzerát. He soon obtained possession of the open country, but the year was well advanced before the hill-fort of Chámpánír fell into his hands. It was scaled in the night, with the help of steel spikes fixed in an almost perpendicular rock, by 300 chosen men, who climbed up, one by one, during an attack made on one of the gates by the army. Humáyún himself was among the 300.[4] A.D. 1535, August; A.H. 942, Safar.

Soon after the taking of Chámpánír, Humáyún received accounts of the commencement of those troubles which ended in the successful revolt of Shír Khán. He set off for Agra, leaving his brother, Mírzá Askarí, in charge of his new conquests; and had scarcely quitted Guzerát, when dissensions broke out among the officers left behind; discontents and intrigues ensued, and ended in some project for raising Mírzá Askarí to the throne. Bahádur profited by these Expulsion of the Moguls from Guzerat.

[3] When Humáyún was encamped at Cambay, he was exposed to considerable danger from a night-attack of a body of Cúlis, a forest tribe still famous for similar exploits in Guzerát. They made their way with so much silence and intelligence into the camp, that they surprised Humáyún's own tent, and carried off his baggage and books, among which was a remarkable copy of the "History of Tamerlane," the loss and subsequent recovery of which are thought worthy of being recorded by the historians of those times. Humáyún, by way of retaliating the insult he had received from these lawless mountaineers, gave up the unoffending town of Cambay to plunder.

[4] When the fort was taken, it was found that the place where Bahádur's treasure was concealed was known only to one officer, and it was suggested to have recourse to torture to make him disclose the secret; but Humáyún said they had much better have recourse to wine, and directed that the officer should be well treated, and invited to an entertainment by one of his own chiefs. Accordingly, when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer, the officer made no scruple to tell his entertainer, that if the water were drawn off from a certain reservoir the treasure would be found in a vault beneath it; and his instructions being complied with, a large amount of gold and silver was found as he had described.

disorders; and to such a state of weakness were the invaders reduced, that they gave up Guzerát without a struggle, and evacuated Málwa, which was not even threatened.[5]

A.D. 1535-6, A.H. 942.

Humáyún had not been long returned to his capital before he set out against Shír Khán.[6] This person,[7] who was soon to act so great a part, was the grandson of Ibráhím Khán, a native of Afghánistán. Ibráhím claimed to be descended of the family (though probably only of the tribe) of the kings of Ghór, and both he and his son Hasan were married into noble families of their own nation. Hasan held a jágír at Sahserám, in Behár, for the maintenance of 500 horse. He had two sons by his Afghán wife, Shír Khán and Nizám Khán; but he was led, by the arts of a concubine, to slight his wife, and neglect her children; and as soon as Shír Khán was of an age to act for himself, he left his father, went to Jounpúr, and entered as a private soldier into the service of the governor. His father applied to the governor to send him home for his education, but Shír Khán urged that there were more opportunities of education at Jounpúr than at Sahserám; and he seems to have been in earnest in his preference, for he devoted himself to study, made himself familiar with history and poetry, and could repeat all the poems of Sádi from memory, besides acquiring a general knowledge of other branches of information. He was subsequently restored to favour by his father, and managed his jágír, until Soleimán, the son of his stepmother, had grown up. After this he found his situation so unpleasant, that he went off with his full-brother Nizám, and

Early life and rise of Shír Khán Súr.

[5] Ferishta, vols. ii. and iv. Price, vol. iv. Memoirs of Humáyún. Bird's *History of Guzerát*. Paper by Col. Miles, *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. i.

[6] He marched in the month of Safar, but the year is uncertain: the "Tárikhi Shír Sháh" says A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535); and the "Mantakhib al Towárikh," as well as Ferishta, A.H. 943 (A.D. 1536). The former date, 942, is impossible, because Humáyún took the foot of Chámpánir, in Guzerát, in that very month and year. The other year, 943, is improbable, as it allows only a twelvemonth for the final settlement of Guzerát and Málwa, besides the return to Delhi and the preparations for the war with Shír Khán; while it leaves a year and a half for Humáyún's march of 350 miles through his own dominions to Chunár. I should therefore suppose that his march took place in Safar, A.H. 944 (July 1537).

[7] This account of Shír Sháh is compiled from *Ferishta*, vols. i., ii., iv., from Erskine's *Babar*, and from Abúl Fazl in Price, vol. iv. Ferishta gives a connected history of Shír Sháh (vol. ii. p. 98), which, though it appears to be written with perfect impartiality, is extremely confused from inattention to dates; the different expeditions of Bábar being mixed up with those of Humáyún in such a manner as to make them quite inexplicable without other aid. This aid he himself partially supplies under the reigns of Ibráhím, Bábar, and Humáyún, but more is derived from Bábar's own Memoirs. Abúl Fazl also furnishes several facts, though his general narrative is a mere invective against Shír Sháh, such as might have been expected from the minister of Humáyún's son.

entered into the service of Sultán Secander, who was then king.[8] He remained at Delhi until his father died, when the jágír of Sahserám was conferred on him; and after the defeat of Sultán Ibráhím (A.D. 1526), he was active in the service of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, who set up for king of Jounpúr and Behár. He was for some time in favour with this prince, but being again deprived of his paternal jágír by the intrigues of his half-brother Soleimán, he left the court in disgust, and joined Junid, the governor of Jounpúr, on the part of Báber (A.D. 1527). By the assistance of Junid, he assembled a body of adventurers in the hills of Behár, recovered his own jágír, and carried on attacks and depredations on the territory of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, professing himself a subject of Báber. About this time (A.D. 1528) he waited on that monarch, accompanied him to Chándérí, and was confirmed in his possessions and entrusted with a command in Behár, on the part of the emperor.

Next year (A.D. 1529) Mahmúd Lódí took Behár; and Shír Khán, either from necessity, or an inclination to the cause of his nation, joined the Lódí standard. On the dispersion of Mahmúd's army, he was one of the many chiefs who made their submission to Báber (April 1529).[9] Mohammed Sháh Lohání was now dead; and his son Jelál, who was a minor, in charge of his mother, and at that time accompanying the Bengal army, made his submission also, and was invested with considerable power, on the part of the emperor. He was still, however, under the management of his mother, Dúdú, over whom Shír Khán acquired such an ascendancy, that, on her death, Jelál was left in entire dependence on that ambitious chief. Shír Khán now made himself master of Behár, and also obtained possession of the fort of Chunár, as, at this or some subsequent period he did of the still more important fortress of Rohtás.[10] He obtains possession of Behar.

These rapid advances to power were made in the early part of Humáyún's reign; and as soon as that prince had settled his discussions with Cámrán, and had time to attend to his interests in the provinces, he marched against Chunár, as has been already stated (A.D. 1532). He, however, was content with the recognition of his title, and the service of a body of horse, under

[8] Secander died in A.D. 1517.

[9] Erskine's *Babur*, p. 408.

[10] Rohtás was taken by treachery from a Hindú rája. Shír Khán persuaded him to give an asylum to his family, and then introduced armed soldiers in the covered litters, which were supposed to conceal the women. This stratagem, which has so fabulous an appearance, was thought sufficiently plausible in modern times to be employed by M. Bussy to conceal the treachery of a governor who admitted him into the strong fort of Doulatábád.

Shír Khán's son; and this young man took an opportunity to withdraw, when the king began his march against Bahádur Sháh. Humáyún, thenceforward, was fully occupied in Guzerát; and before his return, Shír Khán had got complete possession of Behár, had invaded Bengal, and had made great progress in the conquest of that rich kingdom.

and conquers Bengal.

His war with Bengal was occasioned by Jelál Lohání, who had called in the aid of the king of that country, to relieve him from the control of Shír Khán, and, by his means, had at one time nearly succeeded in his object; but Shír Khán soon retrieved his losses, repelled the attack on himself, and laid siege to Gour, the capital of the hostile king.

He was engaged in this enterprise when Humáyún returned; and that prince could not fail to perceive, at once, the advantage of attacking him while thus embarrassed, and the danger of allowing him to consolidate his power.

With those views, he marched at the head of a powerful army from Agra, and advanced through a peaceful country till he reached Chunár, near Benáres.

Humáyún marches against him.

But Shír Khán was well aware of all the danger of his situation, and laid his plans for averting it with a foresight and combination of which we have no example in the previous history of India.

His first object was to gain time to complete the conquest of Bengal, before he should be disturbed by a new enemy. For this purpose he threw a strong garrison inso Chunár, and provided it with all the means of retarding the advance of Humáyún, by an obstinate defence.

This fort stands on a rock, close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya mountains, which extend to the same river near Mírzápúr. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westward, by the fort of Rohtás and Shírgháti, and do not approach the river again until near Bhágalpúr, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Behár and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chunár, and the other at Sícragalli, east of Bhágalpúr. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods.

Military features of Behár and Bengal.

As Humáyún marched along the Ganges, and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chunár.[11] After

Siege of Chunár.

[11] The Memoirs of Humáyún say that the army reached Chunár on the Shabi

investing the place, he endeavoured to mine such parts of the walls as were accessible on the land-side, and also brought floating batteries, constructed for the purpose, to bear upon the face towards the river. Notwithstanding all these preparations, his attack failed; the garrison, however, having already held out for several months, and knowing that they had no prospect of relief, at length surrendered. The siege had been conducted by Rúmí Khán, the Constantinopolitan Turk, who brought Bahádur Sháh of Guzerat's ordnance to so high a state, and who had since entered into the service of Humáyún; and so much importance was attached to the knowledge of the service of artillery in those days, that the right hands of all the gunners in the garrison, to the number of 300, were cut off, either to disable them for the future, or in revenge for the loss they had occasioned.

After the taking of Chunár, Humáyún pushed his march along the Ganges. Before reaching Patna, he was met by Mahmúd, king of Bengal, who had just been driven from his dominions, and was still suffering from a wound he had received in his last defeat.

As he approached the defile of Sícragalli, he sent on a strong detachment to take possession of it. They found it already occupied by Jelál Khán, the son of Shír Khán, who attacked and repulsed them with considerable loss. Humáyún hastened on with his main body to retrive this check, but was agreeably surprised to find the pass deserted, and the road open to the capital of Bengal.

Shír Khán's plan for resisting the invasion.

It was no part of Shír Khán's plan to cope with the superior force of Humáyún in this stage of the campaign. His design from the first was to retire to the hilly tract on the south-west; and with this view he had removed his family, and all that he possessed of value, to Rohtás. The protracted siege of Chunár had enabled him to reduce Gour, and to defeat Mahmud in a conclusive battle. He had still required time to remove the captured treasures and stores to Rohtás, and to dispose of the open country in the manner that suited his views. Jelál Khán had therefore been instructed to

Barát (Shábán 15th) of A.H. 945, January 1539; but this would leave only six months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations till Humáyún's defeat in Safar, A.H. 946 (June 1539). I conclude, therefore, that the memoir-writer, who scarcely ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began 15th Shábán, A.H. 944 (January 8th, 1538). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months; some say six months.

delay Humáyún at the pass, but to avoid any serious encounter, and to join his father in the hills. Humáyún accordingly took possession of Gour[12] without further opposition. But the rains had by this time attained their height: the Delta of the Ganges was one vast sheet of water, and in the country beyond the reach of inundation every brook and channel was become an impassable flood. It was impossible to carry on operations in Bengal, and scarcely less difficult to keep up a communication with Upper India. This forced inactivity lasted for several months, during which time the spirit of the soldiers sank under the moist and sultry climate, and their numbers were thinned by the sickly season that follows the heavy rains. No sooner were the roads open, than they began to desert in numbers; and Prince Hindál, who had been left in North Behár, went off even before the rains had ceased.

Taking of Gour by Humáyún. His difficulties during the rainy season.

Meanwhile Shír Khán issued from his retreat, took possession of Behár and Benáres, recovered Chunár, laid siege to Jounpúr, and pushed his detachments up the Ganges as far as Canouj. Thus, when the season for military operations commenced, Humáyún found his communication with his capital again intercepted, and himself left with no alternative but to trust his new conquest to the charge of a weak detachment, and endeavour to force his way to Agra with the rest of his reduced army.

Active operations of Shír Khán.

He for some time hesitated to adopt this decided measure, and the dry season was half over before he set out on his retreat. He sent on a considerable body before he himself began his march, under the command of Khání Khánán Lodí, one of Báber's principal generals. By the time this force reached Monghír, it was surprised and defeated by a detachment sent by Shír, who was now as enterprising as he had before been cautious; and who, to show his confidence in the result of his operations, had already assumed the title of king.

Retreat of Humáyún.

Shír Khán assumes the title of king.

If Humáyún had not before had sufficient motives for extricating himself from his present situation, the accounts he was daily receiving of the progress of affairs at Agra must have filled him with impatience: but by the time he had passed

[12] Probably June or July, 1538. Abúl Fazl states that Bengal was conquered in A.H. 945. That year began on May 30th, 1538; but it appears that Humáyún had met with rain before he left Behár, where the rainy season does not commence till June.

Baxar, between Patna and Bénáres, he found that Shír Sháh had raised the siege of Jounpúr, and was come by forced marches to intercept his retreat. Shír Sháh had made a march of thirty-five miles on that day, and Humáyún was advised to attack him before his troops had time to refresh. The step seemed too hazardous to be adopted at once; and the next day he found Shír intrenched in such a manner that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Humáyún, therefore, intrenched in his turn, and began to collect boats and form a bridge across the Ganges, so as to pursue his retreat along the opposite bank. Shír Sháh, to whom every delay was an advantage, allowed him to go on for nearly two months; when, the bridge of boats being nearly completed, Shír Sháh one day left his camp standing, and occupied by a sufficient force to conceal his movement from the enemy; while he himself, with the choice of his army, made a secret march to the rear of Humáyún's position, and, returning in the night, attacked him in three columns about daybreak, and completely surprised his camp. Humáyún had only time to leap on horseback, and, though himself disposed to make one effort, at least, against the enemy, he was urged by those around him to provide for his own safety; and one of his principal officers, seizing his reins, in a manner compelled him to make his way to the river-side. The bridge, as has been mentioned, was not finished; and, as Humáyún had not a moment for deliberation, he plunged at once into the Ganges. Before he reached the opposite bank his horse was exhausted, and sank into the stream; and Humáyún himself must have met with the same fate, if he had not been saved by a water-carrier [13] who was crossing with the aid of the skin used to hold water, which he had inflated like a bladder, and which enabled him to support the king's weight as well as his own. Thus rescued, Humáyún pursued his flight, with a very small retinue, to Cálpí, and thence proceeded to Agra, almost the whole of his army having been cut off by the enemy or drowned in the river. Humáyún's queen, whom it had been the object of his last exertion to save, had already been surrounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy; she was treated by Shír Sháh with scrupulous delicacy and attention, and was sent on the first

Intercepts Humáyún on his retreat, at Chonsa.

Surprises him, and disperses his army.

A.H. 946, Safar 6; A.D. 1539, June 26.

[13] [This man afterwards came to Agra, and was rewarded by sitting half-a-day (or, as some say, two hours) on the throne, with absolute power; during which interval he is said to have provided handsomely for himself and his friends. (*Erskine*, ii. 179.)—ED.]

opportunity to a place of safety. This tremendous disaster took place in the end of June, 1539.[14]

Humáyún's presence, discomfited as he was, was of essential importance at Agra. While he was shut up in Bengal, Prince Hindál had begun to collect adherents at Agra, and being afterwards joined by the fugitives from Bengal, he went into open rebellion; while Prince Cámrán, on being applied to by the king's representatives, immediately set out from Cábul, professedly to support Humáyún's interests, but in reality to be at hand to profit by any opportunity of advancing his own. The arrival of Humáyún put a stop to all those designs. He pardoned Hindál, at the intercession of Cámrán, and the three brothers united their exertions to arrest the progress of their common enemy.

While Humáyún was occupied in repairing his losses, Shír Sháh contented himself with retaining his acquisitions in Hindostan, and proceeded to recover possession of Bengal, and to put all his former territories into a state of order.

Eight or nine months were employed on both sides in these transactions. Towards the end of the Mahometan year, Humáyún once more moved from Agra, his own army being strengthened by a reinforcement of 3,000 men belonging to Cámrán, who himself retired to Láhór.

A.D. 1540, April; A.H. 946, Zil Caádah.

Second campaign.

By this time Shír Sháh had reached the Ganges opposite Canouj, and both parties seemed unwilling to offer an advantage to the other; until at length Sultán Mírzá (a prince of the family of Tamerlane, who had before been in rebellion) deserted from Humáyún's camp with his followers; and the example was so likely to be followed, that Humáyún determined to bring the contest to an issue, and crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats which he had constructed. A general action ensued, in which Humáyún's army was entirely defeated, and driven into the Ganges. Humáyún himself was in imminent danger: his horse was wounded, and he must have been killed or taken, if he had not fortunately found an elephant, on which he mounted. Even then the driver could not be prevailed on to attempt to

Final defeat of Humáyún.

A.D. 1540, May 16; A.H. 947, Moharram 10.

His flight.

[14] Most writers ascribe Humáyún's defeat to treachery, and say that Shír Sháh attacked him during an armistice, or even after a peace had been signed. This account, in itself, does not seem improbable; but that given by Major Price from Abúl Fazl, although it occasionally applies opprobrious epithets to the enemy of Humáyún, does great justice to Shír Sháh in the facts, and asserts, on this occasion, that he delayed Humáyún's retreat by amusing him with negotiations, but never professed to suspend his hostility, and was entirely indebted to his military skill for the success of his stratagem.

swim the Ganges; and the king was obliged to throw him from his seat on the neck, and give his place to an eunuch whom he found on the elephant, and who now guided the animal across the stream. The opposite bank was too steep for the elephant to ascend; and Humáyún must still have perished, if two soldiers,[18] who happened to have gained that part of the shore, had not tied their turbans together and thrown one end to him, so as to enable him to make good his landing. Before long he was joined by his brothers, the Princes Hindál and Askarí, and also by some troops; and all together made their way to Agra, after a narrow escape from being plundered by the villagers on their road.

All hope of further resistance was now at an end; and they had scarcely time to remove the royal family and the most portable part of the treasures from Agra and Delhi, and to escape to Cámrán at Láhór.

He arrives at Láhór, A.D. 1540, July 5; A.H. 947, Rabí al Awwal.

Even there Humáyún was no welcome guest. Cámrán was equally afraid of being supplanted by him at home, and of being involved in his quarrel with Shír Sháh; and lost no time in making his peace with the conqueror, to whom he ceded the Panjáb, and retired himself to Cábul, leaving Humáyún to provide as he could for his own safety.

A.D. 1540, end of Oct.; A.H. 947, Jamádi'l Awwal.

The deserted monarch turned his thoughts to Sind, the province which adjoined to Cámrán's territories on the south. It was in the hands of Husein, the head of the family of Arghún, who had been driven out of Candahár by Báber; and as it had once belonged to Delhi, Humáyún hoped that he might still find some means of inducing it to recognise his authority.

Fails in an attempt on Sind.

But there was nothing in Humáyún's character to promise him such an ascendancy.

Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy; and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition; yet, as he had been brought up under Báber, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was entirely wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretensions, though he never turned them to the best account.

He passed into the Arghún territories through Uch; but after a year and a half of fruitless negotiations, and no less fruitless

[18] [Erskine says "one," who afterwards became a distinguished noble,—Shems ud dín, the "atkeh," or foster-father of Akber.—ED.]

hostilities (during which he attempted the sieges of Bakkar and Sehwán), he found his funds expended, and the resources of the country exhausted, and was deserted by the adventurers he had collected,[16] just as Husein Arghún was advancing to attack him.

Seeks refuge in Jódpúr;

In this extremity he fled to Uch, and resolved, as a last resource, to throw himself on the protection of Máldeó, rája of Márwár, whom he supposed to be favourably disposed towards him; but when, after a journey over the desert, in which he lost many of his followers from thirst and fatigue, he had reached the neighbourhood of Jódpúr, he found that the rája was much less inclined to assist him than to deliver him up to his enemies, and was obliged again to seek comparative safety in the dreary sands from which he had just emerged. His present object was to make his way to Amercót, a fort in the desert not far from the Indus; and in this journey he had a more desolate tract than ever to pass, and had greater evils to encounter than any he had yet experienced. Before he quitted the inhabited country, the villagers repelled all approaches to their water, which was to them a precious possession; and it was not without a conflict and bloodshed that his followers were able to slake their thirst. And all this was but a prelude to scenes of greater distress. His small train was encumbered by the presence of the women of his family; and they had already left the last trace of human culture behind, and were struggling with thirst in the heart of the desert, when one morning, after a night of fatigue, they perceived that their march was followed by a considerable body of horse; and the worst apprehensions seemed to be réalised when they found it was commanded by the son of Máldeó, and was sent to chastise their intrusion into his territory.

which is refused.

Horrors of his march through the desert.

These new enemies closed in on the exhausted party, cut off those who attempted resistance, and drove the rest before them; while another detachment pushed forward and took possession of the wells, on which the only remaining hope even of temporary relief was founded.

The calamities of the fugitives seemed now drawing to a close, but the Rájpúts had no intention of destroying them; and when all hope appeared to be extinguished, the rája's son advanced with a white flag, and after reproaching them with having entered his father's territory without leave, and with having killed kine in a Hindú country, supplied them with water for

[16] [Tardi Bég was one of his ablest and most faithful followers. Hindal and Yádgár had been at first with Humáyún, but had at length deserted him.—Ed.]

their immediate relief, and allowed them to proceed without further molestation. But the natural horrors of the desert still remained; several marches were still to be accomplished; and it was not till they had again endured the torments of thirst, and witnessed the miserable death of many of their companions, that Humáyún, with seven mounted attendants, at length found entrance to Amercót. The straggling survivors of his party assembled at the same place.

At Amercót he, at last, found a friend. The chief, whose name was Rána Persád, not only received him with respect and hospitality, but offered his assistance in another attempt to gain an establishment in Sind. Is hospitably received at Amercót.

It was this period of depression and affliction that gave birth to Akber, a prince destined to raise the Indian Empire to the greatest lustre that it ever enjoyed (Oct. 14, 1542). During his residence beyond the Indus,[17] Humáyún had been struck with the beauty of a young lady, whom he saw at an entertainment given to him, in the women's apartment, by his stepmother, the mother of Prince Hindál. He found she was the daughter of a Seiad, a native of Jám, in Khorásán,[18] and formerly preceptor to that prince; that her name was Hamída, and that she was not yet betrothed; and so strong was the impression made on him, that, in spite of the angry remonstrances of his brother, he almost immediately married her. She was far advanced in her pregnancy during the march to Amercót, and it was with the utmost difficulty that she was conveyed through the hardships of the desert. Birth of Akber.

Humáyún had marched for Sind the day before the birth of Akber. It is usual on such occasions for the father to give presents among his friends. Humáyún had no presents to give, except one pod of musk, which he broke up when the news reached him, and distributed among his adherents, with a wish that his son's fame might be diffused throughout the world like the odour of that perfume. Second attempt on Sind.

He was accompanied on this expedition by Rána Persád, with a considerable body of Rájpúts, and he had again collected 100 Moguls of his own. With this force they proceeded to Ján in Sind.[19] They took the place, after an action with the officer in charge; and though harassed by attacks from the

[17] [While he was besieging Bakkar in the summer of 1541, before Hindál had deserted him.—ED.]

[18] *Price*, vol. iv. pp. 760, 840. *Memoirs of Humáyún*, p. 31.

[19] Probably Ján (or Jún), on a branch of the Indus, halfway between Tatta and Amercót. (See the map to Dr. Burnes' Account of Sind.)

troops of the Arghúns, they were joined by the neighbouring Hindú princes, and formed an army estimated by the author of the Memoirs at 15,000 horse.

But Humáyún's ill-fortune, or ill-management, continued to attend him. The rája, after giving decisive proofs of his fidelity, was affronted by a Mogul; and got so little redress on complaining, that he quitted the camp in indignation, and was followed by all his Hindú friends.[20]

Humáyún consents to retire to Candahár.

In consequence of this defection, Humáyún was left almost alone to contend with Husein Arghún, who was advancing against him. He, nevertheless, threw up intrenchments, and defended himself as well as he could: till Husein Arghún, glad to get rid of him on any terms, consented to allow him to withdraw, and even to assist him on his journey, if he would immediately set out for Candahár. These terms being settled, Humáyún began his march towards his native kingdom (July 9, 1543).

His dangers in that country.

His younger brothers had long quitted him, after occasioning him much annoyance from their restless disposition; and Candahár was then held by Mírzá Askarí on the part of Cámrán. Humáyún's object probably was to bring that prince over to his side, or to take the chances of gaining possession in some other way. His professed intention, however, was to leave his son at Candahár, and proceed himself on a pilgrimage to Mecca.[21]

When he had reached Shál, about 130 miles south of Candahár, a horseman, sent by one of his old adherents, galloped up to his tent, sprung from his horse, and, without quitting the bridle, rushed into the tent, and announced that Mírzá Askarí was close at hand, with the design of making Humáyún prisoner. So little was he prepared for this intelligence, that he had only time to place his queen on his own horse, and was obliged to leave her child to the compassion of his uncle. Mírzá Askarí soon after arrived. He pretended to have come with friendly intentions, treated his infant nephew with affection, and removed the whole party to Candahár (Dec. 14, 1543).

[20] [Just at this crisis (April, 1543) he was rejoined by the celebrated Bairám Khán: this chief had escaped after the fatal battle of Kanauj, and had resisted Shír Sháh's efforts to win him over, and after many adventures had found his way to Humáyún's camp. (*Erskine*, ii. 256.) – Ed.]

[21] Some unexplained delay must have occurred between Ján and Sehwán. The whole distance from Ján to Shál is under 450 miles, and the journey from Sehwán to Shál appears, by the Memoirs, to have been made in nine days; yet the whole time, from Ján to Shál, was five months (from Rabí us Sání, July 9, to the middle of Rámazán, about December 10). [Humáyún's unaccountable delays were the cause of most of the disasters of his reign.—Ed.]

Meanwhile Humáyún, accompanied by forty-two followers, escaped to the Garmsír,[22] and thence to Sístán, which was then under the Persian government. He was received with great respect by the governor, and sent on to Herát, to wait the orders of the King of Persia. At the latter city he was joined by several of his partisans from Candahár. His flight to Persia.

Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Sind, of which eighteen months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country: six months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jún and his journey to Candahár. In his military affairs he had shown no want of personal courage, but great deficiency in enterprise; and he had gone through his subsequent calamities with cheerfulness that approached to magnanimity.

His temper was put to many trials; for, as delicacy and subordination cannot be kept up under great sufferings, he was often exposed to instances of ill-humour and disrespect from his followers. He was more than once refused a horse, when it was almost necessary to his safety. A boat, which he had prepared to convey his family, on his flight, across the Indus, was seized by one of his chiefs; and during the terrible march to Amercót, an officer, who had lent his horse to the mother of Akber, on finding his own exhausted, compelled her to dismount; and Humáyún was obliged to give her *his*, and proceed on foot till he met with a baggage-camel. On the other hand, he sometimes showed little consideration for his followers. When he reached Amercót, and was under the protection of the rája, he suddenly seized the baggage of his adherents, and even ripped open their saddles to discover their property, of which he took half to supply his own exigencies. At the end of one of his first marches towards Jódpúr, where he had lost many of his party in the desert, he loaded all the cattle, even his own horses, with water, to relieve the survivors who might be unable to come on; and as he went part of the way back himself, he found a Mogul merchant, to whom he owed a large sum of money, lying in the last stage of exhaustion, when, with a hard-hearted pleasantry, he refused to give

[22] ["The temperature in Persia depends on elevation and soil, more than on latitude. Both the northern and southern provinces have a cold and warm region (or *sardsír* and *garmsír*). The former is the higher and more mountainous part within land; the latter those plains which stretch along the shores of the Caspian, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean." (Balfour's *Ali Hazin*, p. 100, note.) The *Garmsír* of the text is the low tract of land lying on the Helmand. —ED.]

him a drop of water until he had cancelled his debt before legal witnesses; and it does not appear that he ever relieved the poor man from the consequences of this forced remission.

CHAPTER III.

SHÍR SHÁH, AND OTHERS OF THE FAMILY OF SÚR.

THE ultimate success of the House of Tímúr, and the great celebrity which they afterwards obtained, have occasioned Shír Sháh to be regarded as an usurper. Yet, as he was born in India, and expelled a foreign family who had only been fourteen years in possession, his claim was, in reality, more conformable to justice than those of most founders of dynasties in that country.

A.D. 1540, A.H. 947.

The retreat of Cámrán seems to have been concerted with Shír Sháh, for he had no sooner withdrawn than the latter monarch took possession of the whole of the Panjáb. After settling the province, and founding the famous fort of Róhtás, on the Hydaspes, which he named after that in Behár, he returned to Agra, and was soon called to subdue the revolt of his own governor of Bengal. He made such a division of that province for the future as to guard against a repetition of disturbance.[1]

Shír Sháh takes possession of all Humáyun's dominions.

In the course of the next year he conquered Málwa; and in that succeeding he reduced the fort of Ráisín, which was held by the son of Silhádi, a Hindú chief, who had enjoyed great authority under the government of Bahádur Sháh. The garrison surrendered on terms: but when they had left the fort, the capitulation was declared null, on the authority of the legal opinion of some Mahometan lawyers; and the Hindús, who had confided to the faith of their engagement, were attacked and cut to pieces, after a brave resistance. No motive can be discovered for this act of treachery and cruelty. There was no example to make or injury to revenge, and the days of religious fury were long since gone by; yet there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mahometan prince in India, except Tamerlane.

Recovers Málwa, A.D. 1542, A.H. 949. A.D. 1543, A.H. 950.

Massacres the garrison of Ráisín.

Next year, Shír invaded Márwár with an army of 80,000 men.

[1] [He divided the districts of the province among a number of officers, wholly independent of each other. (*Erskine*, ii. 428.)—Ed.]

Máldeó, rája of that country, was in the height of his power, and derived additional strength from the sterility of his territory, and the want of water in many parts of it. Although he had only 50,000 men to oppose to the superior numbers of his antagonist, he appears, at first, to have overawed the invader. Shír remained for a month, halted within a short distance of his army; but succeeded, at last, by the usual trick of letters written on purpose to be intercepted, in exciting the rája's suspicions of his chiefs, and thus inducing him to commence a retreat. One of those chiefs, indignant at the imputation, determined, in the Rájpút spirit of honour, to wipe it off at any risk. He quitted the army with his own tribe, consisting of only 12,000 men, and fell with such impetuosity on Shír Sháh, who was unprepared for so vigorous an effort, that he threw his camp into confusion; and so nearly gained the victory, that Shír Sháh, when he had, at last, succeeded in repulsing the assailants, declared that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of millet,—alluding to the poverty of the country and the low quality of its produce.

A.D. 1544, A.H. 951. Invades Márwár.

After this he reduced the Rána of Méwár to submission, and subsequently laid siege to Cálinjer.[2] He was here overtaken by a just retribution for his breach of faith at Ráisín, for the rája refused to enter into terms which he could not be sure would be observed; and as Shír was superintending the batteries, he was involved in the explosion of a magazine, which had been struck by the enemy's shot, and was so scorched that, although he survived for some hours, his recovery was hopeless from the first, and towards evening he expired.

Takes Chitór.

Is killed at Cálinjer.

In the midst of his agonies, he continued to direct the operations of the siege; and when intelligence was brought to him that the place was taken, he exclaimed, "Thanks be to Almighty God!" and never spoke again.

A.D. 1545, May 22; A.H. 952, Rabí ul Awwal.

Shír Sháh appears to have been a prince of consummate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles, and in the massacre at Ráisín, he had not even that passion to plead; but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and introduced many improvements in his civil government. Abúl Fazl affects to deride his insti-

His character.

His internal improvements.

[2] [Besieged in vain by Mahmúd in A.D. 1023, and taken by the English in 1812.—ED.]

tutions, which he represents as a revival of those of Alá ud dín: nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfall of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of former sovereigns, as original conceptions of his master Akber. Another author, who wrote under Akber,[3] states thát Shír Sháh made a high-road, extending for four months' journey, from Bengal to the western Róhtás, near the Indus, with caravanserais at every stage, and wells at every mile and a half;[4] there was an imám and a muezzin at every mosque, and provisions for the poor at every caravanserai, with attendants of proper casts for Hindús as well as Mussulmans. The road was planted with rows of trees, for shade; and in many places was in the state described, when the author saw it, after it had stood for fifty-two years.

Shír Sháh was buried at Sahserám, where his stately mausoleum is still to be seen, standing in the centre of an artificial piece of water a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water.

Selím Sháh Súr.

A'dil Khán was the eldest son of Shír Sháh, and had been recognised as his heir by that king. He was a prince of a feeble character, while his second brother, Jelál Khán, was a man of known abilities, and had distinguished himself as a soldier in his father's wars. For these reasons, most of the chiefs were disposed to support Jelál; and four of the principal of them having pledged their faith to A'dil for his personal safety, and for his receiving an adequate provision, he was induced to abdicate in favour of his brother. Jelál accordingly was proclaimed by the title of Selím Sháh,[5] and a tract of country near Biána was assigned to A'dil. He soon after took alarm at some proceedings of Selím, and he seems to have had good grounds for his suspicions; as Khowás Khán, the principal general of Shír Sháh, and one of the four chiefs who were security for the late agreement, took A'dil under his protection, revolted from the king, and marched straight to the capital for the purpose of deposing him. Selím

A.D. 1545, May 25; A.H. 952, Rabi ul Awwal 15. Selim supplants his elder brother.

[3] In the "Muntakhab ut Tawárikh," written in A.H. 1004, A.D. 1594—5.

[4] [The "Zuldat ut Tawárikh" says that there was great security in travelling during his reign, as he established a law that the mukaddams of the village where any traveller was robbed, should be subject to fine; and, for fear of its infliction, the zemindárs used to patrol the roads at night. (Sir H. Elliot's *Hist.*, i. 293.) —Ed.]

[5] [His proper title was Islám Sháh. (*Erskine*, ii. 448.)—Ed.]

had much to fear from disaffection at home as well as from the declared rebels; but he anticipated all movements against him by his promptitude and firmness, defeated the enemy, and in time entirely crushed the rebellion. A'dil fled to Behár, and was never more heard of.

Quells an obstinate rebellion.

The nobles who had been secretly engaged in the conspiracy did not feel that their failure to take part with it had saved them from the suspicions of the king. One was convicted and punished; and the others began to plot anew, and took arms for their own protection, without setting up any competitor for the crown.

The contest on this occasion took place in the Panjáb. The rebels were again defeated. They retired among the Gakkars; by the strength of whose country, and the support of the Afghán tribe of Niyází, they were able to keep alive the insurrection for two years.

Till A.D. 1547, A.H. 954.

The rest of Selím's reign was passed in tranquillity.[6] On one occasion, indeed, he was informed that King Humáyún, who had recovered Cábul, had actually crossed the Indus to attack him. Selím happened to be indisposed at the time, and was sitting under the application of leeches; but he started up on the instant, directed an immediate march, and was encamped six miles from Delhi before evening. If alarm had any share in this display of energy, it was ill-founded: Humáyún had only crossed for local purposes, and almost immediately retired to Cábul.

Selím Sháh died after a reign of nine years. He was an improver, like his father, but rather in public works than in laws.[7] One division of the royal palace at Delhi was built by him; and although Humáyún ordered it to be called Núrghar, by which name only it can be mentioned at court, it still retains that of Selímghar everywhere but in the royal presence.

Dies A.D. 1553, A.H. 960.

In this king's reign there appeared at Biána a sectary, named

[6] [Gwáliyár was his favourite capital, as also his successor's.—ED.]

[7] [Even Abúlfazl allows that he and his father had immense administrative ability. Abdul Kádir says: "He resumed, and placed under the immediate management of the state, the lands enjoyed by the troops, establishing pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Shir Sháh. Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, or revenue, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not only the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which served as a guide to the officials of the state; a measure which obviated the necessity of referring to a cázi or mufti, any case relating to matters which hitherto had been settled according to the principles and precepts of Muhammadan law." (See H. Elliot's *Historians*, i. 230.)—ED.]

Shékh Alláí, who preached the doctrines of the Gheir Mehdís, and, by his earnest zeal and persuasive eloquence, soon induced many persons to join him. They threw their property into a common stock, and some even left their families and devoted themselves to the shékh. Khowás Khán, the great general whose rebellion has been mentioned, was at one time among their number. At first the shékh's fanaticism was inoffensive, but some of his followers went beyond all tolerable bounds; they thought it was their duty to interfere whenever they saw a man in any act of sin, and if he did not attend to their remonstrance, to put him to death. The civil government, as well as the Mahometan lawyers, thought it now high time to interpose. The shékh was tried, and condemned to death; but the king remitted his sentence, and banished him to Hindia on the Nerbadda. This only spread the infection of his doctrines: he converted the governor and the garrison, and was making greater progress than ever, when he was recalled to the capital. The king was importuned by the Mullás to put him to death; and, after many delays, he ordered him to be whipped, and then left to consider whether he would recant his errors. The shékh had previously been seized by an epidemic then prevailing, and was so reduced that he expired at the third lash. His sect created no disturbance, and seems to have melted away.

Account of a fanatical sect.

Mohammed Sháh Súr A'dil.

On Selím's death, his son, a boy of twelve years old, was murdered by his uncle, Mohammed Khán,[8] who usurped his throne under the title of Mohammed A'dil Sháh, but is better known by that of Adalí.[9] His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices.

A.D. 15[illegible], A.H. 960. Mohammed A'dil murders his nephew, and usurps the throne.

His vices and incapacity.

He committed the conduct of his government to one Hémú, a Hindú, who had once kept a small shop, and whose appearance is said to have been meaner than his origin. Yet, with all these external disadvantages, Hémú had

Hémú, a low Hindú, made prime minister.

[8] [The boy's mother was Muhammad's sister, and the usurper killed him in his mother's arms. She had repeatedly pleaded for her brother's life, when her husband wished to put him to death, in order to secure the succession for his son Fírúz. (*Erskine*, ii. 483.)—Ed.]

[9] ["His ignorance and absurdity obtained for him the name of Adalí ('the foolish')." (Sir H. Elliot's *Hist.*, i. 302.)—Ed.]

abilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendancy amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of the government, weighed down as it was by the follies and iniquities of its head.[10] Vigour and talents of Hémú.

A'dil was scarcely seated on his throne before he had dissipated his treasures by the most indiscriminate profusion. When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the governments and jágírs of his nobles, and bestowed them on his favourites. As the Afgháns are never very capable of subordination, and are particularly jealous of any slight, the sufferers by these resumptions bore their wrongs with great impatience. On one occasion, when the king transferred the lands held by a military chief[11] to an upstart whom he favoured, the son of the dispossessed chief started forward, and exclaimed "What! is my father's estate to be given to a seller of dogs?" An attempt was made to force him out of the court; and the person to whom the grant had been made seized him by the throat for the purpose, when the young man drew his dagger, and laid the aggressor dead at his feet. Being now attacked on all sides, he ran at the king, who leaped from his throne, and had scarce a moment to pass into his seraglio when the assassin was at the door. The king, however, was able to draw the bolt, and was soon delivered from his danger by the death of his assailant. The ill-consequences of the affair did not end here. On the same day, one of the principal nobles fled from the court, and, being joined by other malcontents, set up the standard of revolt near Chunár. The king marched against the rebels, but, though he defeated them in action, his affairs were little improved by his success; for Ibráhím Súr, a person of his own family, seized on Delhi and Agra, and the king, after a vain attempt to expel him, was forced to leave him in possession, and confine himself to the eastern portion of his dominions. This example of successful rebellion was not lost on the spectators. Secander Súr, another nephew of Shír Sháh, proclaimed himself king in the Panjáb, advanced on Ibráhím, defeated him in action, and constrained him to leave Delhi and Agra. Ibráhím was now driven in on the territory still in the hands of A'dil. He was met and defeated by Hémú, and pursued to Biána, where he would have been

Oppressive measures of the king.

A.D. 1554. A.H. 961. Rebellions.

Separation of Delhi and the western provinces.

Revolt of the Panjab under Secander Súr.

[10] [He was of low stature, and too feeble in health to ride on horseback; even in the field he was carried about in a litter, or on an elephant; but he is said to have gained twenty-two battles for his king. (*Erskine*, ii. 492.)—ED.]

[11] [Sháh Muhammad Firmalí.—ED.]

captured, had not Hémú's attention been called off by a rebellion of Bengal. The usurper in this case was Mohammed Súr, who had been intrusted with the government of the province. By the time Hémú had joined his master, he heard that Málwa had also revolted,[12] and that Humáyún, having again entered India, had defeated Secander, and had taken Delhi and Agra.

Revolt of Bengal.

Revolt of Málwa.

Notwithstanding this disastrous intelligence, Hémú persevered in opposing the new king of Bengal, who had advanced to some distance from his usurped territory. Hémú was again victorious, and Mohammed Súr fell in the battle.

The rebellions in other quarters still continued, but the most imminent danger that presented itself was from Humáyún at Agra. While preparing to engage in this new contest, Hémú heard of the death of his enemy, and the accession of Akber, who was then in the Panjáb. Deriving fresh courage from this change, Hémú deposited his nominal king at Chunár, and set off with 30,000 men to recover the capital. His numbers increased as he advanced through a friendly country: Agra was taken after a siege, and all the Mogul troops who had been with Humáyún were assembled under Tardí Bég at Delhi.

Return of Humáyún.

Having been defeated in the field, Tardí Bég precipitately abandoned the city; and Hémú now prepared to march to Láhór, and give the last blow to the apparently discomfited invaders.

Success of Hemú.

The general opinion in Akber's camp was in favour of a retreat to Cábul; but Akber, who was only in his thirteenth year, left the whole conduct of affairs to Bairám Khán, and the intrepid character of that officer preserved the hopes of the House of Tímúr.[13] Rejecting the timid counsels of the other chiefs, Bairám advanced against Hémú with a greatly inferior force; and after a desperate battle at Pánípat, in which Hémú showed the most heroic courage, the Indian army was defeated, and Hémú taken prisoner (November 5, 1556).

His defeat by Akber, and death

With Hémú A'dil lost all hope of recovering his dominions: he continued to reign for some time longer, till he was killed in a battle with a new pretender[14] in Bengal.

Death of Mohammed Adil.

[12] [Under its governor Shujá Khán. — Ed.]

[13] [The Moghuls were greatly dispirited, and Bairám Khán, to enforce order, had Tardí Bég put to death for abandoning Delhi.—Ed.]

[14] [The son of Muhammad Súr.—Ed.]

CHAPTER IV.

HUMÁYÚN RESTORED.

AT the time when Humáyún entered Persia the throne was occupied by Sháh Tahmásp, the second of the Safaví (or Sophi) kings. His father was descended from a family of dervises, which had derived importance and influence from its sanctity, and was still principally supported by the enthusiasm of the nation for the Shía religion, which had been widely disseminated by the family, and formally established in Persia by Sháh Ismaíl, the first king of the race. Though the Shías and Sunnís differ less than Catholics and Protestants, their mutual animosity is much more bitter; and the attachment of the Persians to *their* sect is national as well as religious, the Shía faith being professed in no great kingdom but theirs. Coming so early in the succession to its founder, Sháh Tahmásp was not only a devout adherent but an ardent apostle of this new religion; and it was by his feelings in that respect that he was, in a great measure, actuated in his conduct to Humáyún. The intercourse between those princes was highly characteristic of Asiatic despots. Humáyún's reception was marked with every circumstance of hospitality and magnificence. The governor of every province received him with the highest honour, and the people of every city came in a body to meet him; he was lodged in the king's palaces, and entertained with regal splendour; but in the midst of this studied respect, he was treated with little delicacy, and all semblance of generosity disappeared as often as he disputed the will of the Persian monarch, or became in any way obnoxious to his pride or caprice. Though welcomed from the moment of his arrival, he was not allowed to approach the capital, and many months elapsed before he was admitted to an interview with the king. During this interval, he sent his most confidential officer, Bairám Khán, on a mission to Sháh Tahmásp; and it was through a circumstance in the treatment of his envoy that he was first reminded how completely he was in the power of another.

Reception of Humáyún in Persia, A.D. 1544.

Account of the Safavís (or Sophis).

Magnificence and hospitality of Sháh Tahmasp

His arrogance and caprice.

More effectually to unite his followers by some visible symbol, the first Safaví had made them wear a particular description of cap, from which the Persians took the name they now bear. This sectarian distinction was

Forces Humáyún to profess the Shía religion.

an object of as much aversion to the other Mahometans as a rosary and crucifix would have been to a Calvinist of the seventeenth century.[1]

On one occasion of Bairám's attendance at court, the king desired him to wear the cap; and on Bairám's representing that he was the servant of another prince, and was not at liberty to act without orders, Tahmásp told him "he might do as he pleased," but gave evident signs of great displeasure; and sending for some offenders,[2] ordered them to be beheaded on the spot, with a view to strike a terror into the refractory ambassador.

Sháh Tahmásp's meeting with Humáyún was on terms of perfect equality, and in every way suitable to his own grandeur and the dignity of his guest. Yet the two kings were scarcely seated, when Tahmásp told the king of India that he must adopt the disputed cap; and Humáyún, to whom the demand was not unexpected, at once consented, with an appropriate compliment. His assuming it was announced by a triumphal flourish from the king of Persia's band, and welcomed by a general salutation to both monarchs by the Persian courtiers. Some more private conversation probably passed on the subject of religion, in which Humáyún was not so compliant; for next day, when Tahmásp was passing Humáyún's palace on a journey, the latter prince went to the gate to salute him, but the Persian passed on without noticing him, and left Humáyún mortified and humiliated. Some days after, when a large supply of firewood was sent to Humáyún, it was accompanied by a message that it should serve for his funeral pile if he refused to embrace the Shía religion. To this the exiled prince replied with humility, but with firmness, and requested leave to proceed on his pilgrimage; but Tahmásp was inexorable, declaring that he was determined to extirpate the Sunnís, and that Humáyún must adopt the religion of the country he had voluntarily entered, or take the consequences.

After all this intimidation, a cází deputed by Sháh Tahmásp to confer with him, presented Humáyún with three papers, and told him he might take his choice which he would sign. Humáyún rejected them in succession, with indignation, and at

[1] The Persians generally call themselves Kazalbásh, or Redhead, from the colour of this cap. Bábur attempted to introduce it among his troops, at a time when he depended on the goodwill of the Persians; but the measure, though unaccompanied with any religious innovation, was so unpopular as to produce a dangerous disaffection to his government. (See Erskine's *Babar*, p. 244.)

[2] [These were some Chirágh-kush heretics of the Ismaíliyah sect.—Ed.]

one time started up to call his attendants. His anger was composed by the cází, who conducted his negotiation with kindness as well as with address, and succeeded in convincing him that, although he might give up his own life for his religion, he had no right to sacrifice those of his adherents; and that his duty as well as his interest called on him to comply with a demand which he had no means of effectually resisting.

The memoir-writer does not mention, and may not have known, the contents of the paper; and Abúl Fazl, with courtly dexterity, passes over the whole subject of religion, and scarcely hints at a temporary misunderstanding between the kings; but it seems clear that it must have contained a profession of the Shía religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as an engagement to cede the frontier province or kingdom of Candahár. This last article was carried into effect; and it was probably a sense of the impossibility of fulfilling the other that made Humáyún so indifferent to a rupture with Persia, when the period of performance drew near. That Humáyún himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shékh Sáfí at Ardebíl, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Sunní.[8]

After the contest about this paper, Humáyún was neglected for two months; and when Tahmásp renewed his attentions, they were not unmixed with ebullitions of an overbearing temper on points unconnected with the favourite topic of religion. Tahmásp had heard from some of Humáyún's enemies, that, during that monarch's prosperity, on some practice of divination to discover the destiny of reigning princes, he had placed the king of Persia in a class inferior to that in which he ranked himself. Tahmásp now took him to task for his assumption, and, on Humáyún's endeavouring to explain his reasons, told him that it was through such arrogance that he came to be driven out of his kingdom by peasants, and to leave his women and his child in the hands of his enemies.

Nevertheless the public conduct of the king of Persia con-

[8] The "Muntakhab ut Tawárikh" states that the paper contained the Shía confession of faith, and that Humáyún complied with the demand for his accepting it by reading it aloud without any other sign of assent or dissent. The same book adds, that he adopted the Shía mode of reciting a portion of the public prayers, which is the most contested point between the two sects. [Erskine shows (ii. p. 298) that it is only from Jouher that we learn the various humiliations which Humáyún had to endure in Persia. Abúltazl and Ferishta try to disguise or conceal them; "Jouher's narrative, incorrect and artificial as it is, is one of many instances of the inestimable value, for historical truth, of even the meanest contemporary record."—ED.]

tinued to be as cordial and as generous as ever. He gave great hunting and drinking parties in honour of Humáyún; and, when the time of that prince's departure approached, he loaded him with attentions, and on one occasion laid his hand on his heart and entreated his guest to forgive him if he had ever failed in what was due to him. He then dismissed Humáyún, with a promise that 12,000 horse should be ready to join him in Sístán. But the two kings were not destined to part without one more explosion of temper from the king of Persia. Instead of marching straight to the frontier, Humáyún loitered about different places which he wished to visit, until he was overtaken by Tahmásp, who was moving on some business through his dominions. He no sooner saw Humáyún's tents than he exclaimed, "What! has he not yet left this country?" and sent a messenger to direct him to make a march of twelve farsakhs (upwards of forty miles) without a moment's delay.

Sends an army to restore Humáyún.

In Sístán Humáyún found 14,000 horse (instead of the 12,000 promised) under the command of the king's son, Morád Mírzá.[1] Cámrán was still in possession of Cábul. Candahár had been surprised by Hindál, but retaken; and that prince had been forgiven by his brother, and was now governor of Ghazní, the government of Candahár being entrusted to Mírzá Askerí. Cámrán had also taken Badakhshán from his relation Soleimán, who had been placed there by Báber; it comprehended the south of Bactria; the northern part of that province, including Balkh, was in the hands of the Uzbeks. Shír Sháh was still alive, and there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Hindostán.

Humáyún's own troops, while in Persia, only amounted to 700 men, and they were probably not more numerous when he marched with the Persian force against the fort of Bóst, on the river Hélmand. That place soon surrendered, and the force advanced unobstructed to Candahár (March, 1545).

The eagerness of the Persians, and their fear that Mírzá Askerí might escape with his treasures, led them at first to a tumultuary attack, which was repelled by the garrison, and the siege was then opened in form. It lasted for more than five months, during which time Humáyún sent Bairám Khán to Cábul to endeavour to bring Cámrán to terms. His mission was unsuccessful; and as for a long time none of the chiefs or inhabitants of the country

[1] [This was the King's third son, then an infant. The troops were really under the command of a noble of the Turkí tribe of Kajar, from which the present royal family of Persia is descended.—Ed.]

joined Humáyún, the Persians began to be disheartened, and to talk of returning to their own country. At length things took a favourable turn: deserters of different ranks came in from Cábul; and the garrison of Candahár being reduced to distress for subsistence, many of the troops composing it escaped to their own homes, while others let themselves down from the walls and came over to the besiegers.

Mírzá Askerí was now obliged to surrender; and, by the intervention of his aunt, the sister of Bábeŕ, he obtained a promise of pardon from his brother (September, 1545). Taking of Candahár; But Humáyún's heart seems to have been hardened by his long misfortunes and disappointments; and his proceedings, which formerly were chiefly to be blamed for weakness, began to assume a darker character. Askerí was compelled to make his appearance before the conqueror with his sword hung naked from his neck, and to display his submission in the most humiliating forms. When this was over, Humáyún with seeming generosity placed him by his side, and showed him every mark of forgiveness and returning kindness. A great entertainment was given to celebrate the reconciliation; but when the festivity was at its height, and all fears and suspicions had been laid aside, some orders which Askerí had written to the Belóch chiefs for apprehending Humáyún during his flight to Persia were produced; and, on pretext of this long-past act of enmity, he was made prisoner, and kept in chains for nearly three years.

The fort and treasures were made over to the Persians, on which the greater part of their troops returned home; which is ceded to the Persians, and the garrison which was left under Morád Mírzá began, according to Abúl Fazl, to oppress the inhabitants. Abúl Fazl enters on a long apologetical narrative of the events that followed; which, for its own cant and hypocrisy, as well as the perfidy of the acts it defends, is not surpassed by anything even in the Memoirs of Tamerlane. The sum is, that the Persian prince having suddenly died, Humáyún, still professing the most fervent attachment to Sháh Tahmásp, obtained admission on friendly terms into the city, slaughtered many of the garrison, and made an extraordinary merit of allowing the rest to return to their own country.[1] but treacherously recovered by Humáyún, after the departure of the Persian army.

[1] The following is a specimen of Abúl Fazl's manner of relating a story like the present. It is from Col. Price's version, and, though not literal, gives the spirit of the original. After enlarging on the complaints of the people of Candahár (who had never been subject to Humáyún) against the officers of their present sovereign, the king of Persia, he goes on: "The generous monarch felt himself un-

It is probable that the sophistical pretexts of Abúl Fazl are not chargeable to Humáyún, who might plead that he was not bound to observe an engagement wrung from him by force. This argument, however, if admissible as far as relates to his conversion, does not apply to the cession of Candahár. *That* was the price of the assistance of the king of Persia; and by availing himself of that assistance, after he was free from restraint, he ratified his engagement anew; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery, though not, perhaps, of ingratitude.

Taking of Cábul.

After the occupation of Candahár, Humáyún marched for Cábul, although the winter had already set in with extraordinary severity. As he advanced, he was joined by his brother Hindál; and afterwards by other deserters, in such numbers that, when he reached Cábul, Cámrán found it impossible to resist, and fled to Bakkar on the Indus, where he threw himself on the protection of Husein Arghún, prince of Sind.[6] Humáyún entered Cábul, and recovered his son Akber, now between two and three years of age.

Expedition to Badakhshán.

After remaining for some months at Cábul, Humáyún set out to recover Badakhshán, which was again in the hands of Mírzá Soleimán. Before his departure, he thought it prudent to put his cousin, Yádgár Mírzá, who had just joined him, and was suspected of fresh intrigues, to death. What is remarkable in this event is, that the governor of Cábul flatly refused to carry the order into execution, and that Humáyún directed another person to perform it without inflicting any punishment on the governor.

der considerable embarrassment, lest, in satisfying the demands of justice by inflicting punishment on the oppressors, he might give offence to his good ally, the king of Persia; or by suffering the guilty to escape entirely unpunished, they might be encouraged to extend their malpractices a hundredfold against the unfortunates still subject to their authority, his conscience pretty distinctly reminding him that by this latter course he should most surely incur the just vengeance of an offended God." On mature consideration of the risks of a quarrel, Humáyún stifled the reproaches of his conscience, until Morád Mírzá's death afforded an opportunity for executing his design. Even then he absolutely refused to endanger the lives of the sháh's troops by giving them any notice of his hostile intentions, and only consented to lull them into security, and surprise them when they were off their guard. He begged permission of the governor to send Mírzá Askerí, under an escort, to be kept prisoner in Candahár. The Persian gave his consent without hesitation; and the escort being secretly supported by other detachments, seized one of the gates, on which a conflict ensued, and many of the garrison were put to the sword. (*Price*, vol. iv. p. 89.) ["Bairám Khán was appointed governor, and, in a despatch to the sháh, he pretended to hold it for him." (*Erskine*, ii. 320.)—Ed.]

[6] [Cámrán here married Husein's daughter, Chuchak Begum, who remained attached to him amidst all his vicissitudes. (*Erskine.*)—Ed.]

While Humáyún was at Badakhshán, where he remained for many months, Cámrán returned from Sind and surprised Cábul. Humáyún marched against him in the dead of winter, defeated his troops, and drove him within the walls. On this and all subsequent occasions during the siege, Humáyún put his prisoners to death in cold blood, which Cámrán retaliated by still greater cruelties, and even threatened to expose young Akber, who had again fallen into his hands, to the fire of the cannon, if they continued to batter the town.[7]

Cámrán recovers Cábul.

At length Cámrán was compelled to quit Cábul (April, 1547). He made his escape in the night, and fled to Góri, in the south of Bactria. Being, after some time, dislodged from thence by a detachment of Humáyún's, he had recourse to the Uzbeks at Balkh, and by their aid he recovered Badakhshán. During these operations the summer passed, and Humáyún was constrained by the snow to defer his march from Cábul until the next spring. He then set out for Badakhshán, where Cámrán was defeated, driven into Tálekán, and, being disappointed of the assistance he expected from the Uzbeks, reduced to surrender (August, 1548). On this occasion Humáyún behaved with perfect good faith and humanity: he treated Cámrán with great kindness; and three of the brothers being now together, he released the fourth, Mírzá Askerí, and they all assembled at a feast, where they *ate salt* together, and were, for the time, entirely reconciled.

Is driven out by Humáyún.

Gives himself up to Humáyún, and is kindly treated.

After this Humáyún returned to Cábul. Next spring (1549) he set out to attack the Uzbeks in Balkh; and he appears at last to have acquired a sufficient spirit of enterprise; for, having taken the small fort of Eibak, he immediately began to hold consultations about the conquest of Transoxiana: but, at the moment of his reaching Balkh, where he had beat off a sally of the garrison, he received intelligence that Cámrán had rebelled, and was threatening Cábul; and on commencing his march on his return to his capital, he was so pressed by the Uzbeks that his retreat soon became a flight, and it was with difficulty

Humáyún invades Balkh.

Fresh rebellion of Cámrán.

Calamitous retreat from Balkh.

[7] Abúl Fazl states that Cámrán did actually expose Akber, without giving the least notice; and that it was only by the direct interposition of Providence, shown in miracles, of which he relates the particulars, that the destruction of the royal infant was averted. The account given in the text of this one fact is from the memoir-writer; that author passes over most of the other atrocities on both sides; but on that subject I am afraid there is no reason for distrusting Abúl Fazl. The memoir-writer mentions that Cábul was given up to plunder, after the flight of Cámrán, as a punishment for the infidelity of the inhabitants; which is not noticed by Abúl Fazl.

that his troops made their way, in total confusion and disorder, to a place of safety. This calamity shook the fidelity of his remaining adherents; and in a battle which took place soon after, some of his greatest chiefs deserted him; and he had nearly lost his life in the defeat which followed. On this occasion he was wounded by a soldier of Cámrán, who was about to repeat the blow, when Humáyún called out, "You wretch! how dare you?" and the man was so confounded by the stern look of the king, that he dropped his arm, and allowed his wounded antagonist to retire (middle of 1550). Humáyún now fled with only eleven attendants, among whom was Jouher, the author of the memoir. He underwent many hardships, and for some time suffered from his wound: in the end he reached Badakhshán, where Mírzá Sóleimán, for the first time, zealously supported him. On his flight, Cámrán again took Cábul, and Akber once more fell into his hands. But in a subsequent battle,[8] fortune proved favourable to Humáyún; Cámrán was obliged to take refuge with an Afghán tribe in the mountains of Kheiber; Cábul was taken, and all the open country restored to obedience (1551).

Humáyún defeated by Cámrán and deserted by his army.

Cámrán again expelled.

The king soon after marched against the Khalíls, the tribe that had harboured Cámrán. He was attacked in the night by those mountaineers: his brother Hindál was killed, and he was obliged to take refuge in Bésút, a small fort in the pass between Pesháwer and Cábul. The Afgháns did not follow up their advantage; and while Cámrán was feasted in turn by successive tribes, Humáyún again took the field, defeated the Afgháns, and compelled Cámrán to fly to India; where he sought an asylum with Sultán Selím, the successor of Shír Sháh (1552). Receiving no encouragement in that quarter, he fled to the Sultán of the Gakkars, and was ultimately betrayed by him to Humáyún, three years after his last expulsion from Cábul[9] (September 1553).

Though Cámrán's repeated offences would have justified his immediate execution, they do not in the least reconcile us to the treatment he received when given up.

Taken, A.D. 1553, September; A.H. 961, Ramazan;

[8] [While collecting his troops, Humáyún made them all take an oath of fidelity, when one of his nobles, Háji Muhammad Khán, proposed that Humáyún himself should take an oath to follow the advice of his friends, which he agreed to do. Under other circumstances this might have been the germ of a constitutional monarchy. But the seed fell in an uncongenial soil,—"there was no hereditary peerage or rank, no great council, no convocation of the church, no municipal institutions in the towns, no commonweal at all, no foundation for free institutions; nothing was fixed or stable but despotism." (*Erskine*, ii. pp. 388—390.)]

[9] Memoirs, p. 105.

Humáyún had come into the Gakkar territory to receive the prisoner; and Cámrán, when brought before him, advanced with great humility; but Humáyún received him graciously, seated him on his right hand, and soon after, some water-melon being handed round, he gave half of the piece he had taken to his brother. In the evening there was an entertainment, with singers, and the "night was passed" in "jollity and carousing."[10] Next day passed in the same manner: during the course of it, some of his counsellors asked Humáyún what he intended to do with his brother? and he answered, "Let us first satisfy the Gakkar chief, and then I will do what I think proper."

On the third day the Gakkar chief was satisfied; and it was determined that Cámrán should be blinded. The author and blinded. of the Memoirs, having been ordered to attend on the prince, describes the particulars of his misfortune. At first no person was willing to undertake the duty, and the king had given the order just as he was setting off on his march. One officer rode after him, and told him in Túrkí the difficulty that had arisen; on which the king reviled him, and asked why he had not done it himself? On the officer's return, the order was made known to Cámrán with many expressions of sorrow, and the operation was performed by piercing his eyes repeatedly with a lancet. Cámrán bore the torture without a groan, until lemon-juice and salt were squeezed into his eyes, when he called out, "O Lord, my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion on me in the next."

After witnessing this part of the scene, the author could no longer remain: he went on to the camp, and sat down in his tent in a very melancholy mood. On this the king sent for him, and asked why he had come away without orders? The author replied that the business was completed, and the king told him he need not go back; and immediately gave him an order about some trifling business, without further noticing what had passed. He probably felt more shame than pleasure at the intelligence; and, indeed, the circumstances are important, rather as showing the effects of his situation than his own disposition, of which they are not otherwise characteristic than in the indecision and the wish to go on smoothly to the last. He was not naturally either cunning or cruel; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II.

[10] Memoirs, p. 104.

Cámrán, now no longer dangerous, was permitted to go to Mecca, where he soon after died.[11]

After this transaction, Humáyún was desirous of proceeding to Cashmír; but, hearing of the advance of Selím Sháh, he retreated to Cábul, and spent the next year at that place and Candahár.

In the meantime Selím Sháh had died; and the misgovernment of his successor had broken up his territories into five portions, in each of which there was a separate king.

Secander Súr, to whose share the Panjáb had fallen, had since attacked Ibráhím, the usurper of Delhi and Agra, and had driven him from his territories, while A'dil, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both. Circumstances could not, therefore, have been more favourable to Humáyún; but the recollection of former misfortunes seems to have excited gloomy forebodings about India; and it was not till he was encouraged by omens as well as arguments, that Humáyún could make up his mind to the enterprise. When he had undertaken it, he executed it with alacrity: he set out from Cábul with 15,000 horse (January, 1555): he invaded the Panjáb, defeated Secander's governor, and took possession of Láhór, where he remained for some time to settle the province.[12]

Humáyún marches to recover India.

At Sirhind he engaged Secander, who had advanced to meet him at the head of a large army. Humáyún gained a decided victory, and immediately took possession of Delhi and Agra, while Secander fled to the mountains under Himálaya.

Defeats Secander Súr.

Takes Delhi and Agra.

The latter prince, not long after, again issued from his retreat, and Bairám Khán was sent along with Prince Akber to the Panjáb to oppose him.

Humáyún, though thus restored to his capital, had recovered but a small portion of his original dominions, and even that he did not live to enjoy. In less than six months after his return to Delhi, he met with an accident which occasioned his almost immediate death. He had been walking on the terrace of his library, and was descending the stairs (which, in such situations, are narrow steps on the outside of

His death.

[11] [He died, October, 1557. His Arghún wife would not leave him, but in spite of her father's remonstrances refused to stay behind. She only survived him a few months.—Ed.]

[12] ["The motley nature of Humáyún's army may be conceived from the tribes of the four generals commanding the divisions; Bairám Khán was a Persian Turk, Khizr Khán an Afghán Hazára, Tardí Beg a Turk of Ferghána, and Sekander Khán an Uzbek." (*Erskine*, ii. p. 515.)—Ed.]

the building, and only guarded by an ornamental parapet about a foot high). Hearing the call to prayers from the minarets, he stopped, as is usual on such occasions, repeated the creed, and sat down on the steps till the crier had done. He then endeavoured to rise, supporting himself on his staff; the staff slipped on the polished marble of the steps, and the king fell headlong over the parapet. He was stunned at the time; and, although he soon recovered his senses, the injury he had received was beyond cure. On the fourth day after his accident he expired, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-sixth of his reign, including the sixteen years of his banishment from his capital.

His unsettled reign left little time for internal improvements; and it is marked by no domestic event of importance, except the death of the celebrated Persian historian, Khóndemír, who had come to Báber's court soon after his invasion of India, and died in the camp of Humáyún during his expedition to Guzerát.

BOOK VIII.

STATE OF INDIA UP TO THE ACCESSION OF AKBER.[1]

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE INDEPENDENT STATES OF INDIA AFTER THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF DELHI.

As we have reached the epoch at which the whole of India was formed into one empire, and a considerable alteration was made in the relation of different classes of the inhabitants, the time seems suitable for reviewing the preceding transactions of the separate communities, and ascertaining their actual condition at the commencement of the change.

[1] [The entire Hindú period of Elphinstone's history corresponds only to this eighth book of the Muhammadan,—so widely do the two periods differ from each other in all that constitutes historical value. A somewhat similar survey of the state of India 250 years later may be found in the first chapter of Professor Wilson's Continuation of Mill's history.—ED.]

States formed on the dissolution of the empire under Mohammed Tughlak.

The empire of Delhi, in the reign of Mohammed Tughlak, extended to the Himálaya mountains on the north-east, and to the Indus on the north-west; on the east and west it reached the sea; and on the south it might be said to include the whole of the peninsula, except a long narrow tract on the south-west, the frontier of which would be imperfectly marked by a line drawn from Bombay to Ramésh̄war. But within the limits, one large space was unsubdued and another unexplored.

This last was the kingdom of Orissa, a tract of forest which extended nearly from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Godáverí, something less than 500 miles, and ran inland for a depth of from 300 to 400 miles. The imperfectly conquered part was the Rájpút territory, a still more extensive tract in the north-west of India.

Recovery of Telingana and Carnáta by the Hindús.

During the disorders produced by the misgovernment of Mohammed Tughlak, the rájas of Telingána and Carnáta restored those territories to the Hindús. The former prince had not long before been driven from Warangal, and compelled to retire to the south; and he now returned to re-occupy his old possessions. The other was of a new family, who set themselves up in the place of the Balláls, and fixed their capital at Bijayanagar, on the Tumbadra. These two rájas soon reduced the Mussulman frontier to the Kishna on the south, and the meridian of Heiderábád on the east. They also brought the more southern parts of the peninsula into dependence, and formed states capable of contending on equal terms with their Mahometan neighbours. The western state, that of Bijayanagar, was the most considerable from the first. It was of much longer duration than the other, and before its fall had attained a pitch of power and splendour not, perhaps, surpassed by any previous Hindú dynasty since the Mahometan invasion.

Further dismemberment of the empire

This re-conquest, which took place in A.D. 1344, was preceded by the revolt of Bengal (about A.D. 1340); and succeeded (in A.D. 1347) by the grand rebellion of the Deckan, by which the power of Delhi was driven across the Nerbadda.

The death of Mohammed Tughlak (A.D. 1351) for a time put a stop to further dismemberment; but towards the end of the century, during the minority of Mahmúd (the last Tughlak king), Guzerát, Málwa, and Jounpúr proclaimed their independence; the latter kingdom being formed of the country on the Ganges,

from Bengal to the centre of Oudh. The invasion of Tamerlane soon followed (A.D. 1398): the remaining provinces threw off the yoke; and the territory of Delhi was reduced to a few miles near the capital.

The recovery of some parts of these last dominions has already been related; and I shall now explain their progress during the intermediate period, and the position in which they stood at the accession of Akber.[2]

The first place is claimed by the kingdoms of the Deckan.

KINGDOMS OF THE DECKAN.

Bahmaní kingdom of the Deckan. A.D. 1347, until A.D. 1518.

Hasan Gángú, who headed the successful revolt against Mohammed Tughlak, transmitted his crown to his descendants, who reigned for thirteen generations and for 171 years.

The Hindú rájas of Bijayanagar and Warangal were the allies of the new monarchy in its resistance to the empire of Delhi; but when delivered from their common enemy, their natural antipathy revived. The struggle was of long duration, but the Mahometans were the gainers in the end. During the rule of the house of Bahmaní, they conquered the country between the Kishna and Tumbadra from Bijayanagar, and entirely subverted the kingdom of Warangal; and immediately before their fall, they had gained a territory in Orissa, and had extended their conquest on the east coast as far as Masulipatam, and on the west as far as Goa.

Increased intercourse with the Hindús.

These long wars on tolerably equal terms, together with occasional alliances against common enemies, seem to have had some effect in mitigating the overbearing conduct of the Mussulmans towards the Hindús. Men of both religions entered freely into each other's service: the flower of the king of Málwa's army, during an invasion of the Bahmaní territories, is said to have consisted of 12,000 Afgháns *and Rájpúts*, while Deó Ráj, rája of Bijayanagar, recruited Mahometans, assigned lands to their chiefs, and built a mosque at his capital expressly for their encouragement.

The domestic history of the Bahmaní dynasty was much

[2] As the particular transactions of these separate kingdoms are not essential to the general history of India, I have thrown them into an Appendix, and confined the text to an outline and the results.

influenced by the rivalry between the foreign and native troops.

Rivalry between the Shía and Sunní sects in the court and army.

In most Asiatic despotisms the king first trusts to the army against the people, and then to a body of foreign household troops, or Mamlúks, against the rest of the army; and these Mamlúks, in the end, usurp the government. In the Deckan the course was different; the army which placed the Bahmaní dynasty on the throne was chiefly composed of foreigners, and there seems to have been no guard more trusted to than the rest. In time, the native troops increased in number, and so nicely balanced the foreigners, that neither party ever obtained a permanent influence over the government.

At the time of the separation from Delhi, many of the foreign troops were probably Mogul converts; in later times, according to Ferishta, they consisted of Persians and Túrks, Georgians, Circassians, Calmucs, and other Tartars; the greater part of them were of the Shía sect; and the contest with the native troops was probably more between Shías and Sunnís than between parties arising from difference of race. The native party, or Deccanís as they were called, were always joined by the Abyssinian mercenaries, who came in numbers by the seaports on the western coast,[3] and who may be presumed to have been Sunnís.

These parties reached the highest pitch of animosity in the reign of Alá ud dín II., A.D. 1437. They occasioned continual jealousy and distraction, and were as injurious to the government by their intrigues at court as by their want of co-operation on service. They were kept in control under vigorous administrations; but towards the end of the dynasty, Mahmúd, a weak prince, was alternately the tool of the foreigners, whose chief was Yúsuf A'dil Khán, a Túrk, and of the Deccanís, then under Nizám Múlk Behrí, the son of a converted Hindú.

States formed out of the Bahmaní dominions. A.D. 1489-1512. Bijápúr

The Deccanís having gained the ascendancy, Yúsuf A'dil retired to his government of Bíjápúr, where he subsequently took the title of king, and founded the dynasty of A'dil Sháh.

Ahmednagar

Nizám ul Múlk being afterwards assassinated by Kásim Baríd, a Túrk, his son Ahmed set up a separate dynasty called Nizám Sháh, the capital of which was Ahmednagar.

Kásim Baríd was now the master of the court of Mahmúd; and two other great chiefs became independent, although they

[3] The Persian or Mogul party also chiefly received their recruits by sea. It is difficult to account for the little influx of Arabs.

did not, for some time, take the title of king. These were, Kutb Kulí, a Turkman, from Persia, and Imád ul Múlk, descended from Hindú converts: the former founded the dynasty of Kutb Sháh, at Golcónda, close to Heiderábád; and the latter that of Imád Sháh, at E'lichpúr in Berár. Amír Baríd, the son of Kásim, governed for some time under a succession of pageants: at length he threw off the mask, and was first of the Baríd kings of Bídar, the family of Bahmaní being thenceforth no longer mentioned. Golcónda. Berár. Bídar.

The internal strife between Shías and Sunnís which continued after the formation of these kingdoms, their wars and alliances among themselves and with the neighbouring Mahometan princes towards the North, give sufficient variety to their history during the period for which they lasted, but lose all their importance when the whole merged in the empire of the house of Tímúr. Their history.

Their conquests from the Hindús had more permanent effects. The rája of Bijayanagar long maintained his place among the powers of the Deckan, taking part in the wars and confederacies of the Mahometan kings; but at length, in 1565, the Mussulmans became jealous of the power and presumption of the infidel ruler, and formed a league against Rám Rája, the prince on the throne at the time.[4] A great battle took place on the Kishna near Tálicót, which for the numbers engaged, the fierceness of the conflict, and the importance of the stake, resembled those of the early Mahometan invaders. The barbarous spirit of those days seemed also to be renewed in it; for, on the defeat of the Hindús, their old and brave rája, being taken prisoner, was put to death in cold blood, and his head was kept till lately at Bíjápúr as a trophy. A.D. 1565, Jan. 25; A.H. 972, Jamádi'a Sání 20 Battle of Talicota.

This battle destroyed the monarchy of Bijayanagar, which, at that time, comprehended almost all the south of India. But it added little to the territories of the victors; their mutual jealousies prevented each from much extending his frontier; and the country fell into the hands of petty princes, or of those insurgent officers of the old government, since so well known as zemíndárs or poligárs.[5] Fall of the kingdom of Bijayanagar.

[4] [Krishna Ráya extended the kingdom in every direction, and was a great patron of Telugu literature. At his death, he left no legitimate children, and after a disputed succession his son-in-law Ráma Rája succeeded to the throne.—ED.]

[5] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii. pp. 127 and 414. Wilson, *Mackenzie Cataloyue*, vol. i. p. cli. Wilkes' *Mysore*, vol. i. p. 18. The brother of the late rája removed his residence farther east, and finally settled at Chandragiri, about seventy miles north-west of Madras, at which last place his descendant first granted a settlement to the English, in A.D. 1640. Rennell's *Hindostan*, p. 291. [This settlement was

The kings of Golcónda were more fortunate in their separate conquests. They completely subdued all Warangal, which had made efforts at independence, and reduced other parts of Telingána and Carnáta, as far as the river Penár. These acquisitions by no means extended to the recovery of the country lost by Mohammed Tughlak; but were all that were made by the Mussulmans until the time of Aurangzíb.

KINGDOMS IN HINDOSTAN AND THE ADJOINING COUNTIES.

Guzerát and Málwa became independent during the reign of Mahmúd Tughlak, and probably assumed the name of kingdoms after that title was abolished in Delhi, on the invasion of Tamerlane. Khándésh, which had not joined the rebellion in the Deckan, afterwards followed the example of its northern neighbours.

But although the revolt of the three provinces was simultaneous, it was not made in concert; and whatever connexion afterwards subsisted between their histories arose out of their wars rather than their alliances.

The territory of the kings of Guzerát, though rich, was small, encroached on by hills and forests, filled with predatory tribes, and surrounded by powerful enemies. Yet they were the most conspicuous of all the minor kings after the extinction of the Bahmaní dynasty. Guzerát.

They twice conquered Málwa, and finally annexed that kingdom to their own: they repeatedly defeated the Rájpúts of Mewár, and took their famous capital of Chítór: they established a sort of supremacy over Khándésh, and even received the homage of the kings of Ahmednagar and Berár: on one occasion they carried their arms to the Indus; and they were more than once engaged in maritime wars with the Portuguese, which make a figure in the history of that nation.

Their territory was occupied, as has been related, by Humáyún, but was recovered in the confusions which soon followed, and was independent at the accession of Akber.

Fort St. George. Several of the poligars mentioned in the text were members either of the royal family of Vijayanagar or of that of Ráma Rája. A son of the latter recovered possession of Anagundi and Vijayanagar; on the direct line becoming extinct, Venkapati, a kinsman of the Chandragiri branch, succeeded; the seventh from him was dispossessed by Tipú Sultán and became a pensioner of the East India Company until the pension lapsed, in 1830. (Wilson, *Mack. Catal.*) —Ed.]

Málwa was engaged in frequent wars with all its neighbours in Hindostan and the Deckan; but the most remarkable part of its history was the ascendancy obtained by a Hindú chief, who by his courage and abilities rescued the king from many difficulties, but at last engrossed all the powers of the state, filled all offices with Rájpúts, and was only dispossessed by the march of the king of Guzerát to the assistance of his brother Mahometan. Málwa.

Khándésh, Bengal, Jounpúr, Sind, and Moltán, were all independent at the accession of Akber; but their separate history is of little moment. Other Mahometan kingdoms.

The states yet mentioned were all fragments of the empire of Mohammed Tughlak; but a portion of the original princes of India still remained unconquered, and are acknowledged as sovereign states even to the present day. The Rájpút States.

The Rájpúts, who at the time of Sultán Mahmúd's invasion were in possession of all the governments of India, sunk into the mass of the population as those governments were overturned; and no longer appeared *as rulers*, except in places where the strength of the country afforded some protection against the Mussulman arms. Change in the condition of the Rájpúts after the Mahometan conquests in India.

Those on the Jumna and Ganges, and in general in all the completely conquered tracts, became what they are now; and, though they still retained their high spirit and military figure, had adapted their habits to agriculture, and no longer aspired to a share in the government of the country.

The remains of Rájpút independence were preserved on the table-land in the centre of Hindostan, and in the sandy tract stretching west from it to the Indus. Their exemption from the encroachment of the Mussulmans was in proportion to the strength of the country. Méwát, Bundélcand, Bághélcand, etc., lie on the slope towards the Jumna, and, though close to the level country on that river, are rough and broken: it is there that we find the tributaries so often in insurrection, and there also are the forts of Rintumbór, Gwáliór, Cálinjer, etc., the taking and retaking of which seem to occur in almost every reign. The open part of the table-land is partially protected by this tract: it is easier of access from the north about Jeipúr, which principality has always been submissive. Ajmír and Málwa, on the open part of the table-land, were early conquered and easily retained. The east part of the rána of Oudipúr's country (or Méwár) was equally defenceless, but he had an inexpugnable retreat in the Aravalli mountains, and in the hills and forests

connected with them, which form the northern boundary of Guzerát. The rája of Jódpúr (or Márwár), with his kinsman the rája of Bíkánér, the rája of Jésalmér, and some smaller rájas, were protected by the desert, with which the fertile parts of their territories are interspersed or surrounded.

The government of the Rájpúts, partly feudal and partly clannish, their high sense of honour, and their strong mutual attachment, have already been explained,[6] and had not degenerated in Akber's time.

State of the Rájpút princes at the accession of Akber.

The state of the different governments, at the accession of that monarch, was as follows:—

Méwár.

The family and tribe of the rána of Oudipúr[7] (which were first called Ghelót, and afterwards Sesódia) are said to be descended from Ráma, and, consequently, to draw their origin from Oudh. They were afterwards settled in the peninsula of Guzerát, from whence they moved to I'dar, in the hills north of that province; and ultimately established themselves at Chítór, Colonel Tod thinks, early in the eighth century of our era. They make no figure in history till A.D. 1303, when Chítór was taken by Alá ud dín, and almost immediately after recovered by the rána. Hamír, by whom that exploit was performed, had a series of able successors, and by their means Méwár attained the ascendancy among the Rájpúts, which enabled Sanga to bring them all into the field against Báber.

The great defeat sustained in that contest weakened the power of Sanga's family, and at a later period it was so much reduced by the incapacity of his grandson, Bicramajít, that Bahádur, king of Guzerát, was able to take Chítór, and would have turned his success to account, but for his defeat by Humáyún, which immediately followed the capture of Chítór. From that time till the accession of Akber, the ránas remained in quiet possession of their territory, and retained their high rank among the Rájpút princes, though they never recovered their political ascendancy, and were compelled, in the reign of Shír Sháh, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Delhi.

Márwár.

The next Rájpút state in importance was that of the Ráhtórs in Márwár, the capital of which was Jódpúr. The Ráhtórs were in possession of Canouj when that kingdom was subverted by Shaháb ud dín in A.D. 1194. After the conquest, part of the Ráhtórs remained on the Ganges, and occasionally revolted against the Mussulmans, until they became reconciled to the yoke; but another portion, under two grandsons of the last

[6] See p. 362.

[7] [Its proper spelling is Udayapura.—Ed.]

king, preferred their liberty to their country, and retired to the desert between the table-land and the Indus. They there subdued the old inhabitants of the race of Jats, dispossessed some small tribes of Rájpúts, who had preceded them as colonists, and soon formed an extensive and powerful principality. A younger branch of the royal family at a later period (A.D. 1459) founded the separate state of Bíkanír, and occupied an additional portion of the desert. The Ráhtórs do not seem to have been molested by the Mussulmans until the expedition of Shír Sháh against Máldeó, and probably recovered their independence after the storm was blown over. Máldeó was still alive in the beginning of Akber's reign. Bíkanír.

In the western part of the desert were the Bháttis, under the rája of Jésalmér. The Bháttis claim to be of the tribe of Yadu, and consequently derived from Mattra on the Jumna. They were part of Crishna's colony in Guzerát, and were expelled after the death of that hero. They then retired towards the Indus, and are lost in an unusually thick cloud of Rájpút fable, until they appear at Tánót, north of Jésalmér, and within fifty miles of the Indus. From this period (which Colonel Tod thinks was in A.D. 731) their annals assume an historical character, but are marked by no important event, except the removal of their capital, in A.D. 1156, to Jésalmér. They came very little in contact with the Mussulmans till after Akber's time. Jésalmér.

The rájas of Ambér, or Jeipúr, of the tribe of Cachwahá, have, in modern times, stood on an equality with the rána of Oudipúr and the rája of Jódpúr; but their rise into distinction is since the accession of Akber. They were ancient feudatories of Ajmír, and probably remained in submission to the Mahometans after the conquest of that kingdom. They may have increased their consequence during the weakness of the neighbouring governments in the fifteenth century, for they must have been held in consideration when Akber married the rája's daughter. Ambér or Jeipúr.

The rájas of the tribe of Hára, who give their name to Hárauti, claim descent from the family that ruled in Ajmír before the Mahometans; and settled in their present possessions, of which Búndí was then the capital, in A.D. 1342. They were in some degree of feudal dependence on Oudipúr. They are not noticed in Mahometan history till just before Akber, when the reigning rája obtained the famous fort of Rintambór from the governor who had held it for the Afghán kings. Hárauti.

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Hárauti

Besides these greater states, there are several petty principalities, as the Chouháns of Párker, the Sódas of Amercót, etc., which, being in the extreme west of the desert, were beyond the reach of Mussulman invaders; and those of Siróhi, Jhálór, etc., which, lying in the fertile tract beneath the Aravalli mountains, and on one road from Ajmír to Guzerát, were liable to constant invasion and exaction of tribute.

Petty states in the desert.

On the eastern slope of the table-land, Méwát, Gwáliór, Narwar, Panna, Orcha, Chándéri, and other places in Bundélcand,[8] had been repeatedly attacked by Báber and Shír Sháh, and were all tributary at the time of Akber's accession. They were mostly held by old Rájpút families.

Petty states on the east of the table-land.

The petty states under the Himálaya mountains, from Cashmír inclusive to the Bay of Bengal, were independent under sovereigns of their own.

Other unsubdued tracts.

Many mountain and forest tribes throughout India were unsubdued, though they could scarcely be called independent: they were left out of the pale of society, which they sometimes disturbed by their depredations.

CHAPTER II.

INTERNAL STATE OF INDIA.

Of the internal state of the Mahometan empire in India we have no means of obtaining more than a slight view.

Internal state of the Mahometan empire. The king's power.

By the theory of the Mahometan law, the ruler of the faithful should be elected by the congregation, and might be deposed for any flagrant violation of the precepts of the Korán; but, in practice, the king's office was hereditary, and his power absolute. He was considered as bound to observe the Mahometan law; but neither the Ulemá* nor any other public body had the means of enforcing his obedience to it; the municipal institutions of villages, some local jurisdictions which will be mentioned, and some other means of passive resistance, obstructed his will on ordinary

[8] [The oldest dynasty in Bundélcand is that of the Chandelas, which fell soon after Mahmúd's invasion. About the time of Timúr, a Rájpút chief, named Dewáda Bír, fixed himself at Mow, and founded the dynasty of Bundelas from the name of his family. Orcha was made the capital of Bundélcand in 1531. (Col. Franklin, *Transact. R. A. S.*, vol. i.)—Ed.]

* [The heads of the religion and law. —Ed.]

occasions; but when he was determined to persevere, there was no remedy short of rebellion.[1]

The duties of vazír, or prime minister, varied according to the abilities of the individual and the activity of the king. In some cases he was an uncontrollable vice-gerent; in others only the chief among the ministers. The others had their departments, but not very strictly defined. His ministers.

The kings were easy of access: they inquired into petitions, and transacted a great deal of business in the daily assemblies of their court; which, although it must have caused some confusion and loss of time, afforded them the advantage of information from many quarters, besides giving publicity to their decisions and their principles of government.

The governors of provinces exercised, each within his jurisdiction, all the executive powers of the state. Several of the subordinate officers were appointed by the king, but all were under the orders of the governor. In most provinces there were Hindú chiefs who retained an hereditary jurisdiction; the most submissive of this class paid their revenue and furnished the aid of their troops and militia to the governor, and were subject to his control in cases where he thought it necessary, but were not interfered with in the ordinary course of their administration: the most independent only yielded a general obedience to the government, and afforded their aid to keep the peace; but these last were confined to strong countries, or large tracts bordering on a province.[2] Provinces.

Part of the army were men hired singly by the king, and mounted on his horses, but the greater number probably brought their own horses and arms; and these last would often come in parties, large or small, under leaders of their own. There was no feudal authority under the kings of Delhi.[3] Fíroz Sháh Tughlak is said to have been the first that assigned land in lieu of pay; and Alá-ud dín is said to have been extremely on his guard against all grants, as tending to the independence of his officers.[4] Army

Most governors had under them some portion of the regular

[1] [Cf. the royal prerogative in the Institutes of Manu, *supra*, pp. 20, 21.—ED.]

[2] It was to these hereditary chiefs that the term zemindár was originally applied. The pride of the Musulmans extended it to independent princes (like those of Oudipúr and Jódpúr), whom they affected to consider as subordinate to their government; but it is only in comparatively modern times that it has been extended *downwards*, so as to include persons holding assignments of the government revenue, as well as district and village officers.—(See Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 239.)

[3] [The usual system was that of jágírs (see p. 81). Cf. pp. 378, 515.—ED.]

[4] *History of Firúz Shah*, by Shamsi Surájí.

army, in addition to their local troops; and in case of disturbance, reinforcements were sent under separate commanders, who, when the force was considerable, were nearly on an equality with the governor.

At other times governors were summoned to contribute to the formation of armies, and on those occasions they collected the contingents of their zemíndárs, took away as many as could be spared of the troops of the province, and, if their situation was favourable, recruited new ones for the occasion.

Law. By the original theory of the Mahometan government the law was independent of the state, or, rather, the state was dependent on the law. The calif was not excluded from a control over the administration of justice; but in that, and even in his military and political transactions, he was to be guided by the rules of the Korán, and the decisions and practice of the Prophet, and of his own predecessors. Before long, the accumulation of decisions and the writings of learned lawyers contributed to form a great body of jurisprudence, the interpretation of which required a distinct profession. At the same time the extension of the Mussulman conquests gave rise to a sort of common law, not derived from the Korán, but from the custom of the country and the discretion of the kings. From these separate sources arose two distinct classes of tribunals: those of the cázís, which recognised the Mahometan law alone, and which only acted on application, and by fixed rules of procedure; and those of the officers of government, whose authority was arbitrary and undefined.

Civil trials, about marriage, adoption, inheritance, and, generally speaking, all questions regarding private property, ought properly to come before the cází; who ought also to try all offences that did not threaten the safety of the state or the public tranquillity.

The jurisdiction of the king's officers was not so well defined. We may presume that their interference in civil cases would be rightly exercised in causes between servants of the government, and where there were parties of such power as to be beyond the reach of the cází; they might reasonably be expected also to supply the defects of the Mahometan law in the case of Hindús; and the revenue officers would be natural umpires in many disputes about land. In criminal cases, rebels, conspirators, and highway robbers, as well as persons embezzling public money, or otherwise offending directly against the state, fell under the lawful jurisdiction of the same functionaries. In general, how-

ever, the governors and their officers were not scrupulous in confining themselves to those classes of trials. They received all complaints that were made to them, giving summary decisions in many cases, and referring those that turned on points of Mahometan law to the cází, to whom also all causes that did not excite interest or promise profit would be left. The power of the cázís varied in different reigns. At some times we see the office, even in provincial courts, filled by men of celebrity; and at those times, we must conclude, their authority was respected, as appeared likewise from the occasional resistance of the cázís to the governors: at others it probably sunk nearly to its present level, when the duty is reduced to performing marriages, registering and authenticating deeds, and similar unimportant functions.

There was no church establishment, or, rather, no church government: every man, king, or subject, who founded a mosque, left funds to maintain the priest (imám) and other persons required for public worship. Assignments were also made to holy men and their successors, and even to their tombs. Church.

There was in each district an officer called sadr, whose business it was to see that the objects of all these grants, or at least those made by the crown, were carried into effect; and there was a sadr us sudúr at the head of all the sadrs: their jurisdiction was only over the application of the funds; the succession was settled by the original grantor, and generally depended on the choice of the incumbent, regulated by the opinion of the learned of the neighbourhood.

Though there was no organised body of clergy, there was a class (called moulavís or mullahs) from which judges, lawyers, and ministers of religion were generally or always taken. But these were rather *graduates* in law and divinity than ecclesiastics. The degree was conferred by a meeting of some of the recognised members of the class, who were supposed to ascertain the learning and fitness of an individual, and who formally invested him with his new character, by tying on a peculiar kind of turban. He was bound by no vows, and was subject to no superior, but was controlled by public opinion, and the hopes of preferment alone. Moulavis.

Distinct from the ministers of religion was a numerous class of monkish devotees, called dervises in Persia, but in India more frequently fakírs. This is an excrescence of the Mahometan system, originating in the sanctity of particular persons. At first there were no saints, and the earliest instances Fakirs.

of elevation to that character were in the case of martyrs, or of distinguished champions of the faith who fell in battle. By degrees austere and religious lives led to this sort of canonization, which was conferred by public opinion, and generally on living men. These saints were followed by disciples, who, by degrees, formed orders, always distinguished by some watchword and some form of initiation, and sometimes by peculiarities of dress or observances. Many of these became early extinct, while others branched out into new orders. Small numbers of fakírs lived with their chiefs, and others were drawn together by charitable distributions, etc.; but they had no monasteries like the Hindús.

The most eminent among the saints were not impostors, although their followers might magnify the prophetic character of their predictions and the miraculous effects of their prayers: in later times, however, there was a lower class of fakírs, who supported their claims to supernatural powers by tricks with magnets, phosphorus, etc., and by legerdemain. Of the higher description many were treated with the utmost reverence even by kings; and, although professing poverty and abstinence, were accustomed to live in great splendour, or at least to distribute vast sums in charity;[5] and they often acquired such influence as to excite the jealousy of the government. Several instances occur of men of great sanctity being put to death for real or suspected plots against the state.[6]

The most flourishing period for these holy men was the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Many saints of those and later times are still revered, and are the objects of vows and pilgrimages; but the fakírs, their followers, though perhaps respected at first, have long lost their influence.

Many of the superstitions of the age were unconnected with, and even opposed to, religion. Not only was the faith unbounded in astrology, divination, magic, and other arts discouraged by Mahomet; but even practices of the Hindús, and prejudices originating in their religion, began to gain

Superstitions.

[5] Bahá ud dín Zakariah, who died in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is still one of the most revered saints, left enormous wealth to his heirs. (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 377.)

[6] Ibn Batúta, in the middle of the thirteenth century, furnishes examples of all these kinds. A great fakír put to death for a conspiracy in his time has been mentioned. He met several really holy men who made no pretensions; but he also met one who pretended to live almost without nourishment, and another who professed to remember a calif who died near 100 years before. The first of these also told Ibn Batúta's thoughts, and foretold events: another fakír had seven foxes that followed him like dogs, and a lion that lived in harmony with an antelope. For an account of the orders, the method of initiation, and the principal saints, see Herklot's *Kánúni Islám*.

ground. The miracles of their jógís are related by orthodox writers with as perfect a conviction as could have been given to those in the Korán; witchcraft was universally believed; omens and dreams were paid the greatest attention to; and this credulity was not influenced by the prevalence of scepticism in religion; it was admitted even by Akber, and exercised absolute sway over his son, while it was by no one treated so contemptuously as by the bigoted Aurangzíb. The Shía religion never made any progress in Hindostan, as it did in the Deckan: there were no sectarian animosities, and, altogether, there was more superstition than fanaticism. The Hindús were regarded with some contempt, but with no hostility. They were liable to a capitation tax (jizya) and some other invidious distinctions, but were not molested in the exercise of their religion. The Hindús who are mentioned as military commanders may perhaps have been zemíndárs, heading their contingents, and not officers appointed by the crown: there is no doubt, however, that many were employed in civil offices, especially of revenue and accounts;[7] and we have seen that Hémú and Médní Rái[8] were entrusted with all the powers of their respective governments, and that under Mobárik Khiljí the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindú.

Sects. Hindús.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the period when the conversions of Hindús were chiefly accomplished, or in what circumstances they were brought about. The actual state of the population affords us little light. The largest proportion of Mussulmans to Hindús is probably in the remote districts in the east of Bengal; while about the Mahometan capitals of Delhi and Agra it is much less considerable.[9]

Conversions.

The terror of the arms of the Mahometans, and the novelty of their doctrines, led many to change their religion at first; but when these were succeeded by controversial discussion and more moderate intolerance, a spirit opposed to conversion would naturally arise.

The whole of the Mussulmans in India at the present moment do not exceed one eighth of the population; and, after allowing for the great and long-continued immigration, and for

[7] Bábur informs us, that when he arrived in India, "the officers of revenue, merchants, and work-people, were all Hindús." (Erskine's *Babur*, p. 232.)

[8] [For this Rájput chief, see the account of Málwa in the Appendix.—ED.]

[9] In Bengal, east of the Ganges, they are more than one half of the population. In most parts of Bengal they are one fourth; but in the west of Behár and in Benáres, not above one twentieth. See Lord Wellesley's interrogatories, in 1801, laid before Parliament. Buchanan makes the Mahometans in the west of Behár one thirteenth.

the natural increase, during eight centuries, of a favoured class whose circumstances gave great facility in rearing families, the number left for converts would not be very great. Even if the whole eighth part of the population were converts, the proportion would be surprisingly small compared to other Mahometan countries.[10]

Revenue.

The revenue system was probably the same as now exists and as existed under the Hindús; for the alterations attempted by Shír Sháh, and accomplished by Akber, were not designed to change the system, but to render it more perfect. The confusion of new conquests, and the ignorance of foreign rulers, must, however, have led to many abuses and exactions.

Condition of the people.

The condition of the people in ordinary times does not appear to have borne the marks of oppression. The historian of Fíráz Sháh (A.D. 1351 to 1394) expatiates on the happy state of the ryots, the goodness of the houses and furniture, and the general use of gold and silver ornaments by their women. He is a panegyrical writer, and not much to be trusted; but he says, among other things, that every ryot had a good bedstead and a neat garden; and the mere mention of such circumstances shows a more minute attention to the comforts of the people than would be met with in a modern author.

State of the country.

Towns and commerce.

The general state of the country must, no doubt, have been flourishing. Nicolo di Conti, who travelled about A.D. 1420,[11] speaks highly of what he saw about Guzerát, and found the banks of the Ganges (or perhaps the Mégna) covered with towns, amidst beautiful gardens and orchards, and passed four famous cities before he reached Maarazia, which he describes as a powerful city filled with gold, silver, and precious stones. Barbosa and Bartema, who travelled in the first years of the sixteenth century, corroborate those accounts. The former, in particular, describes Cambay as a remarkably well-built city, in a beautiful and fertile country, filled with merchants of all nations, and with artisans and manufacturers like those of Flanders.[12] Even Ibn Batúta, who travelled during the anarchy and oppression of Mohammed Tughlak's reign (about 1340 or 1350), though in-

[10] The proportion of one eighth is from Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 25. He does not give his authority, but he is supported by the common opinion.

[11] Ramusio, vol. i. p. 359.

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surrections were raging in most parts through which he passed, enumerates many large and populous towns and cities, and gives a high impression of the state in which the country must have been before it fell into disorder.

Báber, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, although he regards Hindostan with the same dislike that Europeans still feel, speaks of it as a rich and noble country, abounding in gold and silver;[13] and expresses his astonishment at the swarming population, and the innumerable workmen in every trade and profession.[14]

The part of India still retained by the Hindús was nowise inferior to that possessed by the Mahometans. Besides the writers already mentioned, Abdurrazzák, an ambassador from the grandson of Tamerlane, visited the south of India in A.D. 1442;[15] and all concur in giving the impression of a prosperous country.

Those of them who visited Bijayanagar are unbounded in their admiration of the extent and grandeur of that city; their descriptions of which, and of the wealth of the inhabitants and the pomp of the rája, are equal to those given by others of Delhi and Canouj.[16]

Other populous towns are mentioned; and Ibn Batúta speaks of Madura, at the extremity of the peninsula (then recently conquered by the Mahometans), as a city like Delhi. The same author says, that through the whole of Malabár, for two months' journey, there was not a span free from cultivation: everybody

[13] Erskine's *Báber*, pp. 310, 333.

[14] Ibid. pp. 315, 334. To all these accounts of the flourishing state of the country, it is natural to oppose the statement of Báber, that in his time elephants abounded about Cálpi and in Karrah and Mánikpúr (Erskine's *Báber*, p. 315), and the fact of Akber's falling in with a herd of these animals near Cólaras in the east of Málwa (Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 216); from which we might suppose that these places were then amidst forests which have since been cleared away. I am disposed to think, however, that the disappearance of the elephants is to be ascribed to the activity of the Mahometan hunters, and not to the improvement of the country. Ibn Batúta, who wrote near two centuries before Báber, expressly says that Karrah and Mánikpúr were the two most populous districts in India. See *Ibn Batúta*, p. 119), small tracts of hills and jungle would be enough to shelter elephants, who would spread over the cultivated country for food, and that there is no necessary connexion between the production of such animals and the absence of population appears from the fact that the rhinoceros is still common in the Rajmahal hills close to the populous lands of Bengal while in the vast forest in the east of Berar there are neither rhinoceroses nor elephants except a few of the last which are supposed to be tame ones who have escaped.

[15] Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*, vol. iii. p. 18.

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had a garden, with his house placed in the middle of it, and a wooden fence round the whole.[17]

The seaports, above all, seem to have attracted admiration. Those on both coasts are described as large cities, the resort and habitation of merchants from every part of the world, and carrying on trade with Africa, Arabia, Persia, and China.[18] A great home trade was likewise carried on along the coast, and into the interior.

The adulation of the historians of later kings has had a tendency to depreciate the state of improvement attained under the early dynasties. One claims the institution of posts for his hero, another the establishment of highways with caravanserais and rows of trees; and Abúl Fazl has been the occasion of most of the useful inventions in India being ascribed to Akber. But we have seen from Ibn Batúta that regular horse as well as foot posts existed under Mohammed Tughlak; and foot posts, to a certain extent, must be coeval with village establishments.[19] The roads may have been improved by Shír Sháh; but Ibn Batúta, 200 years before his time, found the highways shaded by trees, with resting-houses and wells at regular intervals along a great part of the coast of Malabár, then under the Hindús; and in an inscription lately discovered, which there is every reason to think is of the third century *before* Christ, there is an especial order by the king for digging wells and planting trees along the public highways.

It has been said (though not by Abúl Fazl) that Akber first coined silver or gold money. The assertion is inconsistent with all history; if the Hindús had not a coinage in those metals earlier, they at least adopted it from the Bactrian Greeks,[20] about the beginning of the Christian era. The Ghaznavites could not have dropped a practice observed by the Sámánís and the califs; and the second coin in Mr. Marsden's collection, belonging to the Delhi kings, is a silver one of Altamish, who died in 1235.[21]

Coinage.

If the value of the coins at different periods can be fixed at all, it can only be after long inquiry by a person accustomed to such subjects.[22] The first princes used dínárs and dirhems, like the

[17] Lee's *Ibn Batúta*, p. 166.

[18] Besides ships from Persia, Arabia, and other neighbouring countries, some of the ports of Malabár were frequented by large junks from China. (*Ibn Batuta*, pp. 169, 172.)

[19] Each village has a public messenger; and economy as well as despatch would suggest to the head of a district to send his letters and orders by their means from village to village along the road.

[20] Mr. Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, p. 15, and his Researches in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta*.

[21] Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*, p. 521.

[22] Some notion of the fluctuations in this respect may be formed from the fol-

califs; these were succeeded by tankhas, divided into dáms or jítals. Shír Sháh changed the name of tankha to that of rupeia, or rupee, which was adopted by Akber; and the latter prince fixed the weight and relative value of money on a scale which remained unaltered till the dissolution of the Mogul empire, and is the basis of that now in use.

Architecture.

We are enabled, in some degree, to judge of the progress of the early Mussulmans by the specimens they have left of their architecture. The arches of the unfinished mosque near the Kutb Minár, besides their height and the rich ornamental inscriptions with which they are covered, deserve mention, as early instances of the pointed arch.[23] The centre arch appears by the inscription to have been finished in A.H. 594, A.D. 1197. Many of the buildings of the later princes before Akber have small pointed arches, and seem to betray the incapacity of the builders to erect a dome of any size. Their mosques are composed of a collection of small cupolas, each resting on four pillars; so that the whole mosque is only a succession of alleys between ranges of pillars, with no clear space of any extent.

It is probable, however, that this form may have been retained, as that originally appropriated for mosques, by architects capable of constructing large cupolas. The Black Mosque at Delhi, for instance, is in the ancient style, though built in A.D. 1387, under Fíróz Tughlak; while the tomb of Ghiyás ud dín Tughlak, who

lowing statements:—The dínár under the califs was about equal to 10*s.* 8*d.* (Marsden's *Numismata*, p. xvii.) In Ibn Batúta's time a western dínár was to an eastern as 4 to 1, and an eastern dínár seems to have been one-tenth of a tankha, which, even supposing the tankha of that day to be equal to a rupee of Akber, would be only 2½*d.* (*Ibn Batúta*, p. 149.) A modern dínár, in Cábul, is so small, that it takes 200 to make an abássi, a coin of less value than a shilling. The tankha is said by Ferishta (vol. i. p. 360) to have been, in Alá ud dín's time, equal to fifty jítals (a copper coin which some said was equal to a peisa), and in Mohammed Tughlak's time it was so debased as to be worth not more than 15 peisas. The tankha appears to be the coin represented by the modern rupee, and, perhaps, when at its proper standard, was about the same value. The rupee of Akber contained 174·5 grains of pure silver, and was divided into 40 dáms or peisas (of 191¼ grains of copper each). The dám was divided into 25 jítals (probably a nominal coin). Queen Elizabeth's shilling contained 88·8 grains of pure silver; Akber's rupee, therefore, was worth 1*s.* 11½*d.* of English money of his time. Akber's standard remained almost unaltered, all over the Mogul dominions, until the breaking up of the empire in the middle of the last century, when numerous mints sprung up, and issued much debased money. The rupee that now circulates in the Company's territories contains 176 grains of pure silver, and exchanges for 64 peisas, containing 100 grains of copper each.

[Cf. Prinsep's *Useful Tables* (Mr. Thomas' edit.) and Mr. Thomas' papers on the coins of the Pathán Sultans in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.—ED.]

[23] The Kutb Minár, finished by Altamish between A.D. 1210 and A.D. 1236, has pointed arches in the doors. By examining the ruins of old and new Delhi alone, a view of the progress of Indian architecture might be made out which would throw light on the history of the art in the East.

died in A.D. 1325, is covered with one cupola of considerable magnitude.[24]

The domes at first are low and flat: they gradually gain elevation till the time of Jehángír, or Sháh Jehán, when they take in considerably more than half of a sphere, and are raised upon a cylinder. The arches, also, are different at different times: the early ones are plain Gothic arches; the latest ones are ogee and horse-shoe arches, feathered all round. The buildings after Akber's accession are much lighter, as well as more lofty and more splendid, than those of an earlier date; which, on the other hand, make a strong impression from their massive and austere character.[25]

Though the constant use of the pointed arch, the nature of the tracery, and some other particulars, create a resemblance between the Gothic and Indian architecture which strikes every one at first sight, yet the frequency and importance of domes, and the prevalence of horizontal lines in the Indian, make an essential difference between the styles. The more ancient buildings in particular, which in other respects are most like the Gothic, are marked by a bold and unbroken cornice formed of flat stones, projecting very far, and supported by deep brackets or modilions of the same material.

Even the abundance of turrets and pinnacles does not increase the resemblance to the Gothic; for they seldom taper at all, and never much; and they always end in a dome, which sometimes bulges out beyond the circumference of the turret.

The early Mussulmans were stout and ruddy men, dressed in short tunics of thick cloth, and always in boots. Those of Aurangzíb's time were generally slender, dark, and sallow, and wore long white gowns of the thinnest muslin, which spread out from the waist in innumerable folds, and scarcely showed the naked foot and embroidered slipper. It is difficult to ascertain the gradation by which this change, and a corresponding alteration in manners, were effected.

Manners.

It must have *begun* soon after the dissolution of the connexion with Ghazní and Ghór. Ibn Batúta, in the middle of the fourteenth century, mentions the use of bítel, and notices peculiari-

[24] The dome was, no doubt, borrowed from the buildings of the Greek empire; but the mosques erected after it had once been fully established in India are incomparably superior in the elegance of their exterior to St. Sophia.

[25] "These Patans built like giants, and finished their work like jewellers. Yet the ornaments, florid as they are in their proper places, are never thrown away, or allowed to interfere with the general severe and solemn character of their edifices." (*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. i. p. 505.)

ties in the cookery, and what he calls *oddity* in the manners; and Bábar, early in the sixteenth, is shocked to find everything so unlike what he is used to.[26] It is probable that the greatest alteration took place after the accession of the house of Tímúr, when the influx of foreigners was stopped by hostile feelings towards the Uzbeks and Afgháns, and by religious prejudices against the Persians.[27] It was the direct policy of Akber that the manners of the Mahometans should assimilate to those of the original natives.

This mixture probably softened the manners of the people from the first; but it was some time before it had any effect on the government. There were many more instances of cruelty and perfidy under the slave kings than in the time of Mahmúd and his successors. Such atrocities under the succeeding dynasties were generally owing to the tyrannical disposition of an individual, or the revolts of foreign troops; and under most of the princes of the house of Tímúr, the general character of the government approached to the mildness and moderation of European sovereignties.

Purely Mahometan literature flourished most in India during the period to which we are now adverting, and fell off after the accession of Akber. Improvements in science were, doubtless, obtained from Hindú and European sources; but, I believe, there is no eminent specimen of Persian composition in India after the epoch mentioned. Mahometan literature.

The great superiority of Mahometan writers over their predecessors in Sanscrit is in history, and is derived from the Arabs. Though often verbose on ordinary topics, and silent on those of interest, deficient in critical skill and philosophical spirit, and not exempt from occasional puerility and exaggeration, their histories always present a connected narrative of the progress

[26] Bábar's account is amusing, being written with all the violent prejudice still felt by persons just arrived from Cábul or from Europe. "Hindostan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, or frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness, no fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bázárs, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick." He then goes on to ridicule their clumsy substitutes for the last useful articles. (*Erskine's Bábar*, p. 383.)

[27] So complete was the separation at last, that Aurungzib treats the Persians (the original models of the Indian Musulmans as rude barbarians, and hardly ever mentions their name without a rhyming addition, which may be translated, "monsters of the wilds." [We may compare the separation which took place between the Normans who settled in England and their brethren in Normandy.—ED.]

of events, show a knowledge of geography, a minute attention to dates, and a laudable readiness to quote authorities, which place them immeasurably above the vague fables of the Bramins.

It is surprising that so little is known of the modern language of the Indian Mahometans.

Language.

After the founding of the kingdom of Delhi, the conversation of their wives and children, as well as their continual intercourse with the natives, must have taught the conquerors to speak the language of the country, in which most of the roots were Sanscrit, but the forms and inflexions more like modern Hindostáni. It is not likely that this language remained long unmixed; though the progress of its change into that now spoken has not yet been traced by any orientalist.

It is stated by a modern Mahometan writer,[28] that the language took its present form during Tímúr's invasion; and, although it cannot be supposed that an incursion which lasted less than a year, and left no traces but in blood, could affect the language of a nation, yet it is not improbable that the beginning of the fifteenth century may have formed a marked epoch in the progress of Hindostáni.

It could have made little progress before the end of the twelfth century, as it is formed on the Indian dialect of Canouj, and not on that of the Panjáb, the only province previously occupied.[29]

The use of this mixed language in composition must have been of a later date; for though Mr. Colebrooke mentions a Hindú poet who wrote at Ambér (or Jeipúr) about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and who sometimes borrowed words from the Persian; yet he states that even Mahometan poets at first wrote in the pure local dialect above mentioned, which, he says, was called Hindí or Hindeví; and the specimens given in a Persian book on the poets of India (written in A.D. 1752), although all composed by Mahometans, do not introduce Persian or Arabic till near the end of the series.

The earliest of the celebrated poets in modern Hindostáni is Walí, who wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century. He is followed by a long train down to the present time. Their compositions are, in general, mere imitations of the Persians. It is probable, however, that they had the merit of introducing satires on manners and domestic life in Asia; for those of the

[28] Quoted in Dr. Gilchrist's *Hindostáni Philology*.

[29] Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 220. [Cf. M. Garcin de Tassy's *Hist. de la Litt. Hindoui et Hindoustani*, vol. i.—Ed.]

Arabs and Persians seem to have been invectives against individuals, like Ferdousí's against Mahmúd. The best author in this branch of poetry is Soudá, who lived late in the last century.

The other dialects (as those of Bengal, Guzerát, etc.), and also the languages of the Deckan, have admitted Persian and Arabic words in great numbers, but without forming a new language like the Hindostáni.

BOOK IX.

AKBER.

CHAPTER I.

FROM 1556 TO 1586.

AKBER was only thirteen years and four months old at his father's death, and though unusually manly and intelligent for his age, was obviously incapable of administering the government. He had been sent by Humáyún as the nominal head of the army in the Panjáb, but the real command was vested in Bairám Khán; and the same relation was preserved after Akber's accession. Bairám received a title equivalent to that of "the king's father,"[1] and was invested with the unlimited exercise of all the powers of sovereignty. A.D. 1556, A.H. 963. Accession of Akber. Bairám Khan.

The nobleman thus trusted was a Túrkmán by birth,[2] and had been a distinguished officer under Humáyún before his expulsion from India. In the final defeat of that monarch by Shír Sháh, Bairám was separated from his master, and made his way, after a long series of dangers and adventures, through Guzerát to Sind, where he joined Humáyún, in the third year after his expulsion. He was received with joy by the whole of the exiled party, who seem already to have rightly estimated his value in times of difficulty. He became thenceforward the most confidential of

[1] It was "Khán Bábá," which is the Persian for the title of Atábek, so common among the Túrks, both meaning "Lord Father."

[2] Bairám Khán was originally a subject of Persia and a Shiah, and had accompanied the army sent by Sháh Ismaíl to assist Bábar in the conquest of Transoxiana. He had escaped when the army was routed, and had ever since served Bábar and his family. Abúlfazl is his warm panegyrist. (*Erskine.*)—ED.]

Humáyún's officers; and it would have been better for the affairs of his sovereign if they had borne more of the impress of his determined character.

At the time of Humáyún's death Bairám was engaged in putting an end to the resistance of Secander Súr, who had retired to the skirts of the northern mountains, and still retained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Panjáb. He had scarcely time to arrange the new government, when he received intelligence that Mírzá Soleimán of Badakhshán had taken possession of Cábul and all that part of Humáyún's late dominions; and while he was considering the means of repairing this disaster, he learned that Hémú had set out with an army on the part of Sultán Ádalí, for the double purpose of expelling the Moguls and reducing the rebellion of Secander Súr. The result of this contest has been already told.[3] The Afgháns were defeated; and Hémú, who fought with desperate valour, and had continued to resist after he had received a mortal wound from an arrow through the eye, at length fell senseless on his elephant, and was taken prisoner and brought to Akber's tent. Bairám was desirous that Akber should give him the first wound, and thus, by imbruing his sword in the blood of so distinguished an infidel, should establish his right to the envied title of "Ghází," or "Champion of the Faith;" but the spirited boy refused to strike a wounded enemy, and Bairám, irritated by his scruples, himself cut off the captive's head at a blow.

Loss of Cábul.

A. D. 1556, Nov. 5; A. H. 964, Moharram 2. Defeat and death of Hemú.

Akber soon after took possession of Delhi and Agra. He was, before long, obliged to return to the Panjáb, by intelligence that Secander Súr had issued from the mountains and possessed himself of a great portion of the province. The plain country was easily recovered, and Secander retired to the strong fort of Mánkót.[4] He defended that place with obstinacy; and it was not till after eight months' operations that he capitulated, and was allowed to retire to Bengal, which was still held by an officer of the Afghán dynasty.

Recovery of Delhi and Agra.

Campaign in the Panjab.

Submission of Secander Súr

The real restoration of the house of Tamerlane may be dated from this period: it had been brought about entirely through the exertions of Bairám Khán, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject, and already began to show distant indications of decline.

Arbitrary government of Bairam Khán

[3] See p. 462.

[4] [It had been built by Selim Sháh, on the farthest outskirts of the Sewálik mountains, to control the Gakkars.—Ed.]

Bairám's military talents, and the boldness and vigour of his government, had enabled him to surmount external difficulties under which a less determined leader would have sunk; and even his arbitrary and inflexible disposition was essential to the maintenance of subordination in an army of adventurers, whose disorders Humáyún had never been able to repress, and which must soon have overturned the government after it fell into the hands of a minor.

His domination was therefore submitted to without a murmur as long as the general safety depended on his exercise of it but when the fear of immediate destruction was removed, the pressure of his rule began to be felt, and was rendered more intolerable by some of the vices of his nature. His temper was harsh and severe, his manners haughty and overbearing. He was jealous of his authority to the last degree, exacted unbounded obedience and respect, and could not suffer the smallest pretension to power or influence derived from any source but his favour.

These qualities soon raised up a host of enemies, and, in time, alienated the mind of the king, now advancing towards manhood, and impatient of the insignificance to which he was reduced by the dictatorial proceedings of his minister. General discontent at court.

His indignation was increased by the injustice of some of Bairám's acts of power. As early as the battle with Hémú, Bairám took advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, to put to death Tardí Bég, the former governor of Delhi, without even the ceremony of taking the king's orders on so solemn an occasion.[1] The victim had been one of Báber's favourite companions, and had accompanied Humáyún in all his wanderings, but had no doubt exposed himself to punishment for his premature evacuation of Delhi. One day, while Akber was amusing himself with an elephant fight, one of these animals ran off the field, pursued by its antagonist, and followed by a promiscuous crowd of spectators: it rushed through the tents of Bairám, some of which were thrown down; thus exposing the minister himself to danger, while it threw all around him into the utmost confusion and alarm. Irritated by this seeming affront, and perhaps suspecting a secret design against his life, Bairám ordered the elephant-driver to be put to death, and for

[1] [Tardí Bég and Bairám were old rivals under Humáyún; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatái nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious Bairám,—the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Bairám (*Erskine*).—ED.]

some time maintained a reserved and sullen demeanour towards the king himself. A nobleman of consequence enough to oppose Bairám was put to death on some slight charge by that minister. The king's own tutor, Pír Mohammed Khán, narrowly escaped the same fate, and was banished, on pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca. Those about the king's person were constantly harassed by Bairám's distrustful temper, and were provoked by his persecutions to realize his suspicions of their enmity. At length Akber was driven to make an effort to deliver himself from the thraldom in which he lived. He concerted a plan with those around him, and took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected journey to Delhi, on the plea of a sudden illness of his mother. He was no sooner beyond the sphere of the minister's influence, than he issued a proclamation, announcing that he had taken the government into his own hands, and forbidding obedience to orders issued by any other than his authority. Bairám's eyes were opened by these proceedings; and he exerted himself, when too late, to recover the king's confidence. He sent two of his principal adherents to court; but Akber, nowise mollified by this submission, refused to see the envoys, and soon after committed them to prison.

A.D. 1560, March; A.H. 967, Jamada'l Akhir 28.

Akber assumes the government.

Perplexity of Bairam.

This open separation was not long in producing its natural effect; all ranks forsook the falling minister, to court the sovereign, from whose youthful virtues, and even weaknesses, they expected a happy contrast to the strict control of Bairám.

The minister thus left to his own resources, meditated various schemes for retrieving his power: he once thought of seizing the king's person, and afterwards of setting up an independent principality in Málwa; but the support he met with did not encourage him, and he probably was at heart reluctant to draw his sword against the son of his old master; he therefore set off for Nágór, with the avowed intention of embarking in Guzerát for Mecca.

At Nágór he lingered, as if in hopes of some change in his fortunes, until he received a message from Akber, dismissing him from his office, and directing him to proceed on his pilgrimage without delay. On this he sent his standards, kettle-drums, and other ensigns of authority to the king, and set out, in a private character, on his way to Guzerát; but, irritated at some further proceedings of Akber, he again changed his mind, assembled a body of troops, and, going openly into

He revolts.

insurrection, attempted an invasion of the Panjáb. He was disappointed in his reception in that province. Akber moved against him in person, and sent detachments to intercept him; he was defeated by one of those detachments, constrained to fly to the hills, and at length reduced to throw himself on the king's mercy. Akber did not, on this occasion, forget the great services of his former minister. He sent his principal nobility to meet him at some distance, and to conduct him at once to the royal tent. When Bairám appeared in Akber's presence, he threw himself at his feet, and, moved by former recollections, began to sob aloud. Akber instantly raised him with his own hand, seated him on his right, and, after investing him with a dress of honour, gave him his choice of one of the principal governments under the crown, a high station at court, or an honourable dismissal on his pilgrimage to Mecca. Bairám's pride and prudence equally counselled the latter course. He was assigned a liberal pension, and proceeded to Guzerát; but, while he was preparing for his embarkation, he was assassinated by an Afghán, whose father he had killed in battle during the reign of Humáyún.

A.D. 1560, September: A.H. 968, Moharram.

His submission and pardon.

His death.

The charge which Akber had now taken on himself seemed beyond the strength of a youth of eighteen; but the young king was possessed of more than usual advantages, both from nature and education.

Difficult situation of the young king

He was born in the midst of hardships, and brought up in captivity. His courage was exercised in his father's wars, and his prudence called forth by the delicacy of his situation during the ascendancy of Bairám. He was engaging in his manners, well formed in his person, excelled in all exercises of strength and agility, and showed exuberant courage even in his amusements, as in taming unbroken horses and elephants, and in rash encounters with tigers and other wild beasts. Yet with this disposition, and a passionate love of glory, he founded his hopes of fame at least as much on the wisdom and liberality of his government as on its military success.

It required all his great qualities to maintain him in the situation in which he was placed.

Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Tamerlane was the weakest and the most insecure in its foundations. The houses of Ghazní and Ghór depended on their native kingdom, which was contiguous to their Indian conquest; and the slave dynasties were supported by the continual influx of their

countrymen; but though Báber had been in some measure naturalized in Cábul, yet the separation of that country under Cámrán had broken its connexion with India, and the rival of an Afghán dynasty turned the most warlike part of its inhabitants, as well as of the Indian Mussulmans, into enemies. The only adherents of the House of Tamerlane were a body of adventurers, whose sole bond of union was their common advantage during success.

The weakness arising from this want of natural support had been shown in the easy expulsion of Humáyún, and was still felt in the early part of the reign of his son.

His plan for restoring and consolidating the empire.

It was probably by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akber was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or religion, into one community.

This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindús to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every party to the highest stations in the service, according to their rank and merit; until, as far as his dominions extended, they were filled with a loyal and united people.

But these were the fruits of time; and the first calls on Akber's attention were of an urgent nature:—

1. To establish his authority over his chiefs.
2. To recover the dominions of the crown.
3. To restore, in the internal administration of them, that order which had been lost amidst so many revolutions.[6]

Extent of his territory.

In the first years of Akber's reign, his territory was confined to the Panjáb and the country round Delhi and Agra. In the third year, he acquired Ajmír without a battle; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gwáliór; and, not long before Bairám's fall, he had driven the Afgháns out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jounpúr.

A.D 1559, A.H. 966.

Insubordination and rebellions of his officers.

The adherents of the house of Súr that still remained in those parts were under Shír Sháh II., a son of the last king, A'dil; and, soon after Akber took charge of his own government, that prince advanced with a considerable army to Jounpúr, in the hope of recovering his dominions. He was totally defeated by Khán Zemán, a chief of Akber's; but

[6] [Akber's policy thus combines that of Servius Tullius in Rome with that of Philip Augustus or Philip IV. in France. —Ed.]

the victor, despising the youth and feeble resources of his master, withheld the king's share of the booty, and showed so great a spirit of independence that Akber found it necessary to proceed in person towards the residence of the refractory governor. His presence produced more dutiful behaviour, but the disposition to insubordination was only kept under for the time. A.D. 1560, A.H. 968.

The next affectation of independence was in Málwa. That province had remained in possession of Báz Bahádur, one of the officers of the Afghán kings,[7] and an attempt had been made to dispossess him during the administration of Bairám Khán. The undertaking was renewed with more vigour by Akber. Adham Khán, the officer employed, succeeded in defeating and expelling Báz Bahádur,[8] but was as little disposed as Khán Zemán to part with the fruits of his victory.

Akber did not wait for any open act of mutiny: he disconcerted the ill designs of his general by a rapid march to his camp; and Adham Khán, unprepared for so sudden a crisis, lost no time in making his submission: his offence was readily pardoned; but he was soon after removed from his government, which was given to the king's former tutor, Pír Mahommed Khán. This man, bred to letters, showed none of the virtues to be expected, either from his old profession or his present station. He was invaded by Báz Bahádur; and, although he gained considerable successes at first, he stained them by the massacre of the inhabitants of two cities of which he had obtained possession, and was ultimately defeated and drowned in the Nerbadda; the whole province falling into the hands of its old possessor. Báz Bahádur was finally subdued by Abdulla Khán Uzbek, whom Akber immediately sent against him. At a subsequent period, he entered the service of the emperor, whose liberal policy always left that resource for his conquered enemies. A.D. 1560, May; A.H. 968, Shábán. A.D. 1561, A.H. 969.

The ungovernable spirit of Adham Khán was not tamed by his removal from power; for, on some subsequent rivalry with

[7] [He was the son of the old governor, Shujá' Khán.—ED.]

[8] An affecting incident occurred on this occasion. Báz Bahádur had a Hindú mistress who is said to have been one of the most beautiful women ever seen in India. She was as accomplished as she was fair, and was celebrated for her verses in the Hindú language. She fell into the hands of Adham Khán on the flight of Báz Bahádur; and finding herself unable to resist his importunities and threatened violence, she appointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes, and lay down on a couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep, but on endeavouring to wake her on the approach of the Khán, they found she had taken poison, and was already dead.—(*Á'ín-i Akbn.*)

Akber's vazír, he stabbed him while at prayers, in a room adjoining to that occupied by the young king. Akber ran out on hearing the disturbance, and his first impulse was to revenge the death of his minister with his own hand: he restrained himself sufficiently to sheathe his sword, but ordered the murderer to be thrown from the lofty building where his offence took place. Nor was Abdulla Khán less unruly in his government of Málwa: within a little more than a year of the conquest of the province, he obliged Akber to move against him in person; and having in vain attempted to oppose the royal army, he fled to Guzerát, and took refuge with the king of that country. His fate was viewed with dissatisfaction by several other Uzbeks, who occupied commands in Akber's army. They suspected that the young monarch was actuated by a dislike to their race, such as a descendant of Báber might well be supposed to entertain; and they shared with many military leaders in their impatience of the subordination to which their class was about to be reduced. In this spirit they revolted, and were joined by Khán Zemán, before mentioned, and by A'saf Khán, another nobleman, who had lately distinguished himself by the conquest of Garrah, a principality on the Nerbadda, bordering on Bundélcand. It was governed by a queen, who opposed the Mahometan general in an unsuccessful action, when, seeing her army routed, and being herself severely wounded, she avoided falling into the hands of the enemy by stabbing herself with her dagger. Her treasures, which were of great value, fell into the hands of A'saf Khán; he secreted the greater part, and the detection of this embezzlement was the immediate cause of his revolt.

A D 1562, A H 970.

A D 1563, A.H. 970—1.

A D. 1564, A H 972

The war with these rebels was attended with various success, and with alternate submission and renewed defection on the part of more than one of the chiefs. It occupied Akber for more than two years; and was concluded by an act of courage very characteristic of the conqueror. Akber had made great progress in reducing the rebellion, when he was drawn off by an invasion of the Panjáb, under his brother Hakím. This occupied him for several months; and on his return, he found the rebels had recovered their ground, and were in possession of most parts of the Súbahs of Oudh and Allahábád. He marched against them without delay, though it was the height of the rainy season; drove them across the Ganges; and when they thought themselves secure behind that swollen river, he made a forced march through a flooded country, swam the Ganges at nightfall with

his advanced guard of not 2,000 men on horses and elephants, and, after lying concealed during the night, attacked the enemy about sunrise. The rebels, though aware of the approach of a small body of horse, were quite unprepared for an attack; and Khán Zemán having been killed, and another principal chief unhorsed, and made prisoner, in the first confusion, they lost all the advantage of their numbers, fell into complete disorder, and soon after dispersed and fled in all directions. Quelled after a struggle of seven years.

The invasion from Cábul which had interrupted Akber's operations, had its origin in much earlier events. Two of Akber's chiefs, Abúl Maálí[9] and Sherf ud dín, had revolted at Nágór, before the Uzbek rebellion (in A.D. 1561, A.H. 969), had defeated the king's troops, and advanced towards Delhi: they were afterwards driven back in their turn, and forced to seek for safety beyond the Indus. They retired with the remains of their force to Cábul, where circumstances secured them a favourable reception. Affairs of Cábul.

That kingdom was left at the death of Humáyún under the nominal government of his infant son, Mírzá Hakím, and immediately after was overrun, as has been mentioned,[10] by his relation, Soleimán of Badakhshán; and, though soon afterwards recovered, was never really in obedience to Akber.[11] The government was in the hands of the prince's mother, who maintained her difficult position with ability, though not more exposed to danger from foreign enemies than from the plots and usurpations of her own ministers. Nominal government of Prince Hakím, Akber's brother.

She had recently been delivered from a crisis of the latter description, when she was joined by the rebellious chiefs from India; and before long she was induced to confide the control of her affairs to Abúl Maálí. That adventurer at first showed himself a useful minister; but his secret views were directed to objects very different from the establishment of the Bégum's authority, and as soon as he had himself formed a party in the kingdom, he had her assassinated, and took the government into his own hands. The aid of Mírzá Soleimán was now invoked, and the result was the defeat and death of Abúl Maálí (1563). Mírzá Soleimán affected to leave his young relation in possession of Cábul, but really placed him under the tutelage of one of his dependants, whose yoke was so irksome that Mírzá Hakím rose

[9] [Abúl Maálí was a sayyid of Káshghar, who entered Humáyún's service about 1551. He was a man of ability, but his overbearing temper led him into continual rivalry with Bairám Khán.—ED.]

[10] See p. 496.

[11] [But Cf. pp. 512, 517.—ED.]

against it; and, after a struggle with Soleimán, was overcome and chased out of Cábul. This took place in the last year of the war with the Uzbek chiefs; and Hakím, although he had received such assistance as the times admitted from Akber, yet, conceiving his brother's hands to be fully occupied with the rebellion, at once resolved to indemnify himself at his expense, seized on Láhór, and took possession of the greater part of the Panjáb. This invasion ended in the expulsion of Prince Hakím from India (November, 1566); and an opportune change of circumstances at the same moment opened the way for his return to Cábul, of which country he remained for a considerable period in undisturbed possession.

Hakím invades the Panjáb.

During these transactions, and before the final close of the operations against the Uzbeks, another revolt had taken place in India, which ultimately led to important consequences. Sultán Mírzá, a prince of the House of Tamerlane, had come to India with Báber; he had rebelled against Humáyún, and though subdued and pardoned, his four sons and three nephews took advantage of the general disturbance just mentioned, and revolted at Sambal, the government which had been assigned to their father. At first they were overpowered without an effort; and the danger from them seemed to be completely at an end, when they were compelled to fly to Guzerát (1566): yet they there sowed the seeds of future troubles, which only ended with the subjugation of the kingdom.

Revolt of the Mirzas.

They fly to Guzerat.

Some instances occurred during the disturbances above related, which, although they had no important results, yet serve to show the state of society at the time.

Miscellaneous occurrences.

During the insurrection of Sherf ud dín, as Akber was going in procession to a celebrated shrine, an archer, who, it afterwards appeared, belonged to the rebel chief, mixed with the spectators, and, pretending to discharge his arrow at a bird which was flying over him, suddenly brought it down in the direction of the emperor, and lodged it some inches deep in his shoulder. He was instantly seized, and Akber was entreated to put off his execution, and to extort a disclosure of the name of his instigator; but he said that a confession in such circumstances was more likely to criminate the innocent than the guilty, and allowed the punishment to take its course.[12] On another occasion, Khája Móazzim, a near relation of Akber through his mother, had given way to a violent temper, and treated his wife with such brutality, that her relations applied to Akber to intercede with

[12] Kháfi Khán. Akbernámeh.

him, and prevail on him to leave her with her mother when he was about to remove to his jágír. Akber took an opportunity, while going out on a hunting party, to pay him a visit in his house near Delhi; but the monster guessed his design, and running to his female apartment before Akber had alighted, stabbed his wife to the heart, and threw the bloody dagger from the window among the king's attendants. When Akber entered the house he found him armed for resistance, and narrowly escaped death from one of his slaves, who was cut down as he was making a blow at the emperor. Akber, incensed at these atrocities, ordered Móazzim to be thrown headlong into the Jumna: he did not immediately sink; and Akber relented and ordered him to be taken out and imprisoned in Gwáliór, where he soon after died a maniac.[13]

On one of Akber's marches he found two great bodies of Hindú devotees prepared, according to their custom,[14] to contend sword in hand for the possession of a place for bathing during a great annual festival at Tanésar. He endeavoured at first by all means to bring about an amicable settlement; but finding all was in vain, he determined to allow them to fight it out, and looked on at the conflict in which they immediately engaged. At length one party prevailed, and Akber, to prevent the slaughter that would have followed, ordered his guards to check the victors, and thus put an end to the battle.[15]

During this struggle with the military aristocracy, Akber was fighting for his crown no less than in his contests with the successors of Shír Sháh; but by the time he had completed his twenty-fifth year, he had crushed his adversaries by his vigour, or attached them by his clemency, and had time to turn his thoughts to foreign countries. The first which attracted his attention was that of the Rájpút princes. Bahára Mal, the rája of Ambér (now Jeipúr), was always on friendly terms with him, and had, at an early period, given his daughter in marriage to Akber; both he and his son, Bhagaván Dás, being at the same time admitted to a high rank in the imperial army.

Foreign affairs. The Rájpúts.

Soon after the fall of Bairám (A.D. 1561, A.H. 969) he had sent a force against Márwár, and by the capture of the strong fort of Mírta had made an impression on that country which he was unable to follow up. He now turned his arms against the rána of Chítór (or Oudipúr). U'di Sing, the reigning rána, was the son of Báber's competitor, Rána Sanga, but was a man of feeble character. On the approach of Akber,

A.D. 1567-8, A.H. 975.

[13] Akbernámeh. [14] See p. 65. [15] Akbernámeh.

he withdrew from Chítór, and retreated into the hilly and woody country north of Guzerát. His absence did not facilitate the capture of the fortress. There was still a strong garrison under Jei Mal, a chief of great courage and ability; and the place, though twice taken before, was still regarded by the Rájpúts of Méwár as a sort of sanctuary of their monarchy. Akber carried on his approaches with caution and regularity. His trenches are minutely described by Ferishta, and closely resemble those of modern Europe. They were zigzags protected by gabions and by earth thrown from the trench. The object, however, was not to establish a breaching battery, but to get near enough for sinking mines. This was done in two places; and the troops being prepared for the occasion, fire was set to the train. The explosion was the signal for the storming party to rush forward; but it had only taken effect in one of the mines; and while the soldiers were climbing up the breach, the second mine exploded, destroyed many of both parties, and struck such a panic as to occasion the immediate flight of the assailants.

The operations of the siege had now to be recommenced; but Akber, one night, in visiting the trenches, perceived Jei Mal on the works, where he was superintending some repairs by torch-light; he immediately singled him out, and was so fortunate as to shoot him through the head with his own hand. The garrison lost heart on the death of their gallant leader; and, with their usual infatuation, abandoned the breaches and withdrew to the interior of the fort, where they devoted themselves with the accustomed solemnities. The women were committed to the flames with the body of Jei Mal, and the men ran out to meet death from the Mussulmans, who had mounted the ramparts unopposed. Eight thousand men were killed on this occasion, by the Rájpút account; and the Mahometan writers make the number still greater.[16] The rána, notwithstanding the loss of his capital, remained independent in his fastnesses. Nine years afterwards his son and successor, Ráná Pertáb, was deprived of his strongholds of Komulnér and Gogunda (probably in A.D. 1578, A.H. 986[17]), and was compelled for a time to fly towards the Indus. But, unlike his father, he was an active high-spirited prince; and his perseverance was rewarded by success: before the death of Akber he recovered a great portion of the open part of his dominions, and founded the new capital called Oudipúr, which is still occupied by his

A.D. 1568, March. A.H. 975, Shábán.

[16] One body of 2,000 men escaped by an extraordinary stratagem: they bound the hands of their own women and children, and marched with them through the troops who had stormed the place, as if they had been a detachment of the besiegers in charge of prisoners.

[17] Ferishta. Muntakhab ut Tawárikh.

descendants.[18] His house, alone, of the Rájpút royal families, has rejected all matrimonial connexions with the kings of Delhi; and has even renounced all affinity with the other rájas, looking on them as contaminated by their intercourse with an alien race.

Such connexions were zealously promoted by Akber, and were long kept up by his successors. He himself had two Rájpút queens, of the houses of Jeipúr and Márwár; and his eldest son was married to another princess of Jeipúr. The bride, on these occasions, acquired a natural influence over her husband; her issue had equal claims to the throne with those born of a Mahometan mother; and the connexion was on a footing of so much equality, that from being looked on with repugnance as a loss of cast, it soon came to be coveted as an honourable alliance with the family of the sovereign.*

In the course of the next year Akber took the strong hill-forts of Rintambór and Cálinjer; he went in person against the former place. On a subsequent occasion, being near the frontier of Jódpúr, Máldéo, the old rája of Jódpúr, sent his second son to meet him.[19] This Akber resented, as an imperfect substitute for his own appearance; and afterwards, assuming a superiority to which he was not entitled, made a formal grant of Jódpúr to Rái Sing of Bíkanír, a junior member of the same family. Rái Sing, however, did not obtain possession; and, on the death of Máldéo, his son submitted, and was afterwards treated with the greatest favour and distinction by the emperor.[20] A.D. 1570, A.H. 978. A.D. 1572, A.H. 980.

Akber's attention was soon after drawn to an enterprise of greater magnitude, involving the re-annexation of Guzerát to the empire. That kingdom had passed, on the death of Bahádur Sháh, to his nephew Mahmúd II.; and on the death of the latter king, *his* favourite, Etimád Khán, who had been a Hindú slave, carried on the government in the name of a boy whom he pretended to be a son of Mahmúd, and who bore the title of Mozaffer III. The usurpation was opposed by another chief named Chengíz Khán; and it was with this last person that the Mírzás, whose revolt was mentioned in A.D. 1566, took refuge on their flight. Their extravagant pretensions soon drove them into a quarrel with their protector; and, after some partial success, they were expelled from Guzerát, and made an attempt to seize on Málwa, not long after the taking of Chí- Conquest of Guzerát.

[18] Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. i. p. 332, etc.

* [For a very interesting illustration to show how the Rájputs really regarded these marriages, see Kaye's *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, vol. i. 416.—ED.]

[19] Ferishta.

[20] Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. ii. p. 34.

tór, in A.D. 1568. Akber forthwith sent an army against them, but its services were not required, for Chengíz Khán had in the meantime been assassinated, and the Mírzás returned to Guzerát to take advantage of the confusion which followed. Those confusions continued to rage without intermission till the year 1572, when Akber was solicited by Etimád Khán to put an end to the distractions of Guzerát by taking the kingdom into his own possession. He marched from Delhi in September, 1572, and soon reached Patan, between which place and Ahmedábád he was met by the pageant king Mozaffer, who formally transferred his crown to the emperor of Delhi. Some time was spent in reducing refractory chiefs; in endeavours to seize the Mírzás, or, at least, to disperse their troops; and in the siege of Surat, which was carried on by the king in person. Before the place was invested, the principal Mírzás quitted it with a light detachment, and endeavoured to join their main body in the north of Guzerát. Akber made a sudden and rapid movement to intercept them, and succeeded in overtaking them before they had attained their object. He had advanced with such inconsiderate haste that he found himself in front of his enemy, who were 1,000 strong, with a party which, after waiting to allow stragglers to come up, amounted only to 156 men. With this handful he commenced the attack, but was repulsed, and compelled to take his stand in some lanes formed by strong hedges of cactus, where not more than three horses could advance abreast. He was hard pressed, and once was separated from his men, and nearly overpowered. But in his small band were several chiefs of note, and among the rest Rája Bhagaván Sing, of Jeipúr, with his nephew and adopted son, Rája Mán Sing; and it was to the exertions of these two that Akber owed his personal deliverance, and the ultimate success of the day. The Mírzás, however, effected their junction with their troops. They afterwards dispersed, met with different adventures, and came to various ends. One was cut off in Guzerát; the principal ones made their way to the north of India, and after suffering a defeat from Rája Rái Sing near Nágór, revisited their original seat of Sambal, and when driven thence, they plundered in the Panjáb, and again pursued their flight towards the Indus, until they fell into the hands of the king's officers and were put to death. One only of the Mírzás, named Husein, fled from Guzerát into the hills near Kkándésh, and remained unnoticed; while Akber returned to Agra, having once more annexed Guzerát to his crown.

A.D. 1572, September; A.H. 980, Jamádi'l awwal.

A.D. 1573, June 4; A.H. 981, Safar 2.

He had not been a month at his capital, when he learned that Mírzá Husein had again entered Guzerát, had been joined by one of the principal officers of the former king, and had already reduced the royal troops of the province to a defensive position, which they found some difficulty in maintaining. The rains had also set in, so that the march of a regular army was impossible; but Akber, with the activity, and perhaps temerity, that characterized him, at once determined to retrieve his affairs in person. He sent off 2,000 horse to make the best of their way to Patan, and soon after followed himself with 300 persons (chiefly men of rank) on camels. He performed the journey of more than 450 miles with such celerity that, in spite of the season, he had assembled his troops, and faced his enemy at the head of 3,000 men, on the ninth day from leaving Agra. His force was still very unequal to that of the rebels; but they were astonished at the sudden apparition of the emperor, and were, moreover, engaged in a siege, and exposed to a sally from the garrison. Akber, therefore, though again exposed to imminent personal hazard from his own thoughtless impetuosity, was at last successful. Both the insurgents were killed; and tranquillity being completely restored, he again returned to Agra.[21]

Akber's next great enterprise was the conquest of Bengal. Part of Behár had been occupied after the defeat of Shír Sháh II., in A.D. 1560; the rest of the province, with all the country to the east of it, was still to be subdued. Bengal had revolted from Sultán A'dil before the return of Humáyún, and had remained under different Afghán kings till now. It was held by Dáúd, a weak and debauched prince, who had been nearly supplanted by his vazír, and was engaged in a civil war occasioned by his execution of this dangerous minister. Conquest of Bengal.

Akber had profited by these dissensions to obtain a promise of tribute from Dáúd: a temporary prospect of security had led that unsteady prince to reassert his independence, and the king thought the occasion favourable for going against him in person. He left Agra in the height of the rainy season, availing himself of the Jumna and the Ganges for the transport of his stores and

[21] Before this battle, while Akber was arming, he saw a stripling (the son of one of the Rájpút rájas) labouring under the weight of a suit of mail, out of all proportion to his strength. He immediately exchanged it for a lighter suit of his own; and seeing another rája unprovided, he told him to put on the heavy armour which had remained unoccupied. This rája was a rival of the father of the young Rájpút, who was so indignant at the use made of his armour, that he tore off that given him by the king, and declared that he should go into the action without any armour at all. Akber took no notice of this disrespect but to say, that he could not allow his chiefs to be more exposed than himself, and that he would also go unarmed into the battle. (*Akbernámeh.*)

part of his army. He scarcely met with any opposition during his advance into Behár. Dáúd Khán retired to Bengal Proper; and Akber left his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, and returned himself to Agra.

A.D. 1575, A.H. 983.

The reduction of Bengal did not prove so easy a task as was expected. Although Dáúd at first withdrew to Orissa,[22] he afterwards twice encountered and routed the royal troops; and when at length defeated himself, and driven to the shores of the Bay of Bengal, he was strong enough to make terms, and to retain the province of Orissa for himself. One of the most distinguished of the commanders in this war was Rája Tódar Mal, so celebrated as Akber's minister of finance.[23] He and the other commanders were withdrawn after the peace, and an officer of high rank was left as governor of Bengal. He died from the influence of the climate of Gour, or Lacnouti, the ancient capital, to which he had returned after it had been for some time deserted; and his successor had scarcely taken charge, when Dáúd renewed the war and overran Bengal, compelling the king's troops to concentrate and wait for assistance from Behár. A battle at length took place, and terminated in the defeat and death of Dáúd. Soon after, the fort of Rohtás, in Behár, which had held out till now, was compelled, by a long blockade, to surrender to a force employed for the purpose. Bengal and Behár were now re-annexed to the empire; and the remains of the Afghán monarchy in Hindostan were thus completely extinguished.

A.D. 1576, A.H. 984.

But the situation of those provinces was unfavourable to their permanent tranquillity: the hilly and woody tract on the south, the vast mountains and forests on the north, the marshes and jungles towards the sea, still afforded a safe retreat for the turbulent; and there was no want of materials to spread disaffection. Bengal had not before been subjugated by the Moguls, and was filled with Afghán settlers, whose numbers had been greatly increased by the retreat of such of their nation as refused to enter the service of the House of Tamerlane after its conquest of Upper Hindostan. The Mogul

State of that province

[22] Orissa is applied here to the small portion of the country so called that formed the Mahometan province.

[23] ["Tódar Mal was of the Káyeth cast, and early leaving the Panjáb, his native land, commenced his political career in Guzerát, A.D. 1553. He became a military chief and superintendent of revenue by a conjunction of offices common in those days. After serving in Guzerát and Bengal with reputation he returned to Delhi in 1577. Here as Peshkár or chief deputy to the Vazir Shíh Mansúr, he assisted in the internal revenue reform with which his name and that of his master, the Emperor Akber, are associated." (*Benares Mag.*, iii. 247.)—Ed.]

chiefs had profited by the unsettled state of the country; they seized on the jágírs of the Afgháns for their own benefit, and accounted for the rest of the royal revenue as expended on military operations. The conquest was completed about the time of Akber's great financial reform, and the governor was required to remit revenue to the treasury; while all jágírs were strictly inquired into, and musters of the troops for which each was held were rigorously exacted. The new conquerors were too conscious of their strength to submit to these regulations.[24] They revolted first in Bengal, and soon afterwards in Behár; when Akber found himself completely dispossessed of the fruits of his victory, and a formidable army of 30,000 men in the field to oppose him. After much ill success on the part of the king's troops, Rája Tódar Mal was sent to recover the province. He was at first successful, partly owing to his influence with the Hindú zemíndárs; but some harsh pecuniary demands on the part of the vazír at Delhi led to numerous desertions, even among the chiefs unconnected with the rebels, and it was not till the end of the third year from the breaking out of the rebellion, that it was finally put an end to by Azíz, or A'zim Khán, who had succeeded Tódar Mal, and seems to have bought off many chiefs, and continued their lands to many of the troops (Afgháns as well as Moguls), who had heretofore enjoyed them.[25]

Mutiny of the troops in Bengal and Behár.

A.D. 1579, A.H. 987.

The old Afghán adherents of Dáúd Khán had not been idle during these dissensions among the Moguls. They assembled soon after the rebellion broke out under a chief called Kuttú, and before long made themselves masters of Orissa and of all the country up to the river Damóder, near Bardwán. Azíz having left the province after the rebellion was subdued, Rája Mán Sing was sent from Cábul to conduct this new war. He entered the country held by the Afgháns, and cantoned for the rains near the present site of Calcutta. A large detachment of his was afterwards defeated by the enemy, and his son, who commanded it, taken prisoner; so that his affairs wore an unfavourable aspect; when Kuttú luckily died (1590), and I'sa, a prudent and moderate chief, became guardian to his sons. With this chief an agreement was soon concluded by Mán Sing, allowing the sons of Kuttú to retain Orissa as dependents or subjects of the emperor. After two years, I'sa died. His successor incurred general odium, by

Insurrection of the Afghans in Bengal.

[24] Stewart's *History of Bengal.* Muntakhab ut Tawárikh.

[25] Stewart's *History of Bengal.*

seizing on the revenues of the great temple of Jagannáth. Akber took advantage of this mistake to send Mán Sing again with an army, who defeated the Afgháns on the borders of Bengal, drove them to Cattak, and by concessions of jágírs, added to more rigorous measures, finally reduced them to submission.

Final settlement of the province after fifteen years of disturbance.

Their last struggle was in 1592; and thenceforth (although Osmán, one of Kuttú's sons, rebelled again in A.D. 1600) the pretensions of the Afgháns to the possession of the province may be considered as quite extinguished.

While his officers were employed in the settlement of Bengal, Akber's own attention was drawn to a distant part of his dominions. His brother, Mírzá Hakím, who had long been undisturbed in Cábul, was led, by a wish for further aggrandizement, again to invade the Panjáb. Rája Mán Sing, the governor, was compelled to retire before him, and to take refuge in Láhór; and Akber found it necessary to proceed, himself, with an army to raise the siege and deliver the province.

Revolt of Prince Hakim.

A.D 1581, February; A.H. 989, Moharram.

Mírzá Hakím retreated before him; and the emperor, whose situation no longer required his allowing such attacks to pass with impunity, followed up his success, crossed the Indus, and after a feeble opposition on the part of his brother, took possession of Cábul. Mírzá Hakím fled to the mountains. He afterwards made his submission, and Akber generously restored him to his government. He thenceforth, probably, remained in real subordination to his brother.

Reduction of Cábul.

After this settlement, Akber returned to Agra, leaving Rája Bhagaván Dás of Jeipúr governor of the Panjáb. On his way he founded the fort which still stands at the principal ferry of the Indus, and gave it the name of Attok Benáris.

After the abdication of Mozaffer Sháh of Guzerát, he accompanied the army to Agra, and was kept for some time about the court. He had latterly been allowed to reside at a jágír, which had been given to him, and was no longer looked on with suspicion (from 1573 to 1581). In this case, as in many others, Akber paid dear for his magnanimity. New intrigues arose in Guzerát, and Mozaffer was invited, by Shír Khán Fúládí, one of the principal actors in the former troubles, to fly from his residence in Hindostan, and put himself at the head of his old kingdom. An insurrection ensued, which reached to such a height that the king's troops were obliged to withdraw to Patan, in the north of Guzerát,

Insurrection in Guzerat.

A.D 1581, A.H. 989.

while Mozaffer Sháh occupied Ahmedábád, Baróch, and almost the whole of the province. Mírzá Khán[26] (the son of Bairám Khán) was sent to quell this rebellion. He defeated Mozaffer, and recovered the continental part of Guzerát; but Mozaffer retired among the almost independent chieftains of the peninsula, repelled the attacks of Mírzá Khán, and made various attempts, at different periods, to recover his dominions. His efforts were all unsuccessful; but the endeavours of the Moguls to penetrate his retreat in the peninsula were attended with as little effect; and no result was produced for a long period, except alternate victories and heavy loss on both sides. A.D. 1584, January; A.H. 992, Moharram.

On one occasion, indeed, in A.D. 1589, Azíz made his way to the sea-coast on the south, and fought a great battle. The victory was doubtful, but was followed by the retreat of the Moguls; and it was not till four years after this period, and twelve after his rebellion (in A.D. 1593), that Mozaffer Sháh was taken, on an incursion into the settled part of the province, and cut his throat with a razor while on his way to the court at Agra.

CHAPTER II.

FROM 1586 TO THE DEATH OF AKBER.

AFTER Mozaffer had been driven into the peninsula, Akber began to take part in the disputes of the Deckan (in A.D. 1586). His first attempts failed, as will hereafter be related; and before long he was fully occupied by the affairs of his own northern dominions. In the year 1585 his brother Akber interferes in the disputes of the Deckan.

[26] [Mírzá Abd ul Rahím was one of the most distinguished nobles of Muhammadan India: he was born at Lahor in 1556. When he came of age, Akber bestowed on him the title of Mírzá Khán, and he was soon afterwards appointed governor of Guzerát. When twenty-eight years of age he was made atálík or tutor of Prince Selím, and in the same year he was sent to put down Mozaffar Sháh's insurrection. The emperor had ordered him not to risk a general engagement with his inferior numbers; but an old noble told him that now was the time to become Khánú Khánán or to fall in battle, and he accordingly fought the battle mentioned in the text, and was promoted in consequence to the rank of Amír of 5,000 with the predicted title. He was next honoured with the very rare title of Vakíl-i-Sultanat or lord lieutenant of the empire. He successively held the governments of Jaunpúr, Multán, and Sind, and performed great services in the wars in the Deckan. His daughter was married to Prince Dániyál. Under Sultán Jehangír he retained the same influence in the imperial councils, and we find him sent with Prince Sháh Jehán to Kandahár. He died at Delhi about 1626. (See Erskine's *Life of Báber*, preface, p. vii.)—ED.]

Akber moves to Attok on the Indus.

Mírzá Hakím, died; and, although he had no difficulty in taking the territories held by that prince into his immediate possession, yet he heard, about the same time, that Mírzá Soleimán had been driven out of Badakhshán by Abdullah, the Khán of the Uzbeks; and it was, probably, apprehension of the further progress of that formidable neighbour which chiefly induced him to go in person to Cábul. Abdullah Khán, however, was contented with Badakhshán; and as Akber made no attempt to recover that possession of his family, the peace remained undisturbed. The emperor was now in the neighbourhood of the northern mountains, a great portion of which was comprised within his dominions; and he was engaged by this circumstance in wars of a new description, attended with greater difficulties than any he had yet encountered.

Conquest of Cashmír.

The first was the conquest of Cashmír. That celebrated kingdom is an extensive plain, situated in the heart of the Himálaya mountains, and more than half way up their height. Placed, by its elevation, above the reach of the heat of Hindostan, and sheltered by the surrounding mountains from the blasts of the higher regions, it enjoys a delicious climate, and exhibits, in the midst of snowy summits, a scene of continual verdure, and almost of perpetual spring. Trees belonging to different climates are scattered over its surface, while fruits of various kinds and flowers of innumerable descriptions are poured forth with spontaneous profusion over the hills and plains. The level country is watered by rills, which issue from the valleys or fall in cascades down the mountains, and collect in different places, especially in two lakes, whose varied banks and floating gardens are the great boast of the valley.

This terrestrial paradise can only be approached by difficult and dangerous passes. The road, though a steep ascent on the whole, often rises and descends over rocky ridges; sometimes winds through long and close defiles; and sometimes runs along the face of precipices overhanging deep and rapid rivers. The higher part of the mountain, from whence the descent into Cashmír commences, is at one season further obstructed, and in some places rendered impassable, by snow.

Cashmír had been ruled by a long succession of Hindú, and sometimes, perhaps, of Tartar princes, from a very remote period till the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it fell into the hands of a Mahometan adventurer, and was held by princes of the same religion till the time of Akber's inva-

sion.[1] The hopes of that enterprising monarch were excited by distractions which prevailed among the reigning family; and while at Attok, in A.D. 1586, he sent a detachment, A.D. 1586, A.H. 994. under Sháh Rokh Mírzá, the son of Mírzá Soleimán (who had entered his service when driven out of Badakhshán), and his own brother-in-law, Rája Bhagaván Dás of Jeipúr, to take possession of the prize thus exposed to hazard by the contention of its owners.

The obstacles already mentioned, especially the snow, retarded the progress of the army; and although it, at last, penetrated through a pass which had not been guarded, yet its supplies had been exhausted in these unproductive and inaccessible mountains, and the remaining difficulties seemed so considerable that the two chiefs entered into a treaty with the ruling power of Cashmír, by which the sovereignty of Akber was acknowledged, but his practical interference with the province forbidden. The emperor disapproved of this engagement; and next year sent another army, whose efforts were attended with more success. The dissensions which prevailed in Cashmír extended to the troops stationed to defend the pass: part came over to the Moguls; the rest quitted their post and retired to the capital. The barrier once surmounted, Cashmír lay at the mercy of the invaders. The king submitted, was enrolled among the nobles of Delhi, and was assigned a large jágír in Behár. Akber afterwards made a journey to Cashmír to enjoy the pleasures of his new conquest. He only repeated his visit twice during the rest of his reign; but Cashmír became the favourite summer retreat of his successors, and still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia, or in the world.

Though Akber's next operations were not unprovoked like those against Cashmír, they were opposed with much greater obstinacy, and terminated with less success. They were directed against the north-eastern tribes of the Afgháns, who inhabit the hilly countries round the plain of Peshawer. The plain is of great extent and prodigious fertility, combining the productive soil of India with many of the advantages of the temperate countries

Wars with the north-eastern Afghans.

Description of those tribes and of their country

[1] The *History of Cashmír* called the "Rája Tarangini" is remarkable, as the only specimen of that department of literature in the Sanscrit language. It is executed by four different hands; the first of whom wrote in A.D. 1148, but quotes the works of earlier historians with a precision that gives confidence in his accuracy. The early part, as in all history, is fabulous, but it gradually approaches to consistency in facts and dates until about A.D. 600, from which period the chronology is perfectly accurate. (*Wilson's History of Cashmír, Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 3, 85.)

in the west. It is bounded on the north by the great chain of Hindú Cush; on the west by the high range of Sóleimán; and on the south by a lower range, called the hills of Kheiber, which extends from that of Sóleimán to the Indus. This tract forms about one-tenth of the proper country of the Afgháns. Its inhabitants are now called Berdúránís, and are distinguished from the other Afgháns by some peculiarities of dialect and manners.

The northern part belongs to the Yúsufzeis, who are by much the most considerable of these north-eastern tribes, and who afford a good specimen of the rest. The territory includes the northern part of the plain of Pesháwer, and stretches up the mountains of the snowy ridge of Hindú Cush, embracing some valleys of thirty or forty miles in length, and corresponding breadth, from each of which other valleys run up on both sides; all rivalling Cashmír in climate and beauty, and all ending in narrow glens, hemmed in by high precipices or lost in woods and forests. Such a country is full of intricacy and obstruction to an invading army, but affords easy communications to the natives, who know the passes from one valley to another, and who are used to make their way even when there is no path to assist them. The original population was Indian, consisting, probably, of descendants of the ancient Paropamisadæ.[1] It had, at a comparatively recent period, been conquered and reduced to a sort of villanage by certain Afghán tribes; and they, in their turn, were dispossessed, about a century before this period, by the Yúsufzeis, a tribe from near Candahár, which had just suffered a similar expulsion from its native seats. With such possessions, and with their numerous vassals, the Yúsufzeis added the pride of wealth to the independence natural to mountaineers; and their self-importance was increased by their democratic constitution. Though each of their clans had an hereditary chief, he had no authority in time of peace, except to consult the people and to make known their wishes to the other clans. Internal affairs were conducted by the inhabitants of each village; causes were tried by a sort of jury, and meetings for one or other purpose were constantly held in the public apartment of the village, which served also as a place of relaxation for the inhabitants, and of entertainment to guests or passing strangers. The land was equally divided; and equality was maintained by new distributions of it from time to time. The Indian vassals were well treated, but they had no share

[1] See p. 254.

in the government; and the conquerors were not more distinguished by their fair complexions than the superiority apparent in their demeanour.

The other tribes inhabiting the plains and the lower hills to the south had been longer settled there, and had had more intercourse with the Mahometans of India; but some of those in the Sóleimání mountains had a still more rugged country and less civilized manners than the Yúsufzeis. The emperor Báber had endeavoured to bring the north-eastern tribes under his dominion, and partially succeeded with some. He failed entirely with the Yúsufzeis, though he employed the means of conciliation as well as destructive inroads into the accessible part of their country.

Sect of the Róshenîyas.

The present quarrel originated in a fanatical spirit, which had sprung up, many years before, among this portion of the Afgháns. A person, named Báyazíd, had then assumed the character of a prophet; had set aside the Korán, and taught that nothing existed except God, who filled all space and was the substance of all forms. The Divinity despised all worship and rejected all mortifications; but he exacted implicit obedience to his prophet, who was the most perfect manifestation of himself. The believers were authorized to seize on the lands and property of infidels, and were promised, in time, the dominion of the whole earth. Báyazíd soon formed a numerous sect (which took the name of Róshenîya, or enlightened), and established his authority in the hills of Sóleimán and Kheiber, with an influence over the neighbouring tribes. He was so long successful, that the government was obliged to make an exertion to put him down. His own presumption and the blind confidence of his followers led him to meet the royal troops in the plain. He was defeated with great slaughter, and died soon after of fatigue and vexation.[3] His sons dug up his bones, and bore them in an ark, at the head of their column; but they ceased to be formidable beyond their hills till about A.D. 1585, when one of the youngest, named Jelála, assumed the command, and exercised it with such vigour, that the ordinary government of Cábul was found incompetent to resist him. When Prince Hakîm died,[4] and Cábul came directly under Akber, the government was given to Rája Mán Sing, whose talents and connexion with the emperor were supported by the forces which he could draw from his hereditary dominions.

[3] Dr. Leyden's account of the Róshenîya Sect, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 368.

[4] [In A.D. 1585.—ED.]

Even these advantages did not prove effectual; and one of the professed objects of Akber's expedition to the Indus was to settle the Afgháns. With this view he sent successive detachments from his camp on the east bank of the Indus; and commenced his operations by an attack on the Yúsufzeis, although they had long before quarrelled with the Róshenîyas, and renounced the tenets of the sect.

Destruction of the invading army by the Yúsufzeis.

A.D. 1586, January; A.H. 994, Safar.

The chief commanders in the force detached were Zein Khán, the emperor's foster-brother, and Rája Bír Bal, his greatest personal favourite. So great was the importance attached to this expedition that Abúl Fazl relates that he himself drew lots with Bír Bal who should command one of the divisions, and was much mortified at being disappointed in this opportunity of distinguishing himself; his brother Feizí accompanied the force.[5] The open country was soon overrun and laid waste; but on Rája Bír Bal's advancing up one of the valleys, he found himself, by degrees, involved among defiles, where there was no outlet, and was at length obliged to give up the enterprise, and retrace his steps to the plain. Zein Khán showed more perseverence: he made his way through many rugged and dangerous mountains, and even built a redoubt in a place convenient for controlling the neighbourhood; but his troops were by this time so much exhausted by fatigue, and so much harassed by the increasing numbers and audacity of their enemies, that he was compelled to form a junction with Bír Bal; and both combined would have been unable to pursue their operations if they had not received further reinforcements from Akber.

They now resumed their plan of invasion. Bír Bal was on bad terms with Zein Khán, and it was contrary to the strongest remonstrances of the latter that they determined to risk their whole force in a desperate attack on the Afgháns. The resolution taken, they advanced into the mountains. They soon came to a strong pass, which Bír Bal succeeded in ascending; but on reaching the top, after a day of fatigue, he was set on by the Afgháns, with such effect, that his men dispersed, and made their way, as they best could, to the plain. Zein Khán, who had remained at the foot of the pass, was attacked at the same time, and defended himself with difficulty, during the night and part of the next day, when both chiefs were at last enabled to come to a halt, and to collect their scattered forces. Zein Khán recommended that they should endeavour to capitulate with the

[5] Akberuámeh.

enemy; but Bír Bal could not be prevailed on to accede to any of his suggestions; and, having received information that the Afgháns intended to complete the ruin of the army by a night attack, he marched off his troops without consulting Zein Khán, and endeavoured to make his way through a defile, which would have afforded him the means of retreating to the open country. The intelligence was probably given for the purpose of drawing him into an ambuscade, for he had no sooner reached the gorge at the head of the pass than he was assailed on all sides by the Afgháns, who overwhelmed him with showers of stones and arrows, and, rushing down the sides of the hills, fell, sword in hand, on his astonished soldiers. All attempts to preserve order on his part were vain; men, horses, and elephants were huddled together in their flight down the defile; and Bír Bal himself, with several other chiefs of note, was slain in the rout and slaughter which ensued. Nor was Zein Khán more fortunate in his position on the plain: for, although during the day he kept up an orderly retreat, amidst swarms of archers, matchlockmen, and slingers; yet, after a short respite which he was allowed in the evening, the alarm of "The Afgháns!" was again raised, and his troops fled in disorder, during the darkness of the night, losing many men killed, and more prisoners, while he himself escaped on foot, and made his way with difficulty to Attok.[6]

The news of this disaster spread alarm in the emperor's camp. One of his sons, Prince Morád, under the guidance of Rája Tódar Mal, was ordered out with a force to check the approach of the Afgháns. After the first apprehension had subsided, the prince was recalled, and the force left under the command of Tódar Mal and Rája Mán Sing.

Akber refused to see Zein Khán, and was long inconsolable for the death of Bír Bal. As the rája's body was never found, a report gained currency that he was still alive among the prisoners: and it was so much encouraged by Akber, that, a long time afterwards, an impostor appeared in his name; and as this second Bír Bal died before he reached the court, Akber again wore mourning as for his friend. Bír Bal's favour was

[6] Akbernámeh. Muntakhab ut Tawárikh. Kháfi Khán. Abúl Fazl must have been minutely informed of the real history of this transaction; but his anxiety to soften the disgrace of Akber's arms, and to refrain from anything that may reflect on Bír Bal, was so great, that his account is confused and contradictory, and I have been obliged to supply his deficiencies from the "Muntakhab ut Tawárikh." As a proof of the defects I have ascribed to him, I may mention that, although he gives a full and even eloquent description of the total destruction of the army, he concludes by stating the loss at 500 men. Kháfi Khán, with equal inaccuracy, asserts that of 40,000 or 50,000 horse and foot, *not a single person* escaped alive. The defeat seems to have taken place in the mountains of Swát, and the names given to the passes are Karah, or Karah-Korah, and Bilandzei.

owing to his companionable qualities, no less than to his solid merit. He was a man of very lively conversation, and many of his witty sayings are still current in India.[1]

The Yúsufzeis made no attempt to pursue their advantages. Tódar Mal and Mán Sing took up and fortified positions in different parts of the country, and prevented the Yúsufzeis from cultivating their portion of the plain. By these means, according to Abúl Fazl, they were reduced to unqualified submission; and, in reality, some temporary agreement or tacit understanding was brought about, so as to leave Mán Sing at liberty to act against the Róshenîyas, under Jelála, in the southern and western hills.

Accordingly, in the course of the same summer, he marched against them; and, after being exposed to considerable hazard, he succeeded in gaining a partial success. The Róshenîyas, however, stood their ground, and the ascendancy of the government was not restored till the next year, when a combined attack was made by Mán Sing, from Cábul, and a force detached by Akber, to cross the Indus to the south of the salt range, and come in on the enemy from their rear. Jelála was at that time completely defeated; he, however, almost immediately renewed his operations, which were kept up for many years, and were sometimes aided by contests between the government and the Yúsufzeis, which produced no permanent results. During this time, it was the policy of the Moguls to prevent the cultivation of the fertile plains and valleys; so that Jelála was often compelled, by want of supplies, to leave the strong countries he occupied, and expose himself to the risk of battles on more equal ground. He was several times obliged to fly to the mountains of the Cáfirs, and once to the court of Abdullah, the Khán of the Uzbeks: still he always returned and renewed his attacks; and in A.D. 1600, he was in sufficient strength to obtain possession of the city of Ghazní.

A.D. 1586, A.H. 995.

A.D. 1587, A.H. 995.

From A.D. 1587 to A.D. 1600.

This was the last of Jelála's exploits. He was soon driven out of the city; and, being repulsed and wounded in an attempt which he afterwards made to recover it, he was pursued on his retreat and was overtaken and killed before he could make his way to a place of safety.

The religious war was continued by his successors, during the two next reigns (of Jehángír and Sháh Jehán); and when, at

[1] Chiefly from the Muntakhab ut Tawárikh. [He was a Brahman of the Bhát or bard tribe.—Ed.]

last, the enthusiasm of the Róshenîyas wore out, the free spirit of the Afgháns, which had owed nothing to its success, survived its extinction: the north-eastern tribes were never more formidable than in the reign of Aurangzíb; and the Yúsufzeis have resisted repeated attacks from the Mogul emperors, and afterwards from the kings of Persia and Cábul, and retain their turbulent independence undiminished to the present day.[8]

Imperfect settlement at the end of fifteen years.

The nature of the war with Jelála had not, latterly, been such as to prevent Akber's employing his troops in the adjoining countries. It was some years before the death of that leader, that he made the important acquisitions of Sind and Candahár.

The province of Sind had passed from the Arghúns[9] into another family of military adventurers, and Akber took advantage of some dissensions which afterwards took place among these new usurpers, to endeavour to recover that old possession of the kings of Delhi. He sent an army from Láhór, where he was himself at the time, to enter Sind from the north, and lay siege to the fort of Sehwán, the key to Lower Sind, and a place of great importance to the security of the whole province.

Conquest of Sind. A.D. 1591, A.H. 999.

The success of this attempt was prevented by the chief of Sind, who drew near with his army, and intrenched himself in such a position that Akber's general could neither attack him nor carry on the siege while he was so near.

This difficulty was surmounted, by the sagacity of the emperor himself. He sent another detachment to enter Sind by the way of Amercót; and, by thus distracting the attention of the chief, deprived him of the advantages of his position, and, before long, reduced him to give up the province. He received very favourable terms, and was appointed by Akber, according to that monarch's practice, to a high rank among the nobles of the empire.[10] A.D. 1592, A.H. 1000.

[8] Abúl Fazl's account of these wars is a curious specimen of his adulation and his inconsistency. Immediately after Bír Bal's calamity (that is, in the first year of the war), he says: "The highlands were soon cleared of the rubbish of rebellion. Many were killed, and a large number took refuge in Írán and Túrán (Persia and Tartary); and thus the countries of Bájaur, Swád, and Tírah, which are rarely to be equalled in the world for their climate and fertility, and the plenty of their fruits, were cleansed of these wicked wretches." Yet this alleged conclusion of the war does not prevent Abúl Fazl's relating the various events which took place during the course of it in the remaining fifteen years that are included in his history. He even accounts for Akber's fourteen years' stay in the Panjáb, by "his being at one time engaged in suppressing the Túsiks (Roshenîyas), and at another in reducing the inhabitants of the northern hills." (*Colmers' MS. Translations of the Akbernameh.*)

[9] See p. 429, and Appendix, *Sind.*

[10] [He was made a commander of 5,000 and appointed to the government of Tatta. (*Morley's Catalogue*, p. 74.)—ED.]

It is mentioned in the "Akbernámeh" that the chief of Sind employed Portuguese soldiers in this war, and had also 200 natives dressed as Europeans. These were, therefore, the first *Sepoys* in India.

The same chief is said to have had a fort defended by an Arab garrison: the first instance in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed.

After the treacherous seizure of Candahár by Humáyún, the king of Persia made several attempts to recover possession. He had no success until the beginning of Akber's reign, when the divided state of the monarchy enabled him to effect his purpose. Similar disorders in the early part of the reign of Sháh Abbás gave a corresponding advantage to Akber. The Persian chiefs fell out among themselves; one of them fled to India; and all parties ultimately turned their eyes to the same quarter; so that, at length, both the town and territory fell, without a blow, into the hands of the Mogul prince.

Recovery of Candahár.

A.D. 1594, A.H. 1003.

These proceedings led to no quarrel with Persia: Sháh Abbás was fully employed at home, and being desirous of Akber's assistance against the Uzbeks, he soon after renewed the friendly intercourse which had long been suspended between the courts, and patiently waited his opportunity of recovering Candahár; which did not present itself till after the death of Akber.

The acquisition of Candahár placed Akber in complete possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus (the war with the north-eastern Afgháns being now confined to the mountains); and nearly at the same time he had completed the conquest of Hindostan Proper. Sind had fallen in 1592; the last attempt at rebellion in Cashmír was quashed about the same time; the reduction of Bengal was completed by the submission of Orissa; and all disturbances in Guzerát terminated by the death of Mozaffer in 1593; so that the whole of Hindostan to the Nerbadda was more under Akber's authority than it had been under any former king. The rána of Oudipúr, indeed, continued unsubdued; but the other Rájpút chiefs were changed from jealous tributaries to active and attached adherents.

Complete settlement of Hindostan.

The next object for Akber was to extend his dominions over the Deckan. As early as A.D. 1586, he had taken up the cause of Burhán, a brother of Murteza Nizám Sháh, the fourth king of Ahmednagar, who claimed to admin-

Expedition to the Deckan.

ister the government on the ground of the mental derangement of its actual possessor. An expedition sent by Akber from Málwa to support this claim had failed, and Burhán remained for some years under Akber's protection. At a later period (A.D. 1592), after his brother's death, Burhán acquired possession of his hereditary kingdom without any aid from Akber; but he found it divided by internal faction, and engaged in war with his neighbour the king of Bíjápúr. All these distractions were increased on the death of Burhán. That event happened after a short reign; and in A.D. 1595 there were no less than four parties in the field, each supporting a separate claimant. The chief of the party that was in possession of the capital had recourse to the aid of the Moguls; and at his invitation, Prince Morád entered the Deckan from Guzerát, and Mírzá Khán, the Kháni Khánán, from Málwa, the two armies forming a junction within a short distance of Ahmednagar. But, in the meantime, the chief by whom they were called in had been obliged to leave the capital, and it was now in the hands of Chánd Sultána, or Chánd Bíbí, one of the most distinguished women that have ever appeared in India. This princess was acting as regent for her infant nephew, Bahádur Nizám Sháh, and she no sooner was aware of the approach of the Moguls than she applied herself to conciliate the king of Bíjápúr, her relation, and at the same time to reconcile the heads of the other internal parties; that all might, for a time at least, unite to resist the power whose ambition threatened equal danger to them all. So successful was her appeal, that one of the chiefs, Nehang, an Abyssinian, immediately set out to join her, and cut his way into Ahmednagar while the Moguls were in the act of investing the place: the other two likewise laid aside their private animosities, and joined the army of Bíjápúr, then marching against the Moguls. These preparations increased the eagerness of Prince Morád. He pressed on the siege, and had already run two mines under the works, when they were discovered and rendered useless by the countermines of the besieged, Chánd Bíbí herself superintending the workmen, and exposing herself to the same dangers as the rest. The third mine was fired before the means taken to render it ineffectual were completed: the counterminers were blown up, a wide breach was made in the wall, and such a sudden terror was struck among those who defended it, that they were on the point of deserting their posts and leaving the road open to the storming party which was

A.D 1595, about Nov.; A.H. 1004, about the end of Rabí ul A'khir. Chánd Sultána.

Her defence of Ahmednagar.

advancing. But they were soon recalled by Chánd Bíbí, who flew to the breach in full armour, with a veil over her face and a naked sword in her hand; and having thus checked the first assault of the Moguls, she continued her exertions till every power within the place was called forth against them: match-lock-balls and arrows poured on them from the works; guns were brought to bear upon the breach; rockets, gunpowder, and other combustibles were thrown among the crowd in the ditch; and the garrison in front opposed so steady a resistance, that, after an obstinate and bloody contest, which lasted till evening, the Moguls were obliged to draw off their troops and postpone the renewal of the assault till the next day. But the garrison and inhabitants had been raised to enthusiasm by the example of the regent; and, as her activity and energy were not slackened during the night, the Moguls found, when the day dawned, that the breach had been built up to such a height as to render it impossible to mount it without new mines. Meanwhile the confederates drew near; and though the Moguls were still superior in the field, they were unwilling to risk all on the chance of a battle. Chánd Bíbí, on the other hand, was well aware of the precarious duration of a combination like the present; and both parties were well satisfied to come to terms, the king of Ahmednagar surrendering to the emperor his claim on Berár, of which he had recently made a conquest.[11]

Peace agreed on. A.H. 1004, Rajab; A.D. 1596, about February.

The Moguls had not long withdrawn, when fresh dissensions broke out in Ahmednagar. One Mohammed Khán, whom Chánd Bíbí had appointed péshwá,[12] or prime minister, plotted against her authority, and finally applied for aid to Prince Morád. The prince was already engaged in a dispute with the Deckan princes about the boundaries of Berár; both parties had once more recourse to hostilities, and before the expiration of a year from the peace they again met each other in the field in greater force than before.

War renewed and extended to the whole of the Deckan.

The king of Khándésh, who acknowledged himself Akber's subject, appeared on his side on this occasion, while the king of

[11] Chánd Bibí is the favourite heroine of the Deckan, and is the subject of many fabulous stories. Even Khafí Khán mentions her having fired silver balls into the Mogul camp; and the common tradition at Ahmednagar is, that when her shot was expended, she loaded her guns successively with copper, with silver, and with gold coin, and that it was not till she had begun to fire away jewels, that she consented to make peace.

[12] The title of péshwá (i.e. leader) had been used under the Bahmani sovereigns. It has since become famous as that under which the Bramin ministers of the rája of Sátára so long governed the Maratta empire.

Golcónda had now joined his forces to those of Bíjápúr and Ahmednagar. The battle took place on the river Godáverí: though maintained with great fury for two days, its result was indecisive. The Moguls claimed the victory, but made no attempt to advance; and their ill-success, together with the disagreement between Prince Morád and the Kháni Khánán, induced Akber to recall them both. 'Abúl Fazl (the author), who was his prime minister, and had been lately in temporary disgrace, was sent to remove the prince; and, if necessary, to take the command of the army. His representations convinced Akber that his own presence was required: he therefore left the Panjáb towards the end of 1598, (after a residence of fourteen years in the countries near the Indus); and before the middle of 1599 he arrived on the river Nerbadda. The strong fortress of Doulatábád had been taken before he appeared; several other hill forts fell about the same time; and as soon as the royal army reached Burhánpúr, on the Tapti, a force was sent forward under his son, Prince Dániyál, and the Kháni Khánán, to lay siege to Ahmednagar. Chánd Bíbí's government was now in a more disturbed state than ever. Nehang, the Abyssinian chief, who had joined her in Ahmednagar at the beginning of the former siege, was now besieging her. He drew off on the approach of the Moguls; but the intestine disturbances still rendered a defence hopeless; and Chánd Bíbí was negotiating a peace with the Moguls, when the soldiery, instigated by her factious opponents, burst into the female apartments and put her to death. Their treason brought its own reward: in a few days the breach was practicable; the storm took place; the Moguls gave no quarter to the fighting men; and the young king, who fell into their hands, was sent prisoner to the hill fort of Gwáliór. But the fall of the capital did not produce the submission of the kingdom. Another pageant king was set up, and the dynasty was not finally extinguished till the reign of Sháh Jehán, in A.D. 1637.

A.D. 1596, December, or Jan. 1597.

Akber goes in person to the Deckan.

Death of Chand Sultána.

Taking of Ahmednagar.

A.D. 1600, about July; A.H. 1009, Safar.

Before the siege of Ahmednagar, a disagreement had taken place between Akber and his vassal, the former king of Khándésh, which induced the emperor to annex that country to his immediate dominions. The military operations which ensued occupied Akber for nearly a year, and it was not till some months after the storm of Ahmednagar that the reduction of the province was completed by the fall of Asírghar, when Akber appointed Prince Dániyál viceroy of

Conquest of Khandesh.

Akber returns to Hindostan.

Khándésh and Berár, with the Kháni Khánán for his adviser, and marched, himself, to Agra, leaving the command in the Deckan and the prosecution of the conquest of Ahmednagar to Abúl Fazl.

Spring of A.D. 1601, end of A.H. 1009.

Before his departure Akber had received embassies and presents from the kings of Bíjápúr and Golcónda, and had married his son Dániyál to the daughter of the former prince.[13] Akber's return to Hindostan was rendered necessary by the refractory conduct of his eldest son, Selím.[14] The prince, who was now turned of thirty, does not appear to have been deficient in natural abilities; but his temper had been exasperated, and his understanding impaired, by the excessive use of wine and opium.[15] He had always looked on Abúl Fazl as his mortal enemy; and the temporary disgrace of that minister, and his subsequent removal to the Deckan, were concessions made by Akber to the complaints and jealousy of his son. On his own departure for the Deckan, Akber declared Selím his successor, appointed him viceroy of Ajmír, and committed to him the conduct of the war with the rána of Oudipúr, sending Rája Mán Sing to assist him with his arms and counsels. After much loss of time Selím set forth on this duty, and had made some progress in the fulfilment of it, when intelligence arrived of the revolt under Osmán in Bengal, of which province Mán Sing was the viceroy. He immediately set off for his government; and Selím, now free from all control, and seeing the emperor's whole force employed in other quarters, was tempted to seize on the provinces of Hindostan for himself. He marched to Agra; and, as the governor of that city contrived to elude his demands for its surrender, he proceeded to Allahábád, and took possession of the surrounding countries of Oudh and Behár. He at the same time seized on the local treasure, amounting to thirty lacs of rupees (£300,000), and assumed the title of king.

Refractory conduct of his eldest son, Selím.

A.D. 1600, about Nov.; A.H. 1009, Shábán.

[13] The account of the operations in the Deckan is from the "Akbernámeh," and Ferishta, especially his *History of Ahmednagar*, vol. iii.

[14] Afterwards the Emperor Jehángír.

[15] His own account is, that in his youth he used to drink at least twenty cups of wine a day, each cup containing half a sir (six ounces, *i.e.* nearly half a pint); and that if he was a single hour without his beverage, his hands began to shake, and he was unable to sit at rest. After he came to the throne, he says, he drank only five cups (*i.e.* little more than a quart), and only took it after nightfall. It does not appear how long he adhered to this sobriety. (*Price's Jehángír*, pp. 6, 7.) Drinking seems to have been the vice of the age among the Mahometan kings and great men: Bábar and Humáyún both drank hard: the princes of Túrk dynasties seem all to have had the same propensity; and even the Sófis of Persia, so lately elevated by the sanctity of their family, not only drank to excess in private, but made their piles of cups and flagons of gold and jewels compose a great part of the splendour of their court.

However much Akber may have been afflicted by this conduct, he determined not to drive his son to extremities. He wrote a temperate letter, warning him of the consequences of his conduct, and assuring him of his own undiminished affection, if he would in time return to the path of his duty. As these remonstrances were soon followed by Akber's return to Agra, Selím replied in the most submissive terms, and actually marched as far as Etáyah with the professed intention of waiting on his father. Whether he in reality intended his approach to be hostile, or entertained apprehensions for his own safety, he spared no efforts to raise troops, and had assembled such a body that Akber sent to desire him to advance slightly attended, or else to return to Allahábád. Selím chose the latter course.

It is not improbable that this retreat was procured by negotiation; for it was soon followed by a grant of Bengal and Orissa by Akber to his son, and by renewed professions of fidelity and devotion on the part of the latter. During this deceitful calm, the prince had an opportunity, which he did not let slip, of revenging his own supposed injuries, while he inflicted the severest blow on the feelings of his father. Murder of Abúl Fazl.

Abúl Fazl had at this time been recalled from the Deckan, and was advancing with a small escort towards Gwálior, when he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Narsing Deó, rája of O'rcha in Bundélcand, at the instigation of Prince Selím; and although he defended himself with great gallantry, he was cut off with most of his attendants, and his head sent to the prince.[16] Akber was deeply affected by the intelligence of this event. He shed abundance of tears, and passed two days and nights without food or sleep. He immediately sent a force against Narsing Deó, with orders to seize his family, ravage his country, and exercise such severities as on other occasions he never permitted. He does not seem to have known of his son's share in the crime: so far from interrupting his intercourse with him, he sent Selíma Sultána, one of his wives, who had adopted Selím after his own mother's death, to endea- A.D. 1602, A.H. 1011.

[16] Selím, in his Memoirs, written after he was emperor, acknowledges the murder, and defends it on the ground that Abúl Fazl had persuaded Akber to renounce the Korán, and to deny the divine mission of Mahomet. On the same ground he justifies his own rebellion against his father. (*Price's Memoirs of Jehángír*, p. 33.) One of his first acts after his accession was to promote the murderer, Narsing Deó (who had escaped the unrelenting pursuit of Akber), to a high station, and he always continued to treat him with favour and confidence.

vour to soothe his mind and bring about an entire reconciliation.

This embassy was attended with the desired effect. Selím soon after repaired to court and made his submission. Akber received him with his usual kindness, and conferred on him the privilege of using the royal ornaments.

Reconciliation of Akber with Selím.

A.D. 1603, A.H. 1012.

Selím was soon after again despatched with a force against the rána of Oudipúr; but he protracted his march on various pretences, and showed so little disposition to involve himself in a permanent contest of that nature, that Akber, desirous to avoid a rupture at all costs, sent him leave to return to his almost independent residence of Allahábád. Here he gave himself up more than ever to debauchery.

Continued misconduct of Selím.

He had always maintained a peculiar dislike for his eldest son, Prince Khusrou, whose own levity and violence seem to have given him reason for his displeasure. Some circumstance in their disputes at this time so affected Khusrou's mother (the sister of Rája Mán Sing) that she swallowed poison, and thus added a fresh sting to the already inflamed mind of her husband. Selím's irascibility now became so great that his attendants were afraid to approach him; and he was guilty of cruelties which had been so long disused that they excited horror among all who heard of them, and which were peculiarly repugnant to the humane nature of Akber.[17]

The emperor was much perplexed as to the course to pursue, and determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his son. He therefore set off for Allahábád, and had advanced one or two marches, when he heard of the alarming illness of his own mother, and returned just in time to receive her last breath.

On hearing of this journey, and the cause of its suspension, Selím, perhaps animated by some sense of duty or natural affection, or perhaps conceiving that his interests would be best served by his presence at court, determined to repair to Agra, and to submit in good earnest to his father.

On reaching Agra he was kindly received, but was for a short time placed under restraint; and either to lessen the disgrace of his confinement, or to prevent his indulging in his usual excesses, he was put under the care of a physician. Before long he was restored to freedom and to

He is placed under restraint, and soon after released.

[17] On one occasion Selím ordered an offender to be flayed alive, and Akber could not conceal his disgust when he heard of it, but said he wondered how the son of a man who could not see a dead beast flayed without pain could be guilty of such cruelty to a human being.

favour. Still the violence of his temper does not appear to have abated; and his jealousy of his son, Khusrou, led to such a disorderly scene at an elephant fight in Akber's presence, that he was in imminent danger of again incurring the public displeasure of the emperor. Khusrou took up the quarrel with as much vehemence as his father, and did all he could to exasperate Akber against him. It is even probable that Khusrou had, long ere this, entertained views of supplanting his father in the succession; and Selím, in his Memoirs, appears to have been convinced that Akber at one time had serious thoughts of such a supersession;[18] but the real favourite with Akber, as well as with Selím himself, was Khurram,[19] the third and youngest son of the latter; and their preference of that prince was among the principal causes of the discontent of his elder brother.

His quarrels with his own son, Khusrou.

Akber had, some years before, lost his second son, Morád: he now received accounts of the death of his third son, Dániyál, who fell a victim to intemperance in the thirtieth year of his age. His health having already received a severe shock from his excess, he was obliged to pledge his word to his father to leave off the use of wine, and was so surrounded by people of the emperor's, that he was unable to gratify his propensity, which had become irresistible. His resource was to have liquor secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling-piece; and having thus again free access to indulgence, he soon brought his life to a close. This calamity was felt by Akber in the degree that was to be expected from the strength of his attachments; and it is probable that his domestic afflictions, and the loss of his intimate friends, began to prey upon his spirits and undermine his health.

Death of Dániyál, Akber's third son.

He appears to have been for some time ill,[20] when, in the middle of September 1605, his complaint came on with additional violence, accompanied by total loss of appetite; and it became apparent, before long, that there were little hopes of his recovery. For the last ten days he was confined to his bed; and although he appears to have retained his faculties to the last, he was no longer capable of taking part in business. From this time all eyes were directed to the succession, and the court became an arena for the struggles of the contending parties. Selím was the acknowledged heir, and the only remaining son of the emperor; but

Sickness of Akber

Intrigues regarding the succession.

[18] Price's *Memoirs of Jehángír*, p. 33. [19] Price's *Memoirs of Jehángír*, p. 70.
[20] Afterwards Sháh Jehán.

his rebellion had weakened his reputation, and he was now in a sort of disgrace, removed from his troops, and from all those over whom he was accustomed to exercise authority. On the other hand, Rája Mán Sing was maternal uncle to Khusrou, who was, moreover, married to the daughter of Azíz, the Khán i A'zim, the first of Akber's generals; and those great personages, foreseeing an increase to their own power in the succession of their young relation, took immediate measures for securing the palace which forms also the citadel of Agra, and made all dispositions for placing Khusrou on the throne. Selím was now justly alarmed for his personal safety, and forbore visiting the palace on pretence of illness. His son, Prince Khurram, though only a boy, disregarded both his father's injunctions and his own danger, and declared that he would never quit his grandfather while he continued to live. Akber was distressed by his son's absence, of which he surmised the cause. He repeatedly expressed his anxiety to see him, and again pronounced him the lawful successor to the kingdom, while he expressed his desire that Khusrou should be provided for by a grant of the province of Bengal. These declarations, together with the exertions of some of the most respectable nobles, who still adhered to Selím, had a great effect in drawing off the inferior chiefs who had attached themselves to the opposite party; and Azíz soon perceived that he was likely to be deserted if he persevered, and took the prudent course of opening a private negotiation with Selím. Mán Sing, whose influence depended on the loyalty of his followers to himself and not to the emperor, was not exposed to the same danger; but finding himself left alone, and having received flattering overtures from Selím, he also at length promised his support to the heir apparent, who now repaired to the palace, and was affectionately received by the dying monarch. The last moments of Akber are only recorded by his successor. He says that, at this interview, Akber desired him to bring all his omrahs into the chamber where he was lying; "for," said he, "I cannot bear that any misunderstanding should subsist between you and those who have, for so many years, shared in my toils and been the companions of my glory." When they were assembled he delivered a suitable address to them; and, after wistfully regarding them all round, he desired them to forgive any offences of which he might have been guilty towards any of them. Selím now threw himself at his feet, and burst into a passion

Unsuccessful combination to set aside Selím.

Death of Akber A. D. 1605. A. H. 1014. Oct. 13

of tears; but Akber pointed to his favourite scymitar, and made signs to his son to bind it on in his presence. He seems afterwards to have recovered from this exhaustion: he addressed himself to Selím, and earnestly conjured him to look to the comfort of the ladies of his family, and not to forget or forsake his old friends and dependents. After this he permitted one of the chief mullahs, who was a personal friend of Selím's, to be brought to him, and in his presence he repeated the Mahometan confession of faith,* and died in all the forms of a good Mussulman.[21]

Akber is described as a strongly built and handsome man, with an agreeable expression of countenance, and very captivating manners.[22] He was endowed with great personal strength and activity. In his youth he indulged in wine and good living, but early became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food on particular days, making altogether nearly a fourth part of the year. He was always satisfied with very little sleep, and frequently spent whole nights in those philosophical discussions of which he was so fond. Although so constantly engaged in wars, and although he made greater improvements in civil government than any other king of India; yet, by his judicious distribution of his time, and by his talents for the despatch of business, he always enjoyed abundant leisure for study and amusement. He was fond of witnessing fights of animals, and all exercises of strength and skill; but his greatest pleasure was in hunting, especially in cases like the destruction of tigers, or the capture of herds of wild elephants, which gave a scope to his enjoyment of adventure and exertion. He sometimes also underwent fatigue for the mere pleasure of the exercise, as when he rode from Ajmír to Agra (220 miles) in two successive days, and in many similar journeys on horseback, besides walks on foot of thirty or forty miles in a day. His

His character.

* [Mr. Blochmann shows (Áyín-i A. transl. i. p. 212) that the account of Akber's return to Muhammadanism is very doubtful.—ED.]

[21] Akber was buried near Agra. His tomb is thus described by Bishop Heber. The central building "is a sort of solid pyramid, surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble surrounded by the most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material, and to the graceful forms of the Arabic characters which form its chief ornament." (*Bishop Heber's Narrative*, vol. i. p. 587.) This immense pile served as quarters to an European regiment of dragoons for a year or two after the first conquest of that territory by the British.

[22] Price's *Memoirs of Jehánguír*, p. 45. The following is the account given of him by the Portuguese Jesuits who went to visit him from Goa. He was about "fifty years old, white like an European, and of sagacious intellect. He received them with singular affability," etc. (*Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, vol. ii. p. 89.)

history is filled with instances of romantic courage, and he seems to have been stimulated by a sort of instinctive love of danger as often as by any rational motive. Yet he showed no fondness for war: he was always ready to take the field and to remain there, exerting all his talents and energy, while his presence was required; but when the fate of a war was once decided, he returned to the general government of his empire, and left it to his lieutenants to carry on the remaining military operations. These were, in some cases, very long protracted; but his conquests, when concluded, were complete; and no part of India, except that near the capital, can be said to have been thoroughly subdued until his time. He was not free from ambition; but as the countries he invaded had been formerly subject to Delhi, he would have incurred more blame than praise among his contemporaries if he had forborne from attempting to recover them.

CHAPTER III.

INTERNAL POLICY.

But it is to his internal policy that Akber owes his place in that highest order of princes, whose reigns have been a blessing to mankind; and that policy shows itself in different shapes, as it affects religion or civil government. Akber's tolerant spirit was displayed early in his reign, and appears to have been entirely independent of any doubts on the divine origin of the Mahometan faith. It led him however to listen, without prejudice, to the doctrines of other religions, and involved him in enmity with the bigoted members of his own; and must thus have contributed to shake his early belief, and to dispose him to question the infallible authority of the Korán. The political advantages of a new religion, which should take in all classes of his subjects, could not fail, moreover, to occur to him. In the first part of his reign, he was assiduous in visiting sacred places, and in attendance on holy men: even in the twenty-first year of his reign, he spoke seriously of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca; and it was not till the twenty-fourth year (A.D. 1579) that he made open profession of his latitudinarian opinions.

His internal policy, religious and civil.

His general toleration and impartiality.

Progress of his religious opinions.

It is not impossible that some even of the holy persons whom he visited may have held the free notions common with particular sects of Mahometan ascetics; but the blame of corrupting Akber's orthodoxy is thrown by all Mussulman writers on Feizí and his brother Abúl Fazl. These eminent persons were the sons of a learned man named Mobárik, who was probably a native of Nágór, and who, at one time, taught a college or school of law and divinity at Agra. He was at first a Sunní, but turned Shía; and afterwards took to reading the philosophical works of the ancients, and became a free-thinker, or, according to his enemies, an atheist. So great a persecution was raised against him on this account, that he was constrained to give up his school, and fly with his family from Agra. His sons conformed, in all respects, to the Mahometan religion; though it is probable that they never were deeply imbued with attachment to the sect.

Feizí. Feizí was the first Mussulman that applied himself to a diligent study of Hindú literature and science.[1] It does not appear whether his attention was directed to these researches by Akber, or whether he undertook them of his own accord. It was, however, by the aid and under the direction of the emperor that he conducted a systematic inquiry into every branch of the knowledge of the Bramins. Besides Sanscrit works in poetry[2] and philosophy, he made a version of the "Bíja Ganita" and "Lílávatí" of Bháscara Áchárya, the best Hindú books on algebra and arithmetic. His translations from the Sanscrit.

He likewise superintended translations made from the Sanscrit by other learned men, including one, at least, of the Védas, the two great historical and heroic poems the "Mahá Bhárata" and "Rámáyana," and the "History of Cashmír," the only specimen of that sort of composition in Sanscrit prose.[3] He superintends translations from that and other languages.

Akber's acquisitions of this nature were not confined to Sanscrit. He prevailed on a Christian priest, whom Abúl Fazl calls Padre Farábatún, and describes as learned in science and history, to come from Goa, and undertake the education of a few

[1] [On this see Sir H. Elliot's note D. in Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. v. He shows that several Hindú books of medicine and astronomy had been translated from the Sanskrit during the early centuries of the Khalífate. Albírúní certainly knew Sanskrit.—ED.]

[2] He translated the "Nala and Damayantí," an episode of the "Mahá Bhárata" (See p. 171). Feizí was likewise author of a great deal of original poetry, and of other works, in Persian. He seems to have been more studious and less a man of the world than Abúl Fazl.

[3] Muntakhab ut Tawárikh. [See Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. v. pp. 537, 539 —ED.]

youths destined to be employed in translating the productions of Greek literature into Persian. Feizí himself was directed to make a correct version of the Evangelists.[4]

Abúl Fazl. Feizí was first presented to Akber in the twelfth year of his reign, and introduced Abúl Fazl six years later, in A.D. 1574.

Akber's attachment to these brothers. Those brothers soon became the intimate friends and inseparable companions of their sovereign. They not only were the confidants of all his new opinions in religion, and his advisers in his patronage of literature, both in foreign countries and his own, but were consulted and employed in the most important affairs of government. Feizí was sent on a special embassy to the kings of the Deckan previous to the invasion of that country; and Abúl Fazl lived to attain the highest military rank, and to hold the office of prime minister. Akber's distress at the loss of Abúl Fazl has been mentioned, and the account of his behaviour at the death of Feizí is the more to be relied on as it is given by an enemy. It was midnight when the news was brought to him that Feizí was dying; on which he hastened to his apartment, but found him already nearly insensible: he raised his head, and called out to him, with a familiar term of endearment, "Shékhjí! I have brought Alí the physician to you; why do not you speak?" Finding that he received no answer, he threw his turban on the ground and burst into the strongest expressions of sorrow. When he had recovered his composure, he went to Abúl Fazl, who had withdrawn from the scene of death, and remained for some time endeavouring to console him, before he returned to his palace.[5]

[4] The taste for literature and accomplishments seems to have been much diffused in Akber's court: Azíz (or Khání A'zim) was a man of great learning; Mirzá Khán (Khání Khánán), son of Bairám Khán, and the second of Akber's generals, made the excellent Persian translation now extant of Báber's *Memoirs*, from the Turkish. Among the distinguished men of this time, all historians mention Tánsén, a celebrated composer, whose music is still much admired. Even Zein Khán (so often mentioned as an able and active general) is said to have played well on several instruments. Akber encouraged schools, at which Hindú as well as Mahometan learning was taught, and "every one was educated according to his circumstances and particular views in life." (*Akbernámeh.*)

[5] Muntakhab ut Tawárikh. The same author, whose name was Abdul Kádir, relates that Feizí continued to blaspheme in his dying moments, and that at last he barked like a dog, while his face became disfigured, and his lips black, as if he already bore the impress of the damnation that awaited him. Abdul Kádir inserts in his book a letter in his favour from Feizí to Akber, and defends himself from the charge of ingratitude in defaming his benefactor after his death, by saying that it was a paramount duty he owed to God and to religion. The letter shows Feizí's zeal for his friends in a strong point of view. It expatiates on the services of the bearer, and his ill luck in their not having attracted notice; speaks of him in the warmest terms as an intimate acquaintance of thirty-seven years' standing, a true and faithful friend, and a person of many virtues and accomplishments; and

Along with Feizí and Abúl Fazl, there were many other learned men of all religions about the court; and it was the delight of Akber to assemble them, and sit for whole nights assisting at their philosophical discussions. His regular meetings were on Friday; but he often sent for single Bramins or Mahometan Súffs on other occasions, and entered into long inquiries regarding the tenets of their different schools.[6] Some specimens of the discussions at those meetings (probably imaginary ones) are given in the "Dabistán," a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia.

Akber's religious and philosophical conferences.

The fullest is a dialogue between a Bramin, a Mussulman, a worshipper of fire, a Jew, a Christian, and a philosopher.[7] The representative of each religion brings forth his arguments; which are successively condemned, some on account of the vicious character of their founders, and all for the absurdity of their doctrines, and the want of proof of their alleged miracles. The philosopher winds up the discourse by recommending a system which shall have no ground but reason and virtue. An account of a real debate of this kind is given in the "Akbernámeh." It was carried on before an assembly of the learned of all religions, between Padre *Redíf*,* a Christian priest, and a body of Mahometan mullahs: a decided advantage, both in temper and argument, is given to the Christian. It was concluded by Akber's reproving the mullahs for their violence, and expressing his own opinion that God could only be adequately worshipped by following reason, and not yielding implicit faith to any alleged revelation.[8]

The religion of Akber himself may be inferred from what has

ends by strongly recommending him to the emperor. Though Abdul Kádir had quarrelled with Feizí and Abúl Fazl on points of religion, this dispute does not seem to have led to his disgrace with Akber; for he mentions that he was employed by that monarch to make a catalogue of Feizí's library after his death, and that it consisted of 4,600 books, carefully corrected and well bound, on poetry and literature, moral and physical science, and theology. [These passages from Abdul Kádir are translated in Sir H. Elliot's *Historians*, vol. i. pp. 255—258. Dowson's *Hist. of India*, vol. v. pp. 544—549. —ED.]

[6] Akbernámeh. Muntakhab ut Tawárikh.

[7] Translated by Colonel Kennedy, *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 217, etc.

* [Mr. Blochmann has shown that this should be "padre *Radalf*," i.e. the Portuguese missionary Rodolpho Aquaviva.—ED.]

[8] A circumstance is related regarding this meeting, of which the Christians and Mahometans give different accounts; and, what is rather unusual in controversies, each tells the story in the way least favourable to his own faith. The disputants having split on the divinity of their respective scriptures, the Christian, according to Abúl Fazl, offered to walk into a flaming furnace, bearing the Bible, if the Mahometan would show a similar confidence in the protection of the Korán. To this, he says, the Mussulmans only answered by reproaches. The missionaries, on the other hand, say the proposal came from the Mussulmans, and was rejected by them, contrary to the wish of Akber. (*Murray's Asiatic Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 91.) The probability is, that Akber may have taken this way of amusing himself with the extravagance of both parties. It

Religious system of Akber.

been said.[9] It seems to have been pure deism; in addition to which some ceremonies were permitted in consideration of human infirmity. It maintained that we ought to reverence God according to the knowledge of him derived from our own reason, by which his unity and benevolence are sufficiently established; that we ought to serve him, and seek for our future happiness by subduing our bad passions, and practising such virtues as are beneficial to mankind; but that we should not adopt a creed, or practise a ritual, on the authority of *any* MAN, as all were liable to vice and error like ourselves. If it were absolutely necessary for men to have some visible object of adoration, by means of which they might raise their soul to the Divinity, Akber recommended that the sun, the planets, or fire, should be the symbols. He had no priests, no public worship, and no restrictions about food, except a recommendation of abstinence, as tending to exalt the mind. His only observances were salutations to the sun, prayers at midnight and daybreak, and meditations at noon on the sun. He professed to sanction this sort of devotion, from regard to the prejudices of the people, and not from his own belief in their efficacy. It is, indeed, related by Abúl Fazl, that, being once entreated to pray for rain, he refused, observing that God knew our wants and wishes better than we did ourselves, and did not require to be reminded, to exert his power for our benefit. But as Akber *practised* all his ceremonies as well as permitted them, it may be doubted whether they had not gained some hold on his imagination. He seems to have been by nature devout, and, with all his scepticism, to have inclined even to superstitions that promised him a closer connexion with the Deity than was afforded by the religion which his reason approved.[10] To this feeling we may ascribe, among other instances, the awe and veneration with which he adored the images of Jesus Christ

does not appear that he had any design to turn the Christians at least into derision. The missionaries, provoked at the disappointment of their sanguine hopes of converting the emperor, appear at length to have suspected that he had no object in encouraging them, except to gratify his taste with their pictures and images, and to swell the pomp of his court by their attendance (*Murray's Asiatic Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 91); but, besides his intense curiosity about the religious opinions of all sects, both Abúl Fazl and Abdul Kádir represent him as entertaining a real respect for Christianity. The latter author says that he made his son Murád be instructed in the Gospel, and that those lessons were not begun according to the usual form, "In the name of God," but "In the name of Jesus Christ." [Sir H. Elliot's *Historians*, vol. i. p. 248.—Ed.]

[9] [There is an interesting paper on this subject in Professor Wilson's *Collected Works*, vol. ii.,' chiefly based on Abdul Kádir's *Muntakhab ut Tawárikh*. See also a very full note in Mr. Blochmann's translation of the *Ayín-i-Akbarí*, i. pp. 167–212.—Ed.]

[10] [He used to associate with Hindú yogís on the most familiar footing, and was initiated into all their knowledge and practices.—Ed.]

and the Virgin, when they were shown to him by the missionaries.[11]

Notwithstanding the adulation of his courtiers, and some expressions in the formulæ of his own religion, Akber never seems to have entertained the least intention of laying claims to supernatural illumination. His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason: and his right to interfere at all with religion was grounded on his duty as civil magistrate.[12] He took the precaution, on promulgating his innovations, to obtain the legal opinions of the principal Mahometan lawyers, that the king was the head of the church, and had a right to govern it according to his own judgment,[13] and to decide all disputes among its members; and in his new confession of faith it was declared that "There was no God but God, and that Akber was *his calif*." A.D. 1579, A.H. 987, in Rejeb.

In the propagation of his opinions, Akber confined himself to persuasion, and made little progress except among the people about his court and a few learned men; but his measures were much stronger in abrogating the obligations of the Mussulman religion, which, till now, had been enforced by law. Prayers, fasts, alms, pilgrimages, and public worship were left optional: the prohibition of unclean animals, that of the moderate use of wine, and that of gaming with dice, were taken off; and circumcision was not permitted until the age of twelve, when the person to undergo it could judge of the propriety of the rite.[14]

Some of the other measures adopted seemed to go beyond indifference, and to show a wish to discountenance the Mahometan religion. The era of the Hijra and the Arabian months were changed for a solar year, dating from the vernal equinox nearest the king's accession, and divided into months named after those of ancient Persia. The study of the Arabic language was discouraged: Arabian names (as Mohammed, Alí, etc.) were disused.[15] The ordinary salutation of Salám aleikum! (Peace be unto you!) was changed into Allahu Akbaru! (God is most great!); to which the answer was, His discouragement of the Mahometan peculiarities.

[11] Murray, vol. ii. p. 89.

[12] Some of his practices, as breathing on his disciples, etc., which have been mentioned as implying pretensions to miraculous powers, are the common forms used by spiritual instructors throughout India.

[13] Muntakhab ut Tawárikh.

[14] Colonel Kennedy adds that the marriage of more than one wife was forbidden.

[15] ["The study of the language and literature of the Arabs was discountenanced, and that of its law and theology prohibited. A provision was subsequently made in favour of arithmetic, astronomy, natural history, and philosophy." (*Wilson's Essays.*)—ED.]

Jalla Jaláluhu! (May his brightness shine forth!)[16] Even wearing the beard, a practice enjoined by the Korán, was so offensive to Akber, that he would scarcely admit a person to his presence who conformed to it. This last prohibition gave peculiar disgust to the Mahometans, as did a regulation introducing on certain occasions the Persian custom of prostration (or kissing the ground, as it was called) before the king; a mark of respect regarded by the Mahometans as exclusively appropriated to the Deity.

His restrictions on the Hindú superstition.

As the Hindús had not been supported by the government, Akber had less occasion to interfere with them; and, indeed, from the tolerant and inoffensive character of their religion, he seems to have had little inclination. He however forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of puberty, and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time, contrary to the Hindú law:[17] above all, he positively prohibited the burning of Hindú widows against their will, and took effectual precautions to ascertain that their resolution was free and uninfluenced. On one occasion, hearing that the rája of Jódpúr was about to force his son's widow to the pile, he mounted his horse and rode post to the spot to prevent the intended sacrifice.[18]

His general indulgence to Hindús.

His most important measures connected with the Hindús were of a purely favourable nature, but had been adopted many years before his innovations in religion. His employment of them equally with Mahometans began with his assumption of the government. In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the jizya or capitation tax on infidels;[19] an odious

[16] These phrases include the emperor's name, Jelál ud dín Akber.

[17] Colonel Kennedy, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 261.

[18] Akbernámeh.

[19] [We have had this tax already alluded to in p. 310. There is an interesting dialogue in Ferishta Briggs' translation, vol. i. p. 349), between Alá ud Dín and his principal Cázi, respecting the proper amount of this tribute. The Cázi decides, on the authority of the Imám Hanífa, that "the jizya or as heavy a tribute as they can bear, may be imposed instead of death, on infidels, and it is commanded that the jizya and khiráj (or land-tax) be exacted to the uttermost farthing, in order that the punishment may approximate as nearly as possible to death." Up to the time of Firúz Sháh, Brahmans were exempted from this tax; in his time the highest class of Hindús were rated at 40, the second at 20, the third at 10 tankas per head; and the Brahmans were allowed to pay the lowest rate. It was enforced with great severity under the Lodi kings. Aurangzib reimposed it in the 22nd year of his reign, and directed that its levy should be attended with every circumstance of contumely which his ingenuity could devise; thus every one was to bring it in person to the treasury officer, and to present it standing, etc. It was regularly levied until the reign of Farokhsir, when opposition to it forced the minister to desist, and it was formally abolished by the Seiads under Rafi ud Dirjat. See Sir H. Elliot's *Suppl. Gloss.* p. 442.—Ed.]

impost, which served to keep up animosity between people of the predominant faith and those under them. About the same time he abolished all taxes on pilgrims; observing that, "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet, as all modes of worship were designed for one great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout, and to cut them off from their mode of intercourse with their Maker." [20]

Another humane edict, issued still earlier (A.D. 1561), though not limited to any one class, was, in practice, mainly beneficial to the Hindús: it was a prohibition against making slaves of persons taken in war. It appears that in the previous disturbances this abuse had been carried to such a height, that not only was it practised towards the wives and children of garrisons who stood a storm, but even peaceable inhabitants of a hostile country were seized and sold for slaves. All this was positively prohibited.

Discontents among the Mussulmans.

Although Akber's religious innovations were not all introduced at once, and although some of those found to be particularly obnoxious to censure were cancelled or confined to the palace, yet they did not fail to excite great discontent among the stricter Mussulmans, and especially among the mullahs, whose disgust was increased by some changes affecting lands granted for religious purposes, which took place in the course of the general revenue reform. The complaints of these classes are zealously set forth by an author already often referred to,[21] who accuses Akber of systematic depression of the Mussulman religion, and even of persecution of such persons as distinguished themselves by adhering to it. It is not improbable that he showed some prejudice against those who were active in opposing him; and he certainly restricted his patronage to the more compliant; but in all instances of harsh language and conduct to individuals, brought forward by this writer, Akber seems to have been justified by particular acts of disrespect or factious conduct. The cases in question are not confined to mullahs. One of his principal courtiers was ordered out of the royal apartment for attacking his proceedings, and asking what he imagined orthodox princes of other countries would say of them? and another who applied the epithet "hellish" to the king's advisers, was told that such language deserved to be answered by a blow. The most considerable of these malcontents was Azíz (the Khán i A'zim), who was Akber's foster-

[20] Chalmers' MS. translation of the "Akbernámeh."

[21] Abdul Kadir, the writer of the "Muntakhab ut Tawárikh."

brother, and one of his best generals. This nobleman having been long absent in the government of Guzerát, his mother prevailed on Akber to invite him to come to court. Azíz excused himself; and it appeared that his real objection was to shaving his beard and performing the prostration. Akber, on this, wrote him a good-humoured remonstrance; but Azíz persevering, he sent him a positive order to come to the capital. Azíz, on this, threw up his government; and after writing an insolent and reproachful letter to Akber, in which he asked him if he had received a book [77] from heaven, or if he could work miracles like Mahomet, that he presumed to introduce a new religion, warned him that he was on his way to eternal perdition, and concluded with a prayer to God to bring him back into the path of salvation. After this explosion of zeal he embarked for Mecca without leave or notice. In a short time, however, he found his situation irksome in that country, and returned to India, where he made his submission, and was restored at once to his former place in the emperor's favour and confidence.

Limited progress of his own religion.

But although this sort of opposition was surmounted, Akber's religion was too spiritual and abstracted to be successful with the bulk of mankind. It seems never to have gone beyond a few philosophers and some interested priests and courtiers; and, on Akber's death, it expired of itself, and the Mussulman forms were quickly and almost silently restored by Jehángír. The solar year was retained for some time longer, on account of its intrinsic advantages. A liberal spirit of inquiry, however, survived the system to which it owed its rise; and if extrinsic causes had not interrupted its progress, it might have ripened into some great reform of the existing superstitions.

Akber cannot claim the merit of originality for his doctrines. The learned Hindús had always maintained the real unity of God, and had respected, without believing, the mythological part of their creed. The Cabír Panthís, a Hindú sect which sprung up nearly a century before Akber, had come still nearer to his views; and from them he appears to have borrowed some of the arbitrary parts of his religious rules: still he excelled all his predecessors in his conception of the Divine nature; and the general freedom which he allowed to private judgment was a much more generous effort in a powerful monarch than in

[77] The Korán, the Old and New Testament, and the Psalms of David, are called *books* by way of excellence, and their followers, "People of the Book."

a recluse reformer, himself likely to be an object of persecution.[23]

Akber's revenue system,* though so celebrated for the benefits it conferred on India, presented no new invention. It only carried the previous system into effect with greater precision and correctness: it was, in fact, only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shír Sháh, whose short reign did not admit of his extending it to all parts of his kingdom. His civil government—Revenue system.

The objects of it were—1. To obtain a correct measurement of the land. 2. To ascertain the amount of the produce of each bígah[24] of land, and to fix the proportion of that amount that each ought to pay to the government. 3. To settle an equivalent for the proportion so fixed, in money.

1. For the first purpose Akber established an uniform standard to supersede the various measures formerly employed even by public officers. He also improved the instruments of mensuration, and he then deputed persons to make a complete measurement of all the lands capable of cultivation within the empire.

2. The assessment was not so simple as the measurement. The land was divided into three classes, according to its fertility; the amount of each sort of produce that a bígah of each class would yield was ascertained: the average of the three was assumed as the produce of a bígah, and one third of that produce formed the government demand.[25] But this assessment seems to have been only designed to fix a maximum; for every cultivator who thought the amount claimed too high, might insist on an actual measurement and division of the crop.

As lands of equal fertility might be differently circumstanced in other respects, the following classification was formed for

* In comparing Akber's attempt to found a system of pure deism with similar experiments by modern governments, we must remember the incurable defects of all the religions with which he was acquainted, and must distinguish between the merit of a man who takes the lead of his generation, and that of another who follows the crowd even in its errors and extravagances.

* [For a general view of the revenue at different periods see Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, and *Revenue resources of the Mughal Empire* (1871).—ED.]

[24] An Indian land measure, considerably more than half an acre.

[25] Thus, assuming the produce of a bígah of wheat, in mans (a measure of something less than forty pounds),—

	mans.	sérs.
Class 1. would yield . . .	18	
Class 2. — — . . .	12	
Class 3. — — . . .	8	35
Aggregate. . .	38	35

which, divided by 3, gives the average—12 mans 38¼ sérs; and that again divided by 3, gives the king's demand on each bígah—4 mans 12¼ sérs.

If the produce of a bígah of cotton be assumed,—

	mans.	sérs.
Class 1. will yield . . .	10	
Class 2. — —	7	20
Class 3. — —	5	
Aggregate. . .	22	20
Average of the three classes	7	20
King's demand (one third of the average)	2	20

modifying that first mentioned:—1. Land which never required a fallow paid the full demand every harvest. 2. Land which required fallows only paid when under cultivation. 3. Land which had suffered from inundation, etc., or which had been three years out of cultivation, and required some expense to reclaim it, paid only two fifths for the first year, but went on increasing till the fifth year, when it paid the full demand. 4. Land which had been more than five years out of cultivation enjoyed still more favourable terms for the first four years.

It is not explained in the "A'yíni Akberí" how the comparative fertility of fields was ascertained. It is probable that the three classes were formed for each village, in consultation with the inhabitants, and the process would be greatly facilitated by another classification made by the villagers for their own use, which seems to have subsisted from time immemorial. By that distribution, all the land of every village is divided into a great many classes, according to its qualities; as black mould, red mould, gravelly, sandy, black mould mixed with stones, etc. Other circumstances are also considered, such as command of water, vicinity to the village, etc.; and great pains are taken so to apportion the different descriptions among the cultivators as to give equal advantages to all.

3. The quantity of produce due to the government being settled, it was next to be commuted for a money payment. For this purpose, statements of prices current for the nineteen years preceding the survey were called for from every town and village; and the produce was turned into money according to the average of the rates shown in those statements. The commutation was occasionally reconsidered, with reference to the actual market prices; and every husbandman was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the money rate was fixed too high.

All these settlements were at first made annually; but their continual recurrence being found to be vexatious, the settlement was afterwards made for ten years, on an average of the payments of the preceding ten.

The prolongation of the term mitigated another evil inherent in the system; for as the assessment varied with the sort of cultivation, it had all the effect of a tithe in indisposing the husbandman to cultivate a richer description of produce, which, though it might yield a greater profit, would have a higher tax to pay at the next settlement.

The above measurements and classifications were all carefully

recorded; the distribution of land, and increase or diminution of revenue, were all yearly entered into the village registers agreeably to them; and they still continue in use, even in parts of India which had not been conquered in Akber's time, and where their own merits have since introduced them.

At the same time when Akber made these improvements respecting the land tax, he abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers.

He also made a new revenue division of the country into portions, each yielding a crór (*i.e.* 10,000,000) of dáms, equal to 250,000 rupees, or £25,000; the collector of each of which was called the crórí.[26] This arrangement did not last, and the ancient Hindú division is again universally established.

The result of these measures was to reduce the amount of the public demand considerably, but to diminish the defalcation in realising it; so that the profit to the state remained nearly the same, while the pressure on individuals was much lessened. Abúl Fazl even asserts that the assessment was lighter than that of Shír Sháh, although *he* professed to take only one fourth of the produce, while Akber took one third.

Akber's instructions to his revenue officers have come down to us, and show his anxiety for the liberal administration of his system, and for the ease and comfort of his subjects. Some particulars of his mode of management also appear in those instructions. There is no farming of any branch of the revenue, and the collectors are enjoined, in their agreements and collections, to deal directly with individual cultivators, and not to depend implicitly on the headman and accountant of the village.[27]

On the whole, this great reform, much as it promoted the happiness of the existing generation, contained no principle of progressive improvement, and held out no hopes to the rural population by opening paths by which it might spread into other occupations, or rise by individual exertions within its own. No mode of administration, indeed, could effect these objects as long as the subdivision of land by inheritance checked all extensive improvement in husbandry, at the same time that it attached to the soil those members of each family who might have betaken themselves to commerce, or other pursuits, such as would have increased the value of raw produce, and raised the price of agricultural labour, by diminishing the competition for that species of employment.

[26] [On this, see Sir H. Elliot's *Suppl. Glossary*, p. 198.—ED.]

[27] Gladwin's *A'yíni Akberí*, vol. i. pp. 303—312.

The author of the reform was Rája Tódar Mal, by whose name it is still called everywhere. The military services of this minister have already been mentioned. Abúl Fazl describes him as entirely devoid of avarice, and quite sincere, but of a malicious and vindictive temper, and so observant of the fasts and other superstitions of the Hindú religion, as to draw down on him reproof even from Akber.[28]

Tódar Mal.

Though we have not a particular explanation of Akber's system in other departments, as we have in that of revenue, a general notion of it may be made out from his instructions to his officers.[29]

The empire was divided into fifteen súbahs or provinces.[30]

Súbahs, or governments, and their establishments,—military, judicial, and police.

The chief officer in each was the viceroy (sipáh sálár), who had the complete control, civil and military, subject to the instructions of the king.

Under him were the revenue functionaries above mentioned, and also the military commanders of districts (foujdárs), whose authority extended over the local soldiery or militia, and over all military establishments and lands assigned to military purposes, as well as over the regular troops within their jurisdiction; and whose duty it was to suppress all disorders that required force within the same limits.

Justice was administered by a court composed of an officer named mír i adl (lord justice) and a cází. The latter conducted the trial and stated the law; the other passed judgment, and seems to have been the superior authority; the distinction probably arising from the modifications introduced by the will of the prince and the customs of the country into the strict Mahometan law, of which the cází was the organ.

[28] Chalmers' MS. translation of the "Akberuámeh."

[29] Gladwin's *A'yíni Akberí*, vol. i. pp. 29—303.

[30] Twelve of these were in Hindostan and three in the Deckan: these last were increased, after the conquest of Bijápúr and Golcónda, to six. [The original fifteen were Allahábád, Agra, Oudh, Ajmír, Guzerát, Behár, Bengal, Delhi, Cábul, Láhor, Multán, Málwa, Berár, Khándesh, Ahmednagar. The three additional were Bídar, Haiderábád, and Bijápúr.—Ed.] The title of sipáh sálár was changed after Akber's time to súbahdár, and an additional officer was introduced under the title of diwán, for the purpose of superintending the finances of the province. He was subordinate to the súbahdár, but was appointed by the king. ["Each *subah* was divided into a certain number of *sircárs*, and each sircár into *pergunahs* or *mahâls*, and the *pergunahs* again were aggregated into *dastúrs* or districts. The words used before Akber's time to represent tracts of country larger than a *pergunah*, were *shakk*, *khitta*, *tirsa*, *diyár*, *wilayat*, and *ikta'*, but the latter was generally applied when the land was assigned for the support of the nobility or their contingents." (*Sir H. Elliot's Glossary*, p. 185.) The title of súbahdár seems to have been rarely conferred,—the more usual title is that of názim.—Ed.]

The police of considerable towns was under an officer called the cótwál; in smaller places it was under the revenue officer; and in villages, of course, under the internal authorities.[31]

The tone of instructions to all these functionaries is just and benevolent, though by no means exempt from the vagueness and puerility that is natural to Asiatic writings of this sort.

Those to the cótwál keep up the prying and meddling character of the police under a despotism: they prohibit forestalling and regrating, etc.; and, in the midst of some very sensible directions, there is an order that any one who drinks out of the cup of the common executioner shall lose his hand; a law worthy of Menu, and the more surprising as the spirit of all the rules for administering justice is liberal and humane. A letter of instructions to the governor of Guzerát, preserved in a separate history of that province, restricts his punishments to putting in irons, whipping, and death; enjoining him to be sparing in capital punishments, and, unless in cases of dangerous sedition, to inflict none until he has sent the proceedings to court and received the emperor's confirmation. Capital punishment is not to be accompanied with mutilation or other cruelty.[32]

Amidst the reforms of other departments, Akber did not forget his army. If it had cost a long and dangerous struggle to bring that body to submit to orders, it scarcely required a less exertion, at a later period, to introduce economy and efficiency into the management of it. Reform and new model of the army.

It had been usual to grant lands and assignments on the revenue, and leave the holder to realise them without check; while musters were irregular and deceptive, being often made up by servants and camp followers mounted for the day on borrowed horses.

Akber put a stop to the first of these abuses, by paying the troops in cash from the treasury whenever it was practicable; and establishing checks on jágírs, where such existed. The other was cured by rendering musters necessary before pay, by describing every man's features and person on the roll, and branding every horse with the king's mark that ever had been numbered in his service. Camels, oxen, carts, and all things necessary for the movement of troops, were also mustered and paid at fixed rates.

But even in its highest state of perfection the army was not very well organised. It was not divided into bodies, each of a

[31] ["In all legal causes between Hindús, a Brahman was to judge." (*Wilson's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 396.)—ED.]

[32] Bird's *History of Guzerát*, p. 391.

certain number, and with a fixed proportion of officers: the system was for the king to name officers as he thought necessary, who were called mansabdárs, and who were divided into classes, of commanders of 10,000, commanders of 5,000, etc., down to commanders of 10. These numbers, in all but the lowest classes, were merely nominal, and were adopted to fix the rank and pay of the holders. Each entertained whatever number he was especially authorised to keep (sometimes not a tenth of his nominal command), and that number was mustered, and paid from the treasury. Their united quotas made up the army; and when a force went on service, the king appointed the commander, and some of the chief officers, below whom there was, probably, no chain of subordination, except what arose from each man's authority over his own quota. None but the king's sons held a rank above the command of 5,000; and of the latter class there were only thirty persons, including princes of the blood and Rájpút rájas. The whole number, down to commanders of 200, was not 450.[33]

Each mansabdár was required to keep half as many infantry as horsemen; and of the infantry, a fourth were required to be matchlockmen: the rest might be archers.

Besides these troops under mansabdárs, there was a considerable body of the best description of horsemen, who took service individually, and were called ahdís (*i.e.* single men, or individuals). Their pay depended on their merits; it was always much higher than that of a common horseman. These last, if from beyond the Indus, received 25 rupees a month; and if Indian, 20. The matchlockmen received 6 rupees at most, and the archers as low as 2½.

The mansabdárs were very liberally paid,[34] but no part of their emoluments or commands was hereditary. On a chief's death, the king conferred some rank—generally a moderate one at first—on his son, and added a pension if the father's merits entitled him to it.

We have no means of guessing the number of the troops. In later times, Aurangzíb was conjectured to have had 200,000

[33] These numbers are from the list in the *Áyíni Akberí*; it is uncertain to which period of the reign it refers. The extremely small number of officers is explained by the absence of discipline, and of instruction in tactics, as well as by the character of the horsemen, who were a sort of gentlemen, and more intelligent than ordinary troopers in a regular army.

[34] The sums in the tables in the *Áyíni Akberí* cannot relate to personal allowances alone; but see Bernier, vol. i. p. 289. He mentions that his patron, Dánishmand Khán, had the rank of 5,000, with the real command of 500 horse, and had near 5,000 *crowns* of pay per mensem.

effective cavalry,[85] besides artillery and undisciplined infantry. It is not likely that Akber had as many. Abúl Fazl says the local militia of the provinces amounted to 4,400,000; but this is probably an exaggerated account of those bound by their tenure to give a limited service in certain cases: probably few could be called on for more than a day or two to beat the woods for a hunting party; and many, no doubt, belonged to hill rájas and tribes who never served at all.

Besides the fort of Attok, already mentioned, many military works were erected by Akber. The walls and citadels of Agra and Allahábád much surpass the rest: they are lofty curtains and towers of cut stone, with deep ditches, and ornamented, in the Indian way, with turrets, domes, and battlements; each of the gatewâys being a stately edifice that would make a suitable entrance to a royal palace. He also built and fortified the town of Fattehpúr Síkrí, which was his principal residence, and which, though now deserted, is one of the most splendid specimens that remain of the former grandeur of India.[86] Fortifications and public works.

The same methodical system was carried through all branches of Akber's service. The "Áyíni Akberí" (Regulations of Akber), by Abúl Fazl, from which the above account of the civil and military arrangements is mostly taken, contains a minute description of the establishment and regulations of every department, from the Mint and the Treasury down to the fruit, perfumery, and flower offices, the kitchen, and the kennel. The whole presents an astonishing picture of magnificence and good order; where unwieldy numbers are managed without disturbance, and economy is attended to in the midst of profusion. Household and court.

The extent of these establishments appears from the work just mentioned, and the contemporary historians;[87] but the

[85] Bernier.

[86] Bishop Heber describes its commanding situation on a hill, the noble flight of steps which ascends to the portal tower, the extent and rich carving of the palace; above all, the mosque, with the majestic proportions and beautiful architecture of the quadrangle and cloisters, of which it forms one side. (Vol. i. p. 596.) The same judicious observer gives an account of the buildings within Agra. The principal are, "a beautiful mosque of white marble, carved with exquisite simplicity and elegance;" and the palace, built mostly of the same material, and containing some noble rooms. The great hall is "a splendid edifice, supported by pillars and arches of white marble, more nobly simple than that of Delhi. The ornaments, carving, and mosaic of the smaller apartments are equal or superior to anything which is described as found in the Alhambra." (Vol. i. p. 587.) Among Akber's principal works must be mentioned the tomb of Humáyún at Delhi, a great and solid edifice erected on a terrace raised above the surrounding country, and surmounted by a vast dome of white marble.

[87] Akber had never less than 5,000 elephants and 12,000 stable horses, besides

effect can be best judged of by the descriptions of the Europeans, who saw them in Akber's own time, or under the reign of his immediate successor, Jehángír.

His camp equipage consisted of tents and portable houses, in an enclosure formed by a high wall of canvas screens, and containing great halls for public receptions, apartments for feasting, galleries for exercise, and chambers for retirement; all framed of the most costly materials, and adapted to the most luxurious enjoyment.

The enclosure was 1,530 yards square. The tents and wall were of various colours and patterns within, but all red on the outside, and crowned with gilded globes and pinnacles, forming a sort of castle in the midst of the camp. The camp itself showed like a beautiful city of tents, of many colours, disposed in streets without the least disorder, covering a space of about five miles across, and affording a glorious spectacle when seen at once from a height.[38]

The greatest displays of his grandeur were at the annual feasts of the vernal equinox, and the king's birthday. They lasted for several days, during which there was a general fair and many processions and other pompous shows. The king's usual place was in a rich tent, in the midst of awnings to keep off the sun. At least two acres were thus spread with silk and gold carpets and hangings, as rich as velvet, embroidered with gold, pearl, and precious stones, could make them.[39] The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the king; dresses, jewels, horses, and elephants were bestowed on the nobility; the king was weighed in golden scales against silver, gold, perfumes, and other substances in succession, which were distributed among the spectators. Almonds and other fruits, of gold and silver, were scattered by the king's own hand, and eagerly caught up by the courtiers, though of little intrinsic value. On the great day of each festival, the king was seated on his throne, in a marble palace, surrounded by nobles wearing high heron plumes and "sparkling with diamonds like the firmament."[40] Many hundred elephants passed before him in companies, all most richly adorned, and the leading elephant of each company with gold plates on its head and breast, set with rubies and emeralds.[41]

vast hunting and hawking establishments, etc. etc. (*Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 281.)

[38] Sir Thomas Roe, in Churchill's *Voyages*. Terry's *Voyage*, p. 398.

[39] Hawkins, in Purchas's *Pilgrims*, vol. i.

[40] Sir T. Roe says, "I own I never saw such inestimable wealth."

[41] Sir T. Roe.

Trains of caparisoned horses followed; and, after them, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers, and panthers, hunting leopards, hounds, and hawks;[42] the whole concluding with an innumerable host of cavalry glittering with cloth of gold.

In the midst of all this splendour, Akber appeared with as much simplicity as dignity. He is thus described by two European eye-witnesses, with some parts of whose account I shall close his history.[43] After remarking that he had less show or state than other Asiatic princes, and that he stood or sat *below the throne* to administer justice,[44] they say, that "he is affable and majestical, merciful and severe;" that he is skilful in mechanical arts, as "making guns, casting ordnance, etc.; of sparing diet, sleeps but three hours a day, curiously industrious, affable to the vulgar, seeming to grace them and their presents with more respective ceremonies than the grandees; loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies."[45]

[42] Bernier, vol. i. p. 42.

[43] Purchas, vol. v. p. 516.

[44] ["It was a custom of the Mogul emperors to sit daily once, for the purpose of hearing and redressing the complaints of the people, and often twice; but this usage was discontinued by Alamgír's successors, which tended greatly to lose them the respect of their subjects." (Scott's *Iradat Khán*, p. 5, note.)—ED.]

[45] The principal authorities for this account of Akber's reign are, Ferishta, the *Akbernámeh*, by Abúl Fazl, the *Muntakhab ut Tawárikh*; Khafi Khán, and the *Kholásat ut Tawárikh*. Abúl Fazl, in this reign, shows all his usual merits, and more than his usual defects. (See p. 441.) Every event that had a tendency to take from the goodness, wisdom, or power of Akber, is passed over or misstated; and a uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akber disappear, and it is from other authors that we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted. The gross flattery of a book written by one so well acquainted with Akber's disposition, and submitted, it appears, to his own inspection, leaves an impression of the vanity of that prince, which is almost the only blot on his otherwise admirable character. The *Akbernámeh* was brought down by Abúl Fazl nearly to the time of his own death, in the forty-seventh year of the reign, and was continued for the remaining period of upwards of three years, by a person named Enáyet Ullah, or Mahommed Sália. I could never have availed myself of this work without the aid of a manuscript translation of Lieutenant Chalmers of the Madras army, in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. The *Muntakhab ut Tawárikh* was finished in the end of the fortieth year of the reign. It is written by Abdul Kádir of Badáún, and is a history of the Mahometan kings of India. The facts are chiefly taken from the *Tabakáti Akberi* down to the thirty-seventh year of Akber's reign, when that book ends. The whole of that reign, however, has many additions from the author's own knowledge, and takes its colour from his prejudices. Abdul Kádir was a learned man employed by Akber to make translations from Sanscrit; but, being a bigoted Musulman, he quarrelled with Abul Fazl and Feisi, and has filled his book with invectives against their irreligion and that of Akber (see page 534, note). He has also recorded many other grievances complained of at that time, and has disclosed those parts of the picture which were thrown into the shade by Abúl Fazl. The impression of Akber left by this almost hostile narrative is much more favourable than that made by his panegyrist. [This part of his history was published in 1865 in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.] Khafi Khán and the author of the *Kholásat ut Tawárikh* are later compilers [the latter was a

BOOK X.

JEHÁNGÍR—SHÁH JEHÁN.

CHAPTER I.

JEHÁNGÍR.

A.D. 1605, October; A.H. 1014, Jamáda'l ákhir.

SELÍM took possession of the government immediately on his father's death, and assumed the title of Jehángír (Conqueror of the World).

State of India at the accession of Jehangir.

He found the whole of his dominions on the north of the Nerbadda in a state of as great tranquillity as could be expected in so extensive an empire. The rebellion of Osmán continued in Bengal, but was confined to part of that province. The contest with the rána of Oudipúr was a foreign war, and the success, though not complete, was on the side of the emperor. Affairs wore a worse aspect in the Deckan, where the Nizám Sháhí government of Ahmednagar seemed to be recovering from the loss of its capital, and more likely to regain some of the territory it had been deprived of than to be completely subverted by the arms of the Moguls.

Moderate measures at the commencement of his reign.

Jehángír's first measures were of a much more benevolent and judicious character than might have been expected of him. He confirmed most of his father's old officers in their stations; and issued edicts, remitting

Hindú, named Sanján Ráí Munshí]. The *Tabakáti Akberí*, written by Nizám ud dín Hervi, is a history of the Mahometan kings down to the thirty-seventh of Akber, and is said to be a work of great merit; but, although I have access to a copy, I am unable to avail myself of it, for want of the assistance I require to make out the character. Besides the original of Khâfi Khán, I am indebted to the kindness of Major A. Gordon of the Madras establishment, for the use of a manuscript translation made by him of the work of that historian down to near the end of Jehángír's reign. It is much to be regretted that this excellent translation has not been carried on to the end of the history, which comes down to recent times, and affords the only full and connected account of the whole period which it embraces. [The *Tabakát-i Akberí* appears to be the best authority for Akber's reign, after Abú'l Fazl. It has been very well translated by Professor Dowson in his *Hist. of India*, vol. v. pp. 177—476. For an interesting account of the Hindú rájas under the Moghul government, in this and the following reigns, see an article by Mr. Blochmann, in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1871. Mr. Blochmann has also published in the *Bibl. Indica* a new translation of Abú'l Fazl's *Áyíni Akberí*, with valuable historical notes. In vol. i. pp. 308—537, he has compiled a most useful series of biographical notices of the nobles of Akber's court.—Ed.]

some vexatious duties which had survived Akber's reforms, forbidding the bales of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the state should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits, he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment.

He restored the Mahometan confession of faith on his coin, together with most of the forms of that religion. He, however, kept up some of Akber's rules regarding abstinence from meat on particular days. He observed some of his superstitious devotions; he exacted the ceremony of prostration from all who approached him; and although, in his writings, he affects the devout style usual to all Mussulmans, he never acquired, and probably did not seriously pretend to, the character of a religious man. The general impression is, that, though more superstitious, he was less devout, than Akber, and had little feeling of religion even when abstracted from all peculiar tenets. Among his earliest measures was one for affording easy access to complaints, on which he valued himself at least as highly as the efficacy of the invention deserved: a chain was hung from a part of the wall of the citadel, accessible, without difficulty, to all description of people; it communicated with a cluster of golden bells within the emperor's own apartment, and he was immediately apprised by the sound of the appearance of a suitor, and thus rendered independent of any officers inclined to keep back information.

Flight of Prince Khusrou.

The hatred which had so long subsisted between the new emperor and his eldest son was not likely to have been diminished by the events which preceded the accession. Khusrou had ever since remained in a state of sullenness and dejection: and it is by no means probable that Jehángír's treatment of him was such as would be likely to soothe his feelings. His behaviour does not appear to have given rise to any suspicion, until upwards of four months after the accession; when Jehángír was awaked, at midnight, with the intelligence that his son had fled, with a few attendants, and taken the road to Delhi. He immediately despatched a light force in pursuit of him, and followed himself, in the morning, with all the troops he could collect.

A. D. 1606, March; A. H. 1014, Zi Hajj 8.

His rebellion

Khusrou was joined, soon after leaving Agra, by a body of 300 horse, whom he met on their march to the capital. He proceeded by Delhi, subsisting his troops by plunder, and by the time he reached the Panjáb, had collected a body of upwards of 10,000 men. The city of Láhór was betrayed to him, and he was making an ineffectual attempt to reduce the citadel when he was disturbed by the approach of his father's advanced guard. When this was announced to him, he drew his force out of Láhór, and attacked the royal troops; but, although he had the advantage of engaging a detachment, he was unable to offer a successful opposition. He was totally defeated, and, having fled in the direction of Cábul, he was run aground in a boat as he was passing the Hydaspes, and was seized and brought in chains before his father. The whole rebellion did not last above a month.

Quashed.

Barbarous punishment of the rebels.

Khusrou's principal advisers, and many of his common followers, fell into the hands of the emperor, and afforded him an opportunity of displaying all the ferocity of his character. He ordered 700 of the prisoners to be impaled in a line leading from the gate of Láhór; and he expatiates, in his Memoirs, on the long duration of their frightful agonies.[1] To complete his barbarity, he made his son Khusrou be carried along the line on an elephant, while a mace-bearer called out to him, with mock solemnity, to receive the salutations of his servants.[2]

Imprisonment of Khusrou.

The unhappy Khusrou passed three days, in tears and groans, without tasting food;[3] and remained for long after a prey to the deepest melancholy.

Prince Parvíz, the emperor's second son, had been sent, under the guidance of A'saf Khán, against the rána of Oudipúr, very soon after the accession: he was recalled on the flight of Khusrou, but in that short interval he had effected an accommodation with the rána, and now joined his father's camp.

A.D. 1606, March; A.H. 1015, Zi Haj.

In the spring of the next year, Jehángír went to Cábul; and, when at that city, he showed some favour to Khusrou, ordering his chains to be taken off, and allowing him to walk in a garden within the upper citadel. If he had any disposition to carry his forgiveness further, it was checked by a conspiracy, which was detected some time after, to release Khusrou, and to assassinate the emperor.

On his return to Agra, Jehángír sent an army, under

[1] Price's *Memoirs of Jehángír*, p. 88.
[2] Khálí Khán.
[3] *Memoirs of Jehángír*, p. 89. The general account of the rebellion is from Jehángír's *Memoirs*, Khálí Khán, and Gladwin.

Mohábat Khán, against the rána of Oudipúr, with whom the war had been renewed; and another, under the Kháni Khánán, to effect a settlement of the Deckan. Prince Parvíz was afterwards made nominal commander of the latter force: he was too young to exercise any real authority. A.D. 1607, A.H. 1016. Wars in Méwár and in the Deckan.

The only event of importance in the following years was an insurrection at Patna by a man of the lowest order, who assumed the character of Khusrou, and, seizing on the city in consequence of the supineness of the local officers, drew together so many followers, that he engaged the governor of the province in the field, and some time elapsed before he was driven back into Patna, made prisoner, and put to death. Insurrection of a pretended Khusrou. A.D. 1607, to 1610. A.H. 1017, to 1019.

In the end of the year 1610, affairs in the Deckan assumed a serious aspect. After the taking of Ahmednagar, the conduct of the government of the new king fell into the hands of an Abyssinian named Malik Amber. This minister founded a new capital on the site of the present Aurangábád; and maintained, for a long series of years, the apparently sinking fortunes of the Nizám Sháhí government. His talents were not confined to war: he introduced a new revenue system into the Deckan, perhaps in imitation of Tódar Mal; and it has given his name an universal celebrity in the Deckan equal to that enjoyed in Hindostan by the other great financier.[4] Malik Amber profited by some dissensions which fell out between the Kháni Khánán and the other generals; and prosecuted his advantages with such success that he repeatedly defeated the Mogul troops, retook Ahmednagar, and compelled the Kháni Khánán himself to retire to Burhánpúr. In these circumstances, Jehángír recalled his general, and conferred the command on Khán Jehán. Ill success of the war in the Deckan. Malik Amber. He recovers Ahmednagar.

It was in the sixth year of his reign that Jehángír contracted a marriage with the celebrated Núr Jehán, an event which influenced all the succeeding transactions of his life. A.D. 1611, A.H. 1020. Marriage of the emperor with Núr Jehán.

The grandfather of this lady was a native of Teherán, in Persia, and held a high civil office under the government of that country. His son, Mírzá Ghiyás, was reduced to poverty, and determined to seek for a maintenance by emigrating, with his wife, and a family consisting of two sons and a daughter, to India. He was pursued by misfortune even in this attempt; and by the time the caravan with which he travelled Her history.

[4] Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*, vol. i. p. 95.

reached Candahár, he was reduced to circumstances of great distress. Immediately on his arrival in that city his wife was delivered of Núr Jehán; and into so abject a condition had they fallen, that the parents were unable to provide for the conveyance of their infant, or to maintain the mother so as to admit of her giving it support. The future empress was therefore exposed on the road by which the caravan was next morning to proceed. She was observed by a principal merchant of the party, who felt compassion for her situation, and was struck with her beauty; he took her up, and resolved to educate her as his own.

As a woman in a situation to act as a nurse was not easy to be found in a caravan, it is a matter of no surprise that her own mother should have been the person employed in that capacity; and the merchant's attention being thus drawn to the distresses of the family, he relieved their immediate wants; and perceiving the father and his eldest son to be men much above their present condition, he employed them in matters connected with his business, and became much interested in their fate. By his means they were introduced to Akber; and, being placed in some subordinate employments, they soon rose by their own abilities.

In the meantime Núr Jehán grew up, and began to excite admiration by her beauty and elegance. She often accompanied her mother, who had free access to the harem of Akber, and there attracted the notice of Jehángír, then Prince Selím. His behaviour gave so much uneasiness to her mother, as to induce her to speak of it to the princess whom she was visiting. Through her, the case was laid before Akber, who remonstrated with his son; and, at the same time, recommended that Núr Jehán should be married, and removed from the prince's sight. She was bestowed on Shír Afgan Khán, a young Persian lately come into the service, and to him Akber gave a jágír in Bengal.[*]

But these means were not sufficient to efface the impression made on Jehángír; and, after he had been about a year on the throne, he took the opportunity of his foster-brother Kutb ud dín's going as viceroy of Bengal to charge him to procure for him the possession of the object of his passion.

It was probably expected that all opposition from the husband would be prevented by influence and promises; but Shír Afgan had a higher sense of honour, and no sooner suspected the designs that were entertained, than he resigned his com-

[*] [He was appointed governor of Bardwán.—Ed.]

mand, and left off wearing arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service.

The further progress of the affair does not appear: it must have been such as to alarm Shír Afgan; for the viceroy having taken occasion to visit the part of the province where he resided, and having sent to invite his attendance, he went to pay his visit with a dagger concealed in his dress. An interview begun in such a spirit might be expected to close in blood. Shír Afgan, insulted by the proposals, and enraged at the threats of the viceroy, took his revenge with his dagger, and was himself immediately dispatched by the attendants.

The murder of the viceroy, which was ascribed to a treasonable conspiracy, gave a colour to all proceedings against the family of the assassin.[6] Núr Jehán was seized, and sent as a prisoner to Delhi. Jehángír soon after offered her marriage, and applied all his address to soothe and conciliate her; but Núr Jehán was a high-spirited as well as an artful woman, and it is not improbable that she was sincere in her rejection of all overtures from one whom she looked on as the murderer of her husband. Her repugnance was so strongly displayed as to disgust Jehángír. He at length placed her among the attendants on his mother, and appeared to have entirely dismissed her from his thoughts.

His passion, however, was afterwards revived; and reflection having led his mistress to think more favourably of his offers, their marriage was celebrated with great pomp; and Núr Jehán was raised to honours such as had never before been enjoyed by the consort of any king in India.[6] From this period her ascendancy knew no bounds: her father was made prime minister; her brother was placed in a high station. The emperor took no step without consulting her; and, on every affair in which she took an interest, her will was law. Though her sway produced bad consequences in the end, it was beneficial on the whole. Her father was a wise and upright minister; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that so great an improvement took place in the conduct of Jehángír after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical, but he was no longer guilty of such barbarous cruelties as before; and although he still carried his excess in wine to the lowest stage of inebriety, yet it was at night, and in his private apartments.[7] In the

Her influence.

[6] Among other marks of sovereignty her name was put on the coin along with the emperor's. [See *Marsden*, p. 635.]

[7] [Marsden gives (p. 607,) a "bacchа-

occupations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects, he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breaches of decorum. Núr Jehán's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty; it was exerted in matters proper to her sex, as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She contrived improvements in the furniture of apartments; introduced female dresses more becoming than any in use before her time; and it is a question in India whether it is to her or her mother that they owe the invention of ottar of roses.[8] One of the accomplishments by which she captivated Jehángír is said to have been her facility in composing extempore verses.

A.D. 1612, A.H. 1021. It was not long after the time of this marriage that the disturbances in Bengal were put an end to by the defeat and death of Osmán. The satisfaction derived from this event was more than counterbalanced by the ill-success of the war in the Deckan. Jehángír had determined to make up for the langour of his former operations by a combined attack from all the neighbouring provinces. Abdullah Khán, viceroy of Guzerát, was to invade Malik Amber's territory from that province at the same moment that the armies under Prince Parvíz and Khán Jehán Lódí, reinforced by Rája Mán Sing, were to advance from Khándésh and Berár. But this well-concerted plan entirely failed in the execution. Abdullah Khán advanced prematurely from Guzerát, and Malik Amber did not lose a moment in profiting by his mistake. His mode of war was much the same as that of the modern Marattas. Owing to the neighbourhood of the European ports, his artillery was superior to that of the emperor, and afforded a rallying point on which he could always collect his army; but his active means of offence were his light cavalry. He intercepted the supplies and harassed the march of the Moguls; he hovered round their army when halted; alarmed them with false attacks; and often made real incursions into different parts of the encampment, carrying off much booty, and keeping up continual disorder and trepidation. Abdullah

Combined attack on Ahmednagar.

Defeated by Malik Amber.

nalian coin" dated A.H. 1023, representing the Sultan as raising a cup in his hand.—Ed.]

[8] Great improvements must have taken place in later times; for Khafí Khán mentions that the same quantity of ottar (one tóla) which he remembers selling in the beginning of Aurangzíb's reign for eighty rupees, was to be had, when he wrote, for seven or eight.

Khán was so completely worn out by this sort of warfare, that he soon determined to retire. The consequences of a retreat before such an enemy were easy to be foreseen; all his evils multiplied upon him from the day that it commenced; his rear-guard was cut to pieces; and his march had nearly become a flight before he found refuge in the hills and jungles of Baglána, whence he proceeded without molestation into Guzerát. The other armies had by this time taken the field; but seeing Malik Amber, on his return, flushed with success over their colleague, they thought it prudent to avoid a similar calamity, and concentrated at Burhánpúr. A.D. 1612, A.H. 1021.

Jehángír's arms were attended with better fortune in his war with the rána of Oudipúr; and his success was the more welcome, as the fruit of the abilities of his favourite son. Mohábat Khán, when first sent on that service, had gained a victory over the rána, but was unable to do anything decisive from the strength of the country into which he, as usual, retreated. The same fortune attended Abdullah Khán, afterwards appointed to succeed Mohábat; but Prince Khurram (Sháh Jehán),[9] who was now sent with an army of 20,000 men, evinced so much spirit in his attack on the Rájpút troops, and so much perseverance in bearing up against the strength of the country and the unhealthiness of the climate, that the rána was at last induced to sue for peace; and his offer being readily accepted, he waited on Sháh Jehán in person, made offerings in token of submission, and sent his son to accompany the prince to Delhi. Sháh Jehán, on this occasion, did not forget the policy of Akber. The moment the rána's homage was paid, he raised him in his arms, seated him by his side, and treated him with every form of respect and attention. All the country conquered from him since the invasion of Akber was restored; and his son, after an honourable reception from Jehángír, was raised to a high rank among the military chiefs of the empire. War with Méwár. Victories and moderation of Sháh Jehán (Prince Khurram). The rána submits on honourable terms. A.D. 1614, A.H. 1023.

The merit of this campaign belonged exclusively to Sháh Jehán; for Azíz, who had been sent to assist him, had behaved to him with so much arrogance that Jehángír was soon obliged to remove him, and commit him for a time to confinement.

[9] The name of this prince was Khurram, and he bore no other at the commencement of his father's reign; but as he received the title of Sháh Jehán long before his own accession, it will prevent confusion to give him that name from the first.

Influence of Sháh Jehán.

Supported by Núr Jehán.

This exploit raised Sháh Jehán's credit to the highest pitch; and as he had lately married the niece of Núr Jehán, he was supported by her powerful influence, and was generally looked on as the chosen successor to the empire.

During these events Rája Mán Sing died in the Deckan. A rebellion of the Roshenîyas, which broke out in 1611, and in which the city of Cábul had been exposed to danger, was now terminated by the death of Ahdád, the grandson and spiritual successor of Báyazíd. Abdullah Khán, viceroy of Guzerát, having incurred the king's displeasure, by oppressions in the province, and by the indignity with which he treated the royal news-writer, was ordered to be seized and sent to the capital. He anticipated the order by setting off on foot, with his troops and attendants following at a great distance. He came to court barefooted and in chains, and threw himself at the king's feet; but was pardoned, and not long after restored to favour at the intercession of Sháh Jehán.

Insurrection in Cábul quelled.

It was not long after the return of Sháh Jehán that Sir T. Roe arrived at the court, as ambassador from King James I.[10] His accounts enable us to judge of the state of India under Jehángír.

Embassy of Sir T. Roe.

The seaports and the customs were full of gross abuses, the governor seizing on goods at arbitrary prices. Even Roe, though otherwise treated with hospitality and respect, had his baggage searched and some articles taken by the governor.[11] His journey from Surat, by Burhánpúr and Chítór, to Ajmír, lay through the Deckan, where war was raging, and the rána's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or alarm, except from mountaineers, who then, as now, rendered the roads unsafe in times of trouble.

His account of the empire, court, and character of Jehángír.

The Deckan bore strong marks of devastation and neglect. Burhánpúr, which had before, as it has since, been a fine city, contained only four or five good houses amidst a collection of mud huts; and the court of Parvíz, held in that town, had no pretensions to splendour.

[10] He arrived at Ajmír on December 23, 1615, accompanied the king to Mandú and Guzerát, and left him in the end of 1618.

[11] It must, however, be observed, that this governor, Zulfikár Khán, was very inimical to the English, and had lately concluded an agreement with the Portuguese, by which he engaged to exclude English vessels from his ports. The agreement was not ratified by the emperor; and Zúlfikár was constrained, by his duty to his own government, to maintain outward appearances towards a foreign ambassador. (*Orme*, vol. iii. p. 361, etc.)

In other places he was struck with the decay and desertion of some towns, contrasted with the prosperity of others. The former were, in some instances at least, deserted capitals;[12] and their decline affords no argument against the general prosperity.

The administration of the country had rapidly declined since Akber's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors exacters and tyrannical.

Though a judicious and sober writer, Roe is profuse in his praise of the magnificence of the court; and he speaks in high terms of the courtesy of the nobility, and of the order and elegance of the entertainments they gave to him. His reception, indeed, was in all respects most hospitable, though the very moderate scale of his presents and retinue was not likely to conciliate a welcome where state was so generally maintained. He was excused from all humiliating ceremonials, was allowed to take the highest place in the court on public occasions, and was continually admitted into familiar intercourse with the emperor himself.

The scenes he witnessed at his private interviews form a curious contrast to the grandeur with which the Mogul was surrounded. He sat on a low throne all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies; and had a great display of gold plate, vases, and goblets, set with jewels. The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them remaining sober except Sir Thomas and a few other grave personages, who were cautious in their indulgence. Jehángír himself never left off till he dropped asleep, when the lights were extinguished and the company withdrew. On these occasions he was overflowing with kindness, which increased with the effects of the wine: and once, after talking with great liberality of all religions, "he fell to weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight."

But he did not retain these sociable feelings in the morning. On one occasion, when a courtier indiscreetly alluded in public to a debauch of the night before, Jehángír affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. He always observed great strictness in public, and never admitted a person into his presence who, from his

[12] Such were Mandú and Tódah, of both of which he speaks in the highest terms of admiration. Mandú, the former capital of Málwa, is still generally known; but Tódah (the capital of a Rájpút prince in the province of Ajmír) enjoys no such celebrity.

breath or otherwise, gave any signs of having been drinking wine. His reserve, however, was of little use: like great men at present, he was surrounded by news-writers; and his most secret proceedings, and even the most minute actions of his life, were known to every man in the capital within a few hours after they took place.

Notwithstanding the case above mentioned, and some other instances of inhumanity, Roe seems to consider Jehángír as neither wanting in good feelings nor good sense; although his claim to the latter quality is somewhat impaired by some weaknesses which Sir Thomas himself relates. In one case he seized on a convoy coming to the ambassador from Surat, and consisting of presents intended for himself and his court, together with the property of some merchants who took advantage of the escort; he rummaged the packages himself with childish curiosity; and had recourse to the meanest apologies to appease and cajole Roe, who was much provoked at this disregard of common honesty.

Though Roe speaks highly in some respects of particular great men, he represents the class as unprincipled, and all open to corruption. The treaty he had to negotiate hung on for upwards of two years, until he bribed A'saf Khán with a valuable pearl; after which all went on well and smoothly. Both Roe and other contemporary travellers represent the military spirit as already much declined, and speak of the Rájpúts and Patáns as the only brave soldiers to be found.[13]

The manual arts were in a high state, and were not confined to those peculiar to the country. One of Sir T. Roe's presents was a coach, and within a very short period several others were constructed, very superior in materials, and fully equal in workmanship. Sir Thomas also gave a picture to the Mogul, and was soon after presented with several copies, among which he had great difficulty in distinguishing the original.[14] There was a great influx of Europeans, and considerable encouragement to their religion. Jehángír had figures of Christ and the Virgin at the head of his rosary; and two of his nephews embraced Christianity, with his full approbation.[15]

The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindostáni; and Hawkins, who only knew Turkish, found the emperor himself and the Kháni Kháńán well versed in that tongue.

[13] Roe. Terry. Hawkins.

[14] Among the articles he recommends for presents, are historical paintings, nightpieces, and landscapes: "but good, for they understand them as well as we."

[15] Roe. Hawkins. Terry. Coryat.

No subject seems to have excited more interest, both in the ambassador and the court, than the fate of Prince Khusrou. All his bad qualities were forgotten in his misfortunes; he was supposed to be endowed with every virtue; the greatest joy prevailed when any sign appeared of his restoration to favour, and corresponding indignation when he fell into the power of his enemies. Even the king was supposed to be attached to him, though wrought on by the influence of Sháh Jehán and the arts of A'saf Khán and Núr Jehán.[16] Khusrou's exclusion was not the more popular for its being in favour of Sháh Jehán; who, according to Sir T. Roe, was "flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none." Roe himself represents him as a bigot and a tyrant; but as his conduct shows nothing but ability and correctness, it is probable that he owed his unpopularity to his cold and haughty manners; the ambassador himself remarking that he never saw so settled a countenance, or any man keep so constant a gravity—never smiling, nor by his looks showing any respect or distinction of persons, but entire pride and contempt for all. Yet the prince could not at that time have been older than twenty-five.

Prince Khusrou.

Unpopularity of Sháh Jehán.

Sháh Jehán might have expected to find a formidable rival in Parvíz, his elder brother; but that prince, though sometimes an object of jealousy to him, could offer no really formidable opposition to the superior abilities of Sháh Jehán, supported by the influence of the empress.

Prince Parvíz.

A final blow was given to any hopes that Parvíz may have entertained, by the elevation of his brother to the title of king,[17] on his undertaking a great expedition against the Deckan. He was invested with ample powers on this occasion; and Jehángír himself moved to Mandú, to be at hand to support him in case of need.

Sháh Jehán declared heir-apparent.

Sent to settle the Deckan.

The emperor moves to Mandú. A.D. 1616, October; A.H. 1025, Zí hajja.

Roe accompanied the emperor on his march; and his account of the movement of the army forms a striking contrast to the good order and discipline he had hitherto admired. The court and camp, while halted, were as regular as ever, but the demand for carriage cattle created a general scramble and confusion. The Persian ambassador and Roe were left for some days at Ajmír, from the

Sir T. Roe's description of his march.

[16] Sir T. Roe once met Khusrou, while moving in loose custody, along with the army. He stopped under the shade of a tree during the heat, and sent for Sir Thomas, who was near. His person was comely, his countenance cheerful, and his beard was grown down to his girdle. He knew nothing of what was passing, and had not heard either of the English or their ambassador.

[17] From this time some writers call him Sháh Khurram, and others Sháh Jehán.

want of conveyance for their baggage; and the tents of the soldiers and followers were set fire to, to compel them to proceed, though ill provided. When actually in motion, the same want of arrangement was felt: sometimes there was a deficiency of water; and sometimes, in long and difficult marches through woods and mountains, the road was scattered with coaches, carts, and camels, unable to proceed to the stage.[18]

Complete success of Sháh Jehán.

The state of affairs in the Deckan was very favourable to Sháh Jehán. The ascendancy of a private person, like Malik Amber, led to jealousy among his confederates, and even his own officers. In consequence of these dissensions, he had suffered a defeat, which produced still further discouragement among the allies; so that when Sháh Jehán entered the Deckan, he found little difficulty in detaching the king of Bíjápúr from the confederacy; and Amber, seeing himself entirely deserted, was likewise compelled to make submission on the part of his nominal sovereign, Nizám Sháh, and to restore the fort of Ahmednagar and all the other territory which he had reconquered from the Moguls.

A.D. 1617, March; A.H. 1026, Rabí ul awwal.

After this glorious termination of the war, Sháh Jehán returned to Mandú, and joined his father, within a twelvemonth of the time when they had marched from Ajmír.

A.D 1617, September; A.H. 1026, Shawwál.

Residence of the emperor and Shah Jehán in Guzerat.

Jehángír took this occasion to visit the province of Guzerát; he remained there for near a year, and added the vice-royalty of that province to the governments previously held by Sháh Jehán.

A H 1027, Ramzan.

He quitted Guzerát in September 1618; and the next two years are marked by no events, except an insurrection in the Panjáb; the capture of the fort of Kángra or Nagarcót, under the mountains; and a journey of the emperor to Cashmír.

Renewal of the disturbances in the Deckan A D 1621, A H 1030

While in that valley, he received intelligence of a renewal of the war in the Deckan. It seems to have been begun without provocation, by Malik Amber, who probably was tempted by some negligence on the other side; for he had little difficulty in taking possession of the open country, and driving the Mogul commanders into Burhánpúr, from whence they sent most earnest entreaties for help from Jehángír. Sháh Jehán was again ordered to

Shah Jehan marches to quell them

[18] "In following the Mogul's court," says Roe, "I encountered all the inconveniences that men are subject to under an ill government and an intemperate climate."

march with a powerful army, and great treasures were collected to supply him after he reached the frontier. From some rising distrust in his mind, he refused to march, unless his brother, Prince Khusrou, were made over to his custody, and allowed to go with him to the Deckan. Being gratified in this respect, he entered on the service with his usual ability. Before he reached Málwa, a detachment of Malik Amber's had crossed the Nerbadda, and burned the suburbs of Mandú; but they were driven back as the prince advanced, and he, in turn, crossed the Nerbadda, and began offensive operations. Malik Amber had recourse to his usual mode of war—cut off supplies and detachments, hung upon the line of march, and attempted, by long and rapid marches, to surprise the camp. He found Sháh Jehán always on his guard, was at last compelled to risk the fate of the campaign in a general action, and was defeated with considerable loss.

His success in the field.

But although Sháh Jehán had a clear superiority in the field, he still found a serious obstruction in the exhausted state of the country. It was therefore with great satisfaction that he received overtures from Amber, offering a further cession, and agreeing to pay a sum of money.

He comes to terms with Malik Amber.

Not long after this success, Jehángír was seized with a violent attack of asthma, a complaint from which he suffered severely during the rest of his life. He was for some time in such imminent danger, as to lead to expectations of an immediate vacancy of the throne.

Dangerous illness of the emperor.

Parvíz hastened to court, but was sent back to his government with a reprimand; and though Sháh Jehán had not time to take such a step before he heard of his father's recovery, yet the sudden death of Prince Khusrou, which happened at this juncture, was so opportune, that it brought the strongest suspicions of violence against the rival to whose custody he had been entrusted. We ought not, however, too readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye.

Measures of Parvíz and Shah Jehan. A.D. 1621, about Sept.; A.H. 1030

Suspicious death of Khusrou

This event, which seemed to complete the security of Sháh Jehán's succession, was, in reality, the cause of a series of dangers and disasters that nearly ended in his ruin. Up to this period, his own influence had been strengthened by the all-powerful support of Núr Jehán; but about the time of his departure for the Deckan, that princess had affianced her daughter by Shír Afgan to Prince Shehriyár,

Alienation of the empress from Shah Jehan.

the youngest son of Jehángír,[19] a connexion of itself sufficient to undermine her exclusive attachment to the party of her more distant relative. But her views were further changed by a consideration of the impossibility of her gaining an ascendancy, such as she now possessed, over an active and intelligent prince like Sháh Jehán. During her father's lifetime she had been kept within bounds of moderation by his prudent counsels: after his death, which happened about this time, she exercised her dominion over the emperor without the least control; her brother, A'saf Khán (to whose daughter Sháh Jehán was married), being a mere instrument of her will. Unwilling to relinquish such unlimited power, she determined by all means to oppose the succession of Sháh Jehán; and, warned by the death of Khusrou, and the danger of Jehángír, she saw that she had not a moment to lose in cutting off the resources which might at any time enable the prince to overcome her opposition.

Candahár taken by the Persians. A.D. 1621. A.H. 1031.

An opportunity was not long wanting of pursuing this design. Candahár having been taken by the Persians, it was pointed out as an enterprise worthy of the conqueror of the Deckan, to recover that ancient possession.

Sháh Jehán ordered to retake it.

Sháh Jehán at first gave in to the project, and advanced as far as Mandú, on his way to the north; but perceiving, before long, that the object was to remove him from the country where his influence was established, and engage him in a remote and difficult command, he put off his further march, on pretext of the season and the state of his troops, and began to stipulate for some securities to be given to him before he should venture to move out of India.

His reluctance to leave India.

These demands were represented to Jehángír as arising from a project of independence; and Sháh Jehán was directed, in reply, to send the greater part of his army to the capital, in order that it might accompany Shehriyár, to whom the recovery of Candahár was to be committed.

The entire power committed to Prince Shehriyár, to whom most of Sháh Jehán's troops are transferred.

Orders were also sent direct to the principal officers, to leave Sháh Jehán's camp and repair to that of Shehriyár. This drew a remonstrance from Sháh Jehán, who now desired to be allowed to wait on his father, while the other as peremptorily ordered him to return to the Deckan. The jágírs which Sháh Jehán held in Hindostan were transferred to Shehriyár during these discussions; and Sháh Jehán, who had not been consulted in the

[19] Khafí Khán.

arrangement, was desired to select an equivalent in the Decka and Guzerát. As things drew towards a crisis, Núr Jehán, distrusting both the military talents of her brother and his zeal in her present cause, cast her eyes on Mohábat Khán, the most rising general of the time, but hitherto the particular enemy of A'saf Khán. He was accordingly summoned to court from his government of Cábul, and was treated with every mark of favour and confidence.

Mohábat Khán called to court by the empress

Jehángír, who had been again in Cashmír, returned on the commencement of these discussions, and fixed his court at Láhór, to be at hand in case his presence should be required.

A.D. 1622, about Oct.; A.H. 1031.

In the meantime messages passed between Sháh Jehán and the emperor, but with so little effect in producing a reconciliation, that Jehángír put several persons to death on suspicion of a plot with his son; and Sháh Jehán, finding that his fate was sealed, marched from Mandú with his army towards Agra. Jehángír, on this, marched from Láhór, and, passing through the capital, arrived within twenty miles of the rebel army, lying at Beloóchpúr, forty miles south of Delhi. Sháh Jehán retired into the neighbouring hills of Mewát, and disposed his troops so as to shut the passes against a force which the emperor detached in quest of him. A partial and indecisive action took place, and is said to have been followed by negotiations. The result was, that Sháh Jehán determined to retire, and set out on his march for Mandú.

Increased distrust between the emperor and Shah Jehán.

Rebellion of Shah Jehán.

Advance of the emperor. A.D. 1623, February; A.H. 1032

Retreat of Shah Jehan

It does not appear what induced him to adopt this step: it was attended with all the consequences usual with attempts to recede in civil wars. Jehángír advanced in person to Ajmír, and sent on a strong force, under Prince Parvíz and Mohábat Khán, to follow up the retiring rebels. Rustam Khán, whom Sháh Jehán had left to defend the hills on the Chambal, deserted to the enemy; the province of Guzerát expelled his governor, and he was himself compelled, by the advance of the imperial army, to cross the Nerbadda and retire to Burhánpúr. Nor was he long permitted to remain there in tranquillity; for Mohábat Khán, having blinded him by some delusive negotiations, crossed the Nerbadda, and was joined by the Kháni Khánán, who till this time had been attached to Sháh Jehán. The rains were at their height when Sháh Jehán commenced his retreat into Télingána, and a great part of his forces had deserted him

Its consequences

Sháh Jehán retreats into Telingana.

before he directed his course to Masulipatam, with the intention of making his way to Bengal. He accomplished this long and arduous march by the early part of the succeeding year, and met with no opposition in Bengal, until he reached Rájmahal, where the governor of the province engaged him, and was defeated in a pitched battle. By this victory, Sháh Jehán obtained possession of Bengal, and was enabled to seize on Behár, and to send on a detachment under Bhím Sing, the brother of the rána of Oudipúr, to endeavour to secure the fort of Allahábád.

Makes his way to Bengal. A.D. 1624, A.H. 1033.

Obtains possession of Bengal and Behar.

In the meantime Prince Parvíz and Mohábat Khán, after chasing Sháh Jehán from the Deckan, had cantoned for the rainy season at Burhánpúr. On hearing of his arrival and rapid progress in Bengal, they put themselves in motion in the direction of Allahábád. Sháh Jehán crossed the Ganges to meet them; but the people of the country, who were not inclined to enter on opposition to the emperor, refused to bring in supplies to his camp, or to assist in keeping up his communications by means of the boats on the Ganges. The discouragement and privations which were the consequence of this state of things, led to the desertion of the new levies which Sháh Jehán had raised in Bengal; and when, at last, he came to an action with his opponents, he was easily overpowered, his army dispersed, and himself constrained once more to seek for refuge in the Deckan.

He is pursued by Prince Parvíz and Mohábat Khan.

Is defeated, and flies to the Deckan.

State of the Deckan.

Affairs in that quarter were favourable to his views. During his first flight to the Deckan the king of Bíjápúr and Malik Amber had both remained steady to their engagement with Jehángír; and the king of Golcónda had shown no disposition to assist him during his retreat through Télingána. Since that time the Moguls had taken part on the side of the king of Bíjápúr, in a dispute between him and Malik Amber; and the latter chief retaliated by invading the Mogul dominions, and carrying his ravages to the neighbourhood of Burhánpúr. He was therefore prepared to receive Sháh Jehán with open arms, and wrote to press him to undertake the siege of Burhánpúr. Sháh Jehán complied, and commenced his operations. The place made an obstinate defence; and, in the end, the return of Parvíz and Mohábat to the Nerbadda obliged him to raise the siege and attend to his own safety. His adherents now deserted him in greater numbers than before; and, being dispirited by ill-health as well as adverse fortune, he

Shah Jehán unites with Malik Amber

Pressed by Parvíz and Mohábat Khan.

Deserted by his army

wrote to beg his father's forgiveness, and to express his readiness to submit to his commands. Jehángír directed him to give up the forts of Róhtás in Behár, and Asírghar in the Deckan, both of which were still in his possession, and to send two of his sons, Dárá Shukóh and Aurangzíb, to court, as hostages for his good behaviour. These demands were complied with; but we are prevented judging of the treatment designed for Sháh Jehán by an event which, for a time, threw the whole empire into confusion.

Offers his submission to the emperor. A.D. 1625, A.H. 1034.

After the first retreat of Sháh Jehán to the Deckan, Jehángír returned from Ajmír to Delhi; and, believing all serious danger to his government to be at an end, he went on his usual expedition to Cashmír, and repeated it in the following year. On the third year he was induced, by a new revolt of the Roshenís, to change his destination for Cábul; and although he soon heard of the suppression of the rebellion, and received the head of Ahmed, the son of Ahdád, who was the leader of it, he made no change in his determination.

The emperor marches against the Roshenís in Cábul.

But he was not destined to accomplish this journey in tranquillity; for no sooner was Sháh Jehán reduced to submission, than the domineering spirit of Núr Jehán proceeded to raise up new enemies. Mohábat Khán was the son of Ghór Bég, a native of Cábul.[20] He had attained the rank of a commander of 500 under Akber, and was raised to the highest dignities and employments by Jehángír. He had long enjoyed a high place in the opinion of the people,[21] and might now be considered as the most eminent of all the emperor's subjects. This circumstance alone might have been sufficient to excite the jealousy of Núr Jehán. It is probable, however, that she also distrusted Mohábat for his old enmity to her brother, and his recent connexion with Parvíz.

Persecution of Mohabat Khan by the empress.

His history.

Whatever might be the motive, he was now summoned to court, to answer charges of oppression and embezzlement during the time of his occupation of Bengal. He at first made excuses for not attending, and was supported by Parvíz; but, finding that his appearance was insisted on, he set out on his journey, accompanied by a body of 5,000 Rájpúts, whom he had contrived to attach to his service.

He is summoned to court.

Before his arrival, he betrothed his daughter to a young

[20] Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 30.

[21] Sir T. Roe, in A.D. 1616, says of him, that he is a noble and generous man, well-beloved by all men, and the king's only favourite, but cares not for the prince (Sháh Jehán).

nobleman, named Berkhordár, without first asking the emperor's leave, as was usual with persons of his high rank. Jehángír was enraged at this apparent defiance: he sent for Berkhordár, and, in one of those fits of brutality which still broke out, he ordered him to be stripped naked and beaten with thorns in his own presence; and then seized on the dowry he had received from Mohábat, and sequestrated all his other property.

Brutal treatment of his son-in-law by the emperor.

When Mohábat himself approached the camp, he was informed that he would not be admitted to the emperor's presence; and, perceiving that his ruin was predetermined, he resolved not to wait till he should be separated from his troops, but to strike a blow, the very audacity of which should go far to insure its success.

Jehángír was at this time encamped on the Hydaspes; and was preparing to cross it, by a bridge of boats, on his way to Cábul. He sent the army across the river in the first instance, intending to follow at his leisure, when the crowd and confusion should be over. The whole of the troops had passed, and the emperor remained with his personal guards and attendants, when Mohábat, getting his men under arms a little before daybreak, sent a detachment of 2,000 men to seize the bridge, and moved himself, with all speed, to the spot where the emperor was encamped. The place was quickly surrounded by his troops; while he himself, at the head of a chosen body of 200 men, pushed straight for the emperor's tent. The attendants were overthrown and dispersed before they were aware of the nature of the attack; and Jehángír, who was not quite recovered from the effects of his last night's debauch, was awakened by the rush of armed men around his bed: he started up, seized his sword, and, after staring wildly round, he perceived what had befallen him, and exclaimed, "Ah! Mohábat Khán! traitor! what is this?" Mohábat Khán replied by prostrating himself on the ground, and lamenting that the persecution of his enemies had forced him to have recourse to violence to obtain access to his master. Jehángír at first could scarcely restrain his indignation; but observing, amidst all Mohábat's humility, that he was not disposed to be trifled with, he gradually accommodated himself to his circumstances, and endeavoured to conciliate his captor. Mohábat now suggested to him that, as it was near his usual time of mounting, it was desirable that he should show himself in public to remove alarm, and check

Mohábat seizes on the emperor's person. A.D. 1626, March; A.H. 1035, Jemadá' 2.

the misrepresentations of the ill-disposed. Jehángír assented, and endeavoured to withdraw, on pretence of dressing, to his female apartments, where he hoped to have an opportunity of consulting with Núr Jehán: being prevented from executing this design, he prepared himself where he was, and at first mounted a horse of his own in the midst of the Rájpúts, who received him with respectful obeisances; but Mohábat, reflecting that he would be in safer custody, as well as more conspicuous, on an elephant whose driver could be depended on, urged him to adopt that mode of conveyance, and placed him on one of those animals with two armed Rájpúts by his side. At this moment, the chief elephant-driver, attempting to force his way through the Rájpúts, and to seat the emperor on an elephant of his own, was despatched on a sign from Mohábat. One of Jehángír's personal attendants who reached the elephant, not without a wound, was allowed to mount with his master; and the same permission was given to the servant who was intrusted with the bottle and goblet, so essential to Jehángír's existence.

These examples of the consequences of resistance had their full effect on the emperor, and he proceeded very tractably to the tents of Mohábat Khán.

Meanwhile Núr Jehán, though dismayed at this unexpected calamity, did not lose her presence of mind. When she found all access cut off to the emperor, she immediately put on a disguise, and set out for the bridge in a litter of the most ordinary description. As the guards were ordered to let every one pass, but permit no one to return, she crossed the river without obstruction, and was soon safe in the midst of the royal camp. She immediately sent for her brother and the principal chiefs, and bitterly reproached them with their cowardice and neglect, in allowing their sovereign to be made a prisoner before their eyes. She did not confine herself to invectives, but made immediate preparations to rescue her husband by force; and although Jehángír, probably in real apprehension of what might happen to himself in the confusion, sent a messenger with his signet to entreat that no attack might be made, she treated the message as a trick of Mohábat's, and only suspended her proceedings until she could ascertain the real position of the enemy's camp, and the part of it inhabited by the emperor. During the night, a nobleman named Fedáí Khán made an attempt to carry off Jehángír, by swimming the river at the head of a small body of horse: his approach was

Spirited conduct of Núr Jehán.

discovered, and it was with difficulty he effected his escape, after losing several of his companions killed and drowned in the river.

Next morning the whole army moved down to the attack. It was headed by Núr Jehán herself, who appeared on the howdah of a high elephant, with a bow and two quivers of arrows. The bridge had been burnt by the Rájpúts, and the army began to cross by a ford which they had discovered lower down the river. It was a narrow shoal between deep water, and full of dangerous pools, so that the passage was not effected without the utmost disorder: many were obliged to swim, and all landed with their powder wetted, weighed down with their drenched clothes and armour, and obliged to engage hand-to-hand before they could make good their footing on the beach. Núr Jehán was among the foremost, on her elephant, with her brother and some of the principal chiefs around her: she with difficulty effected a landing, but found it impossible to make any impression on the enemy. The Rájpúts had the advantage of the ground: they poured down showers of balls, arrows, and rockets on the troops in the ford; and, rushing down on those who were landing, drove them back into the water, sword in hand.

She attacks Mohábat's camp.

A scene of universal tumult and confusion ensued: the ford was choked with horses and elephants; some fell, and were trampled under foot; others sank in the pools, and were unable to regain the shoal; and numbers plunged into the river, and ran the chance of making good their passage, or being swept away by the stream. The most furious assault was directed on Núr Jehán: her elephant was surrounded by a crowd of Rájpúts; her guards were overpowered and cut down at its feet; balls and arrows fell thick round her howdah: and one of the latter wounded the infant daughter of Shehriyár, who was seated in her lap. At length her driver was killed; and her elephant, having received a cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and soon sank in deep water, and was carried down by the stream: after several plunges, he swam out and reached the shore, when Núr Jehán was surrounded by her women, who came shrieking and lamenting, and found her howdah stained with blood, and herself busy in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the infant. Fedáí Khán had made another attempt, during the confusion of the battle, to enter the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and had penetrated so far that his balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehángír was seated; but the general

Is repulsed with heavy loss.

repulse forced him also to retire. He effected his retreat, wounded and with the loss of many of his men; and immediately retired to the neighbouring fort of Róhtás, of which he was the governor.

Núr Jehán now saw that there was no hope of rescuing her husband by force; and she determined to join him in his captivity, and trust to fortune and her own arts for effecting his deliverance. She joins the emperor in his confinement.

Mohábat Khán, after his success at the Hydaspes, advanced to Attok, where A'saf Khán had retired. His authority was now so well established that it was recognised by most of the army; and A'saf Khán, and such leaders as attempted to hold out, were obliged in the end to give themselves up as prisoners. But the security and even the extent of Mohábat's power was far from being so great as it appeared. His haughty and violent behaviour to those who had been opposed to him took deep root in their breasts; the ascendancy of the Rájpúts was offensive to the other troops; and, as the provinces were still faithful to the emperor, and two of his sons at large, Mohábat was obliged to use great management in his treatment of his prisoner, and to effect his objects by persuasion rather than by force or fear. Jehángír, tutored by Núr Jehán, took full advantage of the circumstances in which he was placed; he affected to enter into Mohábat's views with his usual facility; expressed himself pleased to be delivered from the thraldom in which he had been kept by A'saf Khán; and even carried his duplicity so far as to warn Mohábat that he must not think Núr Jehán was as well disposed to him as he was himself, and to put him on his guard against little plots that were occasionally formed for thwarting his measures. Mohábat was completely blinded by these artifices, and, thinking himself sure of the emperor, he gave less heed to the designs of others. Insecurity of Mohabat's power. Artifices of the emperor.

During these proceedings the army advanced to Cábul; the neighbourhood of the Afgháns made it necessary to increase the king's guard, and Núr Jehán seized the opportunity of getting persons in her interest to offer their services in such a way as to avoid suspicion. Jehángír was allowed, at this time, to go out to shoot on an elephant, always surrounded by Rájpúts, and with one in particular, who stuck to him like his shadow, and never for a moment let him out of his sight. On one of these occasions an affray took place between the Rájpúts with the emperor and some of the Ahdís, a Quarrel between the Rajpúts and the king's troops.

select body of single horsemen, whose duty it was to attend on his Majesty. The largest part of the escort being composed of Rájpúts, the Ahdís were overpowered, and several of them killed; and on their complaining to Mohábat, he said he would be happy to punish the offence if they could bring it home to any individuals. The Ahdís, incensed at this evasion, fell with their whole force on a body of Rájpúts, killed many, and drove others into the hills, where they were made slaves by the Hazárehs Mohábat himself was exposed to so much danger in this disturbance that he was forced to take refuge in the king's tent. Next day the ringleaders were punished; but a portion of the army was left in open enmity with the Rájpúts, whose numbers were also diminished; and the Afgháns of the neighbourhood showed every disposition to take part with the emperor. Núr Jehán could therefore pursue her schemes with less obstruction and less fear of detection. She employed agents to enlist fit men in scattered points at a distance, whence some were to straggle into camp as if in quest of service, while the others were to remain at their positions, and await her further orders. She next made Jehángír suggest a muster of the troops of all the jágírdárs; and when she was summoned to produce her contingent, she affected to be indignant at being put on a level with an ordinary subject, and said she would take care that her muster should not turn out to her discredit. Accordingly, she dressed out her old troops so as to make the smallness of their number conspicuous, entertained new levies as if to complete her contingent, and at the same time directed her recruits in the country to repair by twos and threes to the army. All this could not be done without some alarm to Mohábat Khán; but he was no longer able to crush opposition by force, and he suffered himself to be persuaded by Jehángír to avoid personal risk, by forbearing to accompany him to the muster of Núr Jehán's contingent. Jehángír advanced alone to the review; and he had no sooner got to the centre of the line, than the troops closed in on him, cut off the Rájpút horse by whom he was guarded, and being speedily joined by their confederates, rendered it impossible to make any attempt to seize his person. Mohábat Khán perceived that his power was irretrievably lost; and immediately withdrew to a distance with his troops, and entered on negotiation to procure his pardon and assurance of safety.

Plots and preparations of Núr Jehán.

Rescue of Jehangír.

Jehángír was now restored to liberty, and Núr Jehán to

power. She had relinquished none of her designs during the period of her adversity; and as she was obliged to make terms with Mohábat, to procure the release of her brother, who was his prisoner, she determined to connect the pardon of one enemy with the destruction of another; and made it a condition of the emperor's reconciliation with Mohábat, that he should immediately have the use of his services against Sháh Jehán. That prince, after his own submission and the misfortune of his father, had come from the Deckan to Ajmír with only 1,000 men, in the hopes that his army might increase as he advanced; but Rája Kishen Sing, his principal adherent, dying at that place, instead of an accession, he suffered the loss of half his numbers, and was obliged, as the only means of securing his personal safety, to fly across the desert to Sind. He was then in the lowest state of depression, and would have retired to Persia if he had not been prevented by ill-health. From this time his fortunes began to brighten: he heard of the death of Parvíz at Burhánpúr, and learned also that Mohábat, instead of pursuing him, was now himself pursued by an army of the emperor, with whom he had again come to a rupture.

Terms granted to Mohábat Khan.

He is sent against Sháh Jehán.

Encouraged by these circumstances, he set off, through Guzerát, for the Deckan, where he was soon joined by Mohábat with such part of his force as still remained.[22]

He breaks with the emperor, and joins Sháh Jehan

Jehángír, soon after his deliverance, marched back from Cábul to Láhór. Some time was spent in restoring every branch of the government to its old footing; and when all had been satisfactorily arranged, the emperor set off on his annual visit to Cashmír.

Some time after his arrival in that valley, Shehriyár was seized with so violent an illness that he was obliged to leave Cashmír for the warmer climate of Láhór. Not long after his departure, Jehángír was himself taken ill with a severe return of his asthma, and it soon became evident that his life was in great danger. An attempt was made to remove him to Láhór; his complaint was increased by the motion and passage of the mountains; and before he had got over a third of his journey,

Sickness

[22] Gladwin's *Jehángír*. Khafí Khán makes an intermediate reconciliation between Mohábat and Jehángír, and another visit of Mohábat to court, followed by a fresh revolt; but these rapid changes appear inexplicable: and it is not easy to believe that if Mohábat had been in Núr Jehán's hands, having no longer her brother for a hostage, he would again have been allowed to retire in safety.

he had a severe attack, and died soon after reaching his tent, in the sixtieth year of his age.

and death of Jehángír. A.D. 1627, * Oct. 28; A.H. 1037, Safar 28.

Several of the great men of the time of Akber died shortly before Jehángír: Azíz died before the usurpation of Mohábat, Malik Amber during its continuance, and Mírzá Khán (the Kháni Khánán) shortly after it was suppressed.

Among the occurrences of Jehángír's reign may be mentioned an edict against the use of tobacco, which was then a novelty. It would be curious, as marking the epoch of the introduction of a practice now universal in Asia, if the name of tambácú, by which it is known in most eastern countries, were not of itself sufficient to show its American origin.[28]

CHAPTER II.

SHÁH JEHÁN, TILL 1657.

The influence of Núr Jehán expired with her husband, and the fruit of all her long intrigues was lost in a moment. Her favourite, Shehriyár, was absent, and A'saf Khán, who was all along determined to support Sháh Jehán, immediately sent off a messenger to summon him from the Deckan. In the meantime, to sanction his own measures by

A'saf Khán takes part with Sháh Jehan.

[28] Where no other authority is quoted for facts in this reign, they are taken from Kháfi Khán, from Gladwin's *Reign of Jehangir*, or from the autobiographical Memoirs of the emperor. Kháfi Khán's history is compiled from various accounts, written and oral. Mr. Gladwin's is evidently all drawn from written histories, but he only quotes the *Mauseri Jehangíri*, and the Memoirs of the emperor, of which last he possessed a much more complete copy than that translated by Major Price. The Memoirs themselves contain a great deal of information regarding particular periods and the characters of individuals; and though written in a rambling and inaccurate manner, are not without signs of talent. A large portion of them is composed of stories of magical performances; some, though greatly exaggerated, are obviously tricks of ventriloquism and legerdemain, but all regarded by the emperor as in some degree the result of supernatural power. Those fables would lead to a lower estimate of his intelligence, if we did not remember the demonology of his contemporary in England. [Mr. Morley, in his *Catalogue*, shows that there are two editions of this autobiography. The one, translated by Major Price, gives an imperfect and confused account of only the first two years of the Sultan's reign; the other contains the autobiography of eighteen years, and is completed by an editor, Muhammad Háfi. Mr. Morley says: "The autobiography of Jehángír is undoubtedly one of the most curious and interesting works in the whole range of the Muhammadan literature of India, presenting, as it does, a complete picture of the private life of one of the most powerful and despotic monarchs of the world, of his own views, moral and political, of the manners of his court, and of the chief events of his reign."—Ed.]

the appearance of legal authority, he released Prince Dáwar, the son of Khusrou, from prison, and proclaimed him king.[1] Núr Jehán, endeavouring to support the cause of Shehriyár, was placed under a temporary restraint by her brother; and from that time, although she survived for many years, her name is never again mentioned in history.[2]

Imprisons the empress.

A'saf Khán then continued his march to Láhór. Shehriyár, who was already in that city, seized the royal treasure, bought over the troops, and, forming a coalition with two sons of his uncle, the late Prince Dániyál, marched out to oppose A'saf Khán. The battle ended in his defeat; he fled into the citadel, was given up by his adherents, and he was afterwards put to death, with the sons of Dániyál, by orders from Sháh Jehán.[3]

Defeats Shehriyár, who is put to death.

The new emperor lost no time in obeying the summons of A'saf Khán. He left the Deckan, accompanied by Mohábat; and on his arrival at Agra caused his accession to be proclaimed, and took formal possession of the throne.[4]

Sháh Jehán arrives from the Deckan, and is proclaimed at Agra. A.D. 1628, Jan. 26; A.H. 1037, Jumáda'l Ákhir 7.

The highest honours were conferred on A'saf Khán and Mohábat, and great promotions and distributions of money were made to the friends and adherents of the emperor. Among his first acts were, to abolish the ceremony of prostration, to restore the Mahometan lunar year in ordinary correspondence, and to make some other slight changes favourable to the Mussulman religion.

When firmly established in his government, Sháh Jehán seems to have indemnified himself for his late fatigues and privations, by giving a loose to his passion for magnificent buildings and expensive entertainments. He erected palaces in his principal cities; and, on the first anniversary of his accession, he had a suite of tents prepared in Cashmír, which, if we are to believe his historian,[5] it took two months to pitch. He introduced new forms of lavish expenditure on that occasion; for besides the usual ceremony of being weighed against precious substances, he had vessels filled with jewels waved round his

[1] Khâfí Khán.

[2] She died in A.D. 1646, A.H. 1055. She was treated with respect, and allowed a stipend of 250,000*l.* a-year. She wore no colour but white after Jehángír's death, abstained from all entertainments, and appeared to devote her life to the memory of her husband: she was buried in a tomb she had herself erected, close to that of Jehángír at Láhór. (*Khâfí Khán.*)

[3] Khâfí Khán.

[4] Dawar Shukóh (also called Bolákí), who had been set up for king by A'saf Khán, found means to escape to Persia, where he was afterwards seen by the Holstein ambassadors in 1633. (Olearius, *Ambassadors' Travels*, p. 190.)

[5] Khâfí Khán.

head, or poured over his person (according to the superstition that such offerings would avert misfortunes); and all the wealth so devoted was immediately scattered among the bystanders, or given away in presents. The whole expense of the festival, including gifts of money, jewels, rich dresses and arms, elephants and horses, amounted, by the account of the same historian, to £1,600,000 sterling.

Local disturbances.

He was disturbed in these enjoyments by an irruption of the Uzbeks in Cábul: they ravaged the country and besieged the capital, but retired on the approach of a light force, followed up by an army under Mohábat Khán. To this invasion succeeded the revolt of Narsing Deó, the murderer of Abúl Fazl. He opposed a long resistance in Bundélcand, before he was brought to submit.[6]

Mohábat had only reached Sirhind on his way to Cábul, when the intelligence of the retreat of the Uzbeks was received. He was immediately recalled to the capital, and directed to prepare for a march into the Deckan.

History of Khan Jehan Lodi.

Khán Jehán Lódí was an Afghán of low birth, but with all the pride and unruliness of his nation in India. He had held great military charges in the reign of Jehángír, and commanded in the Deckan under Parvíz at the time of that prince's death. Being left with undivided authority, he thought it for his advantage, perhaps for that of the state, to make peace with the son of Malik Amber, now at the head of the Nizám Sháhí government. He gave up what still remained to the Moguls of Sháh Jehán's conquests, and entered into a close intimacy with his late enemies.

When Sháh Jehán set out to assume the throne, he refused to join him, marched into Málwa, laid siege to Mandú, and seemed to be aiming at independence. He returned to obedience when Sháh Jehán's accession was secure; and it was thought prudent, at first, to confirm him in his government, and afterwards to be content with removing him to that of Málwa, while the Deckan was given to Mohábat Khán.

Having co-operated in the reduction of Rája Narsing Deó, he was invited to court, and treated with great attention; but before he had been long there, he received intimations from some of his friends that the emperor harboured designs against him, and was only waiting an opportunity to find him off his guard. These suggestions, whether true or false, made an impression on his jealous nature. He refused to attend on the

[6] Khafí Khán.

king, assembled his troops round the palace he inhabited, and stood prepared to defend himself against any attempt that might be made on him. Negotiations then took place, and were so successful that all differences appeared to be removed, when some new circumstance excited Khán Jehán's distrust, and decided him to run all risks rather than remain within the power of men on whose faith he could not rely. One night, soon after dark, he assembled all his troops, placed his women in the centre on elephants, and marched openly out of Agra with his kettle-drums beating, at the head of 2,000 veteran Afgháns, and accompanied by twelve of his own sons. He was pursued within two hours by a strong body of the royal troops, who overtook him at the river Chambal. He had scarcely time to send his family across the river, when he was obliged to cover their retreat by engaging the very superior force that was in pursuit of him. The severest part of the action was between the Afgháns and a body of Rájpúts, who dismounted and charged with pikes, according to their national custom. Rája Pírti Sing Ráhtór and Khán Jehán were engaged hand-to-hand, and separated with mutual wounds. After a long resistance, Khán Jehán plunged into the stream, and effected his passage with the loss of a few men drowned, besides those he had lost in the action. The royal troops did not, at first, venture to follow him; and when they had been joined by reinforcements, and were emboldened to renew the pursuit, Khán Jehán had got so much the start of them, that he was able to make his way through Bundélcand into the wild and woody country of Góndwána, from whence he soon opened a communication with his old ally, the king of Ahmednagar.

His flight from Agra.

The affair now assumed so serious an aspect that Sháh Jehán thought it necessary to take the field in person, and moved into the Deckan at the head of a great armament.

His proceedings in the Deckan. The emperor marches against him. A.D. 1629, October; A.H. 1039, Rabí ul awwal.

He halted, himself, at Burhánpúr, and sent on three detachments, or rather armies,[1] into the hostile territory.

The three Deckan monarchies had, at this time, recovered their ancient limits, and (except the fort of Ahmednagar, which still held out in disregard of Khán Jehán's cession) the Moguls were reduced to the eastern half of Khándésh and an adjoining portion of Berár. The greatest of the Deckan kingdoms was that of Ahmednagar, which was

State of the Deckan.

[1] The native historian mates them at 50,000 men *each*.

contiguous to the Mogul territory. Mortezá Nizám Sháh (the king set up by Malik Amber) was well inclined to act for himself on the death of that minister; but he would, perhaps, have remained a pageant, if the sons of Malik Amber had possessed talents equal to their father's. The fact was far otherwise; and Mortezá soon displaced and imprisoned Fath Khán, the eldest of them, and afterwards conducted the administration himself. He did so with so little ability, that his kingdom became a scene of faction, affording every advantage to his foreign enemies.[8]

Ibráhím A'dil Sháh of Bíjápúr, who died about the same time with Amber, and left his country in a much more prosperous condition to his son, Mohammed A'dil Sháh; and Abdullah Kutb Sháh of Golcónda, who was probably aggrandizing himself at the expense of his Hindú neighbours in Télingána, took no part in the quarrels of the Mahometan kings.

By the time Sháh Jehán reached Burhánpúr, Khán Jehán had moved from Góndwána into the country under Ahmednagar. The Mogul armies, in consequence, marched into that territory, and were assisted by a simultaneous movement from the side of Guzerát. Khán Jehán, after some unavailing attempts, by himself and his allies, to make head against this disproportioned force, retired to the southward, and eluded the Mogul detachments by moving from place to place. At length Azam Khán, the most active of Sháh Jehán's officers, by a succession of forced marches, succeeded in surprising him, took his baggage, and forced him to seek shelter by retiring among the hills and woods, where the whole of the enemy's force could not be brought to bear on him. He then kept retreating—sometimes checking his pursuers by defending favourable positions, and sometimes escaping from them by long and unexpected marches. In this manner he reached Bíjápúr. He expected to persuade the king to take his part; but he found Mohammed A'dil Sháh entirely disinclined to enter on such a contest, and was obliged once more to return to the territories of the king of Ahmednagar. Mortezá Nizám Sháh had himself been hard-pressed during this interval, and two of the greatest of the Hindú chiefs under him had gone over to the enemy. He had still sufficient confidence to try the effect of a decisive battle. He assembled his army at Doulatábád, and took post in strong ground among the neighbouring passes; this advantage did not compensate for the superior

Khán Jehán driven out of Ahmednagar.

Pursued by Azam Khán.

Fails in obtaining an asylum at Bijapur

His ally the king of Ahmednagar defeated.

[8] Grant Duff. Khafi Khán.

numbers of his enemies; he was defeated, and obliged to seek protection in his forts and in desultory warfare. Meanwhile Khán Jehán, overwhelmed by the defeat of his allies, the destruction of their country, and the additional calamities of famine and pestilence with which it was now visited, determined to quit the scene, and to take refuge (as was supposed) with the Afgháns near Pésháwer, where all the north-eastern tribes were at that time up in arms. If such was his intention, he was unable to accomplish it: after passing the Nerbadda near the frontier of Guzerát, he crossed all Málwa towards Bundélcand, where he hoped to be able to revive the spirit of insurrection; but the rája of that country turned against him, and cut off his rear-guard, under his long-tried and attached friend Deryá Khán; and, being overtaken by the Moguls, he sent off his wounded, and made a stand with the remains of his force, now reduced to 400 Afgháns. His resistance, though long and desperate, was vain: his party was destroyed or dispersed, and he was obliged to fly with a few devoted adherents. He endeavoured to force his way into the hill-fort of Cálinjer, was repulsed with the loss of his son, and was at last overtaken at a pool where he had stopped from exhaustion: and after defending himself with his usual gallantry, and receiving many wounds, was struck through with a pike by a Rájpút, and his head was sent as a most acceptable present to the Mogul emperor.[9]

Khán Jehán flies from the Deckan.

Is cut off in Bundelcand.

A.D. 1630, A.H. 1040.

The war with Nizám Sháh was not concluded by the removal of its original cause. At this time a destructive famine desolated the Deckan. It began from a failure of the periodical rains in A.D. 1629, and was raised to a frightful pitch by a recurrence of the same misfortune in 1630. Thousands of people emigrated, and many perished before they reached more favoured provinces; vast numbers died at home; whole districts were depopulated, and some had not recovered at the end of forty years.[10] The famine was accompanied by a total failure of forage, and by the death of all the cattle; and the miseries of the people were completed by a pestilence such as is usually the consequence of the other calamities. In the midst of these horrors, Azam Khán carried on his operations against Mortezá Nizám Sháh; and that prince, ascribing all his disasters to the misconduct of his

Continuance of the war with Ahmednagar.

Famine and pestilence in the Deckan.

Grant Duff. [9] Khafi Khán. [10] Khafi Khán.

minister, removed him from his office, and conferred it on Fath Khán, son of Malik Amber, whom he released from prison for the purpose.

The king of Bíjápúr joins the king of Ahmednagar.

The prospect of the ruin of the Nizám Sháh, which now seemed at hand, alarmed Mohammed A'dil Sháh, who, though pleased at first with the humiliation of his hereditary enemy, was not insensible of the danger certain to result to himself from the entire subversion of the neighbouring monarchy. He therefore brought a seasonable relief to the weaker party, by declaring war with the Moguls. But his assistance came too late to preserve Mortezá Nizám Sháh from the consequences of his own imprudence. Fath Khán, more mindful of former injuries than recent favours, and ambitious of recovering the authority once possessed by his father, applied all the power which had been confided to him to the destruction of the donor; and, aided by the weakness and unpopularity of Mortezá himself, was soon strong enough to put that prince and his chief adherents to death, and to take the government into his own hands. At the same time, he sent to offer submission and a large contribution to the Moguls, and placed an infant on the throne, with an open profession that he was to hold his dignity in subordination to Sháh Jehán.

Murder of the king of Ahmednagar by his minister Fath Khán, who submits to Shah Jehán.

His terms were immediately accepted, and Sháh Jehán turned his whole force against Bíjápúr. Fath Khán, however, evaded the fulfilment of his promises, was again attacked by the Moguls, and once more joined his cause with that of A'dil Sháh. He was afterwards reconciled to the Moguls; and various similar changes took place in the progress of the war, from his perfidious and shifting policy.

War with Bíjápur continues. Territories taken from Fath Khan.

During one of those vicissitudes, the king of Bíjápúr was borne down by the superior force of his enemies, and was constrained to take refuge in his capital, where he was besieged by a great army under the command of A'saf Khán. In this desperate situation, he must have shared the fate of his former rival, if he had not found resources in his own abilities and address. While he used every exertion to defend his town, and to harass the assailants, he amused A'saf Khán, and delayed his operations by a variety of well-contrived artifices: sometimes he entered on negotiations himself, and held out hopes of his immediately yielding to Sháh Jehán's demands, without the risk of further hostilities; at other times, he

Siege of Bíjápúr

engaged A'saf Khán in intrigues with chieftains who pretended to make bargains for their defection; and sometimes led him into disasters by feigned offers from individuals to desert their posts when attacked, or to admit his troops by night into parts of the fortifications intrusted to their charge. During all this time, disease and famine were playing their parts in the camp of A'saf Khán; and he at last found himself under the necessity of raising the siege, and revenged himself by cruelly ravaging the unexhausted parts of the kingdom.[11]

Failure of the siege.

It was about the time of this failure, that Sháh Jehán returned to his capital, leaving Mohábat Khán in the supreme government of the Deckan.[12] The operations carried on under that general led, at length, to Fath Khán's being shut up in the fort of Doulatábád, where he defended himself, with occasional assistance from the king of Bíjápúr; and the fate of the Nizám Sháhí monarchy seemed to rest on the result of the struggle. It was decided by a general action, in which the combined force of the Deckanís was defeated in an attempt to raise the siege; and Fath Khán soon after surrendered and entered into the Mogul service, while the king whom he had set up was sent off a prisoner to Gwáliór.[13]

The emperor returns to Delhi. A.D. 1632, March; A.H. 1041, Ramazan.

A.D. 1633, February; A.H. 1042.

The king of Bíjápúr, being now left alone, made overtures of negotiation, which were not favourably received; he then continued to defend himself, and all the efforts of Mohábat Khán were ineffectual to subdue him. An important point of the war was the siege of Perinda, on his failure in which Mohábat Khán was obliged to fall back on Burhánpúr, and desist from aggressive operations.[14] He had before been put under the nominal command of the emperor's second son, Shujá, who was a boy; and he was now recalled to court, and the Deckan was divided into two commands, under Kháni Dourán and Kháni Zemán.

Ill-success of the operations in the Deckan.

A.D. 1634.

These officers were less successful than their predecessors. Mohammed A'dil Sháh continued to hold out; and the Nizám Sháhí monarchy, which seemed to have come to an end on the surrender of Fath Khán, was revived by a chief whose family were afterwards to act an important part as the founders of the

[11] Grant Duff. Khafí Khán.
[12] Khafí Khán.
[13] Grant Duff.
[14] Grant Duff. There is a considerable difference between his dates and those of Khafí Khán at this period.

Maratta nation. This was Sháhjí Bosla, who had risen to considerable rank in the time of Malik Amber, and had distinguished himself as a partisan during the late wars. After the fall of Doulatábád, he drew off to the rugged country in the west of the Deckan; and, some time after, was so strong as to set up a new pretender to the throne of Ahmednagar, and, in time, to get possession of all the districts of that kingdom from the sea to the capital.[15]

Sháhjí Bosla attempts to restore the king of Ahmednagar.

The Deckan, therefore, was as far as ever from being subdued; and Sháh Jehán perceived the necessity of returning in person to that country, to make another effort to reduce it.

He marched from Agra towards the end of 1635,[16] and, on arriving in the Deckan, he adopted his former plan of breaking his army into divisions; and sent them, in the first instance, to recover the kingdom of Ahmednagar. When they had driven Sháhjí from the open country, and reduced many of his principal forts, Sháh Jehán turned his whole force on Bíjápúr, took several strong places, and constrained Mohammed A'dil Sháh once more to shut himself up in his capital. The talents which had delivered him during the former siege did not desert him on this occasion. He laid waste the country for twenty miles round Bíjápúr, destroying every particle of food or forage; filled up the wells, drained off the reservoirs, and rendered it impossible for any army to support itself during an attack on the city.

The emperor returns to the Deckan. A.D. 1635, November; A.H. 1045, Jamádá'l awwal.

Failure of another attempt on Bijapur.

The Moguls were therefore reduced to the plunder of his territories, and met with frequent losses from the spirit and activity of his detachments. Both parties, ere long, were wearied with this sort of warfare; and, A'dil Sháh making the first overture, peace was concluded, on terms much more favourable than he could have expected. He consented to an annual payment of 200,000*l.* a year to Sháh Jehán; but he was to receive, in return, a share of the Nizám Sháhí dominions, which much extended his territory on the north and east.

Peace with Bijapur A.D. 1636, A.H. 1046

Sháhjí held out for some time longer: at length he also submitted, gave up his pretended king, and entered into the service of the king of Bíjápúr, with the consent of Sháh Jehán.

Submission of Sháhjí Bosla.

At an early period of this invasion, Sháh Jehán had overawed

[15] Grant Duff. Khafí Khán. [16] Khafí Khán.

the king of Golcónda, and had forced him to desist from reciting the name of the King of Persia in the public prayers, and to agree to pay a regular tribute.[17]

The emperor exacts a tribute from Golcónda.

These transactions being concluded, Sháh Jehán returned to his capital, and the kingdom of Ahmednagar was at length extinguished for ever.

Returns to Delhi. A.D. 1637, A.H. 1046.

While Sháh Jehán's attention was principally engaged with the Deckan, some events of less moment were taking place in other quarters. The Portuguese fort of Hugli, not far from Calcutta, was taken, after a siege, by the governor of Bengal (1631). There were revolts of the Bundélas, in the first of which the son of Narsing Deó was killed. One portion of the troops on the eastern frontier completed the settlement of Little Tibet (1634 and 1636); another was defeated, and almost destroyed, in an attempt to conquer Sirínagar (1634); and a third, which invaded the petty state of Cúch Behár from Bengal, was compelled, by the unhealthiness of the climate, to relinquish the country after they were in possession (1637).

Local disturbances and successes in Hindostan.

The most important occurrence of these times was the acquisition of Candahár, the governor of which, Alí Merdán Khán, found himself exposed to so much danger from the tyranny of his sovereign, the King of Persia, that he gave up the place to Sháh Jehán, and himself took refuge at Delhi. He was received with great honour, and was afterwards, at different times, made governor of Cashmír and Cábul, and employed on various wars and other duties. He excited universal admiration at the court by the skill and judgment of his public works, of which the canal which bears his name at Delhi still affords a proof, and by the taste and elegance he displayed on all occasions of show and festivity.

Recovery of Candahar Alí Merdán Khan. A.D. 1637, A.H. 1047.

His military talents were first tried in an invasion of Balkh and Badakhshán. Those provinces had remained in the hands of the Uzbeks since they were lost by Mírzá Soleimán, and were now held by Nazar Mohammed, the younger brother of Imám Kulí, sovereign of all the territory beyond the Oxus, from the Caspian Sea to Mount Imaus.

Invasion of Balkh.

The revolt of Nazar Mohammed's son, Abdul Azíz, encouraged by his powerful uncle, tempted Sháh Jehán, who had enjoyed several years of repose, to assert the dormant rights of his family. Alí Merdán penetrated the range of Hindú

A.D. 1644, A.H. 1054.

[17] Grant Duff. Khafí Khán.

Cush, and ravaged Badakhshán; but the advance of the winter, and the fear of being cut off from the southern countries, compelled him to retreat without having gained any solid advantage. Next year the enterprise was attempted by Rája Jagat Sing,[18] whose chief strength lay in a body of 14,000 Rájpúts, raised in his own country, but paid by the emperor.

Services of the Rájpúts in the mountains of Hindú Cush.

The spirit of the Rájpúts never shone more brilliantly than in this unusual duty: they stormed mountain-passes, made forced marches over snow, constructed redoubts by their own labour (the rája himself taking an axe like the rest), and bore up against the tempests of that frozen region as firmly as against the fierce and repeated attacks of the Uzbeks.

But, with all these exertions, the enterprise now appeared so arduous that Sháh Jehán himself resolved to move to Cábul, and to send on his son, Prince Morád, under the guidance of Alí Merdán Khán, with a large army, into Balkh.[19] This expedition was completely successful: Morád was joined by some of Nazar Mohammed's sons, and afterwards received the submission of that chief; but just as he had taken possession of the capital, a new rupture took place (with some suspicion of bad faith on the part of the Moguls). Nazar Mohammed, now divested of his defensible places, was obliged to fly to Persia; and his dominions were annexed, by proclamation, to those of Sháh Jehán. But this conquest was not long left undisturbed: Abdul Azíz collected a force beyond the Oxus, and sent numerous bands of plunderers to lay waste the newly-conquered territory. Sháh Jehán had, by this time, returned to Delhi; and Morád, tired of the service, and impatient of the control of Alí Merdán, had left his province without leave, and was sent away from court in disgrace. The charge of restoring order was therefore imposed on Prince Aurangzíb, while the king himself again repaired to Cábul to support him. Aurangzíb at first obtained a great victory over the Uzbeks: its effects, however, were by no means decisive; for Abdul Azíz crossed the Oxus in person, and so harassed the Moguls, that Aurangzíb, after some partial successes, was obliged to seek protection from the walls of Balkh itself.

A.D. 1645, A.H. 1055. Sháh Jehán moves to Cabul.

Balkh reduced by Prince Morád and Alí Merdán Khán.

A.D. 1646, July; A.H. 1056, Jamádá'l Akhir.

Overrun by the Uzbeks from beyond the Oxus.

Aurangzíb sent against them.

A.D. 1647, A.H. 1057.

Is besieged in Balkh.

About this time Nazar Mohammed, having failed to obtain

[18] Probably the rája of Cóta. [19] Khálí Khán says 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 foot.

aid in Persia, threw himself on the clemency of Sháh Jehán; and the latter prince, perceiving how little his prospects were advanced by such an expenditure of blood and treasure, came to the prudent resolution of withdrawing from the contest; and that he might do so with the less humiliation, he transferred his rights to Nazar Mohammed, then a suppliant at his court. Aurangzíb was accordingly directed to make over the places that remained in his possession; and he began his retreat from Balkh, under continual attacks from the Uzbeks of Abdul Aziz's party. When he reached the passes of Hindú Cush, the persecution was taken up, for the sake of plunder, by the mountaineers of the Hazáreh tribes, and, to complete his misfortunes, the winter set in with violence; and though the prince himself reached Cábul with a light detachment, yet the main body of his army was intercepted by the snow, and suffered so much in this helpless condition, from the unremitting assaults of the Hazárehs, that they were glad to escape in separate bodies, with the loss of all their baggage and almost all their horses.[20]

Sháh Jehán abandons his conquest.

Disastrous retreat of Aurangzíb.

About the end of A.D. 1647, A.H. 1057.

The tranquillity purchased by the relinquishment of Balkh was first disturbed by an attack on Candahár by the Persians. During the weak and tyrannical reign of Sháh Safí, and the minority of his son, Sháh Abbás II., the Moguls had been allowed to enjoy the fruits of Alí Merdán's desertion unmolested; but as Abbás advanced towards manhood, his ministers induced him to assert the dignity of his monarchy, by restoring it to its ancient limits. He assembled a large army, and marched against Candahár. He showed much judgment in beginning the siege in winter, when the communication between India and Cábul was cut off by the snow, while his own operations went on unobstructed in the mild climate of Candahár. The consequence was, that although Aurangzíb and the vazír Saád Ullah Khán were ordered off in all haste from the Panjáb, and although they made their way with great exertions through the mountains, they arrived too late to save Candahár, which had been taken after a siege of two months and a half. The exhausted condition of the army after their winter march compelled Aurangzíb and Saád Ullah to halt and refit at Cábul; while the King of Persia withdrew to Herát, leaving a strong garrison in Candahár.[21]

Candahár retaken by the Persians.

A.D. 1648, A.H. 1058.

The Indian army came before that city in May 1649. They

[20] Kháfí Khán. [21] *Ibid.*

immediately opened their batteries, and the contest was actively conducted on both sides, with springing of mines, assaults by the besiegers, and sallies by the garrison. These operations were not interrupted by the approach of an army sent by Sháh Abbás to raise the siege. Aurangzíb was contented with sending a detachment to oppose the attack, and remained, himself, in his lines before the city. The force he had employed was sufficient to repel the Persians, but it could not prevent their destroying the forage and cutting off the supplies of the besiegers; and as the governor defended his town with as much skill as obstinacy, Aurangzíb was at length constrained to raise the siege, and commence his retreat to Cábul, above four months after he had opened his batteries.[22] Sháh Jehán, who had followed Aurangzíb to Cábul, marched from that city before the prince's return, and was not overtaken by him until he had reached Láhór.

Aurangzíb sent to recover it. A.H. 1059, Jamádi'l Awwal.

A.D. 1649, about Sept.; A.H. 1059, Ramazan. Fails in the siege of Candahár.

The next year passed in inaction, to which the king's usual visit to Cashmír forms no exception. The time he spent in that delicious retirement was devoted to feasts and dances, to gardens, excursions by land and water, and other pleasures congenial to the climate and scenery.

A.D. 1651, A.H. 1060.

In the year next succeeding, Aurangzíb and the vazír, Saád Ullah, were again despatched to Candahár, with a numerous and well-equipped army, and ample provision of tools and workmen to conduct all the operations of a siege.[23]

Second attempt on Candahar under Aurangzíb. A.D. 16-0, A.H. 1061.

These great preparations were as unavailing as before; and Aurangzíb, after exhausting every resource supplied by the skill and courage of Saád Ullah and the bravery of the Rájpúts, was compelled to return to Cábul, and was sent to be viceroy of the Deckan.

Its failure.

Sháh Jehán was not discouraged by his repeated failures, and next year prepared for a still greater effort than had yet been put forth.

His eldest son, Dárá Shukóh, though treated as superior in station to the rest, was kept at court, and looked with envy on the opportunities of distinction enjoyed by his brothers, especially Aurangzíb, of whom he seems to have entertained a sort of instinctive jealousy. Urged by these

Great expedition under Prince Dará Shukoh.

[22] Kháfí Khán.

[23] It is worthy of remark, that, with so great a force assembled on purpose for a siege, there were only eight battering guns, and twenty smaller pieces of ordnance.

feelings, he entreated Sháh Jehán to allow him to try his skill and fortune at the siege of Candahár, and was put at the head of an army much exceeding that formerly employed. It assembled at Láhór in the winter of 1652, and commenced its march in the spring of the next year, Sháh Jehán himself following, as usual, to Cábul. A.D. 1653, A.H. 1063.

Dárá opened his trenches, as Aurangzíb had done before him, on a day and hour fixed by the astrologers, and ordered by the emperor before the army set out on its march. He began the siege on a scale proportioned to his armament. He mounted a battery of ten guns on a high and solid mound of earth, raised for the purpose of enabling him to command the town; and he pushed his operations with his characteristic impetuosity, increased, in this instance, by rivalry with his brother. He assembled his chiefs, and besought them to support his honour, declaring his intention never to quit the place till it was taken; he urged on the mines, directed the approaches, and, the besieged having brought their guns to bear on his own tent, he maintained his position until their fire could be silenced by that of his artillery. But, after the failure of several attempts to storm, and the disappointment of near prospects of success, his mind appears to have given way to the dread of defeat and humiliation: he entreated his officers not to reduce him to a level with the twice-beaten Aurangzíb; and he had recourse to magicians and other impostors, who promised to put him in possession of the place by supernatural means. Such expedients portended an unfavourable issue; and accordingly, after a last desperate assault, which commenced before daybreak, and in which his troops had at one time gained the summit of the rampart, he was compelled to renounce all hope, and to raise the siege, after having lost the flower of his army in the prosecution of it. He was harassed on his retreat both by the Persians and Afgháns; and it was not without additional losses that he made his way to Cábul, whence he pursued his march to Láhór. Siege of Candahár. A.D. 1653, September; A.H. 1063, Shawwal 9. Failure and retreat of Dárá Shukoh. A.D. 1653, November; A.H. 1064, Muharram.

Thus terminated the last attempt of the Móguls to recover Candahár, of which they had held but a precarious possession from the first conquest of it by Báber.

It was followed by nearly two years of undisturbed tranquillity. During that time Sháh Jehán, having completed a revenue survey of his possessions in the Deckan, which is said to have occupied him for nearly twenty years,[24] End of A.D. 1653 to 1655; A.H. 1064 and 1065.

[24] Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*, vol. i. p. 126.

gave orders for the adoption of the system of assessment and collection introduced by Tódar Mal.[25]

Death of the vazír Saád Ullah Khán.

The same period is marked by the death of the vazír, Saád Ullah Khán, the most able and upright minister that ever appeared in India. He makes a conspicuous figure in all the transactions of Sháh Jehán, and is constantly referred to as a model in the correspondence of Aurangzíb during the long reign of that monarch. Khafí Khán says that his descendants, in *his* time, were still distinguished for their virtues and intelligence, near a century after the death of their ancestor; and contrasts the respectability of their conduct with the effeminacy and frivolity of the other nobles of that era.

Renewal of the war in the Deckan, under Aurangzib.

The next year was destined to put an end to this state of repose, and to light up a conflagration which was never effectually suppressed, and was not extinguished until it had consumed the empire.

Since the last pacification, Abdullah Kutb Sháh had paid his tribute regularly, and had shown a desire to secure the favour of Sháh Jehán, who, but for a particular concurrence of circumstances, would probably never have wished to molest him.

Intrigues of Aurangzib at Golconda. Mir Jumla.

The prime minister of Abdullah was a person named Mír Jumla. He had formerly been a diamond merchant, and had been known and respected throughout the Deckan for his wealth and abilities long before he attained his present high station. His son, Mohammed Amín, a dissolute and violent young man, had drawn on himself the resentment of Abdullah Kutb Sháh, and had involved his father in a dispute with the court. Mír Jumla was absent, in command of an army in the eastern part of the kingdom of Golcónda; and, finding himself unable to obtain such concessions as he desired from his own sovereign, determined to throw himself on the protection of the Mogul. He applied to Aurangzíb, to whom, as well as to the emperor, he was already known. Such an opportunity of interference afforded an irresistible temptation to a man of Aurangzíb's intriguing disposition, and he strongly recommended the case of Mír Jumla to his father's favour. Sháh Jehán, influenced by this advice, despatched a haughty mandate to Abdullah Sháh to redress the complaints of his minister; but Abdullah was further irritated by this encroachment on his independence, and committed Amín to prison, while he sequestrated the property of Mír Jumla. Sháh Jehán, now provoked in his turn, sent orders to his son to carry his demands into

[25] Khafí Khán.

effect by force of arms; and Aurangzíb, who had been waiting impatiently for this result, entered with alacrity on the duty, and executed it in a manner entirely suitable to his wily nature.

Without any further manifestation of hostility, he sent out a chosen force, under pretence of escorting his son, Sultán Mohámmed, to Bengal, for the purpose of celebrating his nuptials with the daughter of his own brother, Prince Shujá, who was viceroy of that province. The road from Aurangábád to Bengal made a circuit by Masulipatam, so as to avoid the forests of Góndwána, and thus naturally brought the prince within a short distance of Heiderábád, the capital of Golcónda. Abdullah Sháh was preparing an entertainment for his reception, when he suddenly advanced as an enemy, and took the king so completely by surprise that he had only time to fly to the hill-fort of Golcónda, six or eight miles from the city; while Heiderábád fell into the hands of the Moguls, and was plundered and half burned before the troops could be brought into order. Aurangzíb had, before this, found a pretence for assembling an army on the nearest point of his province; and being joined by fresh troops from Málwa, he had ample means of sending on reinforcements to Golcónda. Mír Jumla also in time drew near, and was ready to turn his master's arms against himself. Abdullah Sháh, on his first flight to the hill-fort, had released Mohammed Amín, and given up the sequestrated property; and he did all in his power to negotiate a reasonable accommodation, while at the same time he spared no effort to procure aid from Bíjápúr. No aid came, and the Moguls were inexorable; and, after several attempts to raise the siege by force, he was at last under the necessity of accepting the severe terms imposed on him: to agree to give his daughter in marriage to Sultán Mohammed, with a dowry in territory and money; to pay a crore of rupees (£1,000,000 sterling) as the first instalment of a yearly tribute; and promised to make up the arrears of past payments within two years.

Treacherous attack on Heiderábád by Aurangzíb. A.D. 1656, January; A.H. 1066, Rabí ul awwal.

Submission of the king of Golcónda.

Sháh Jehán would have been content with easier terms, and did, in fact, make a great remission in the pecuniary part of those agreed on; but the rest were executed, and the Mogul prince returned to Aurangábád. Mír Jumla remained in the Mogul service, became the chosen counsellor of Aurangzíb, and was afterwards one of the most useful instruments of his ambitious designs.

A.D. 1656, May; A.H. 1066.

Aurangzíb had scarcely reaped the fruits of his success in

Golcónda before an opportunity was afforded him of gaining similar advantages over the neighbouring kingdom. The peace with Bíjápúr had remained unbroken since the last treaty. Mohammed A'dil Sháh had successfully cultivated the friendship of Sháh Jehán, but had excited the personal enmity of Aurangzíb by a close connexion with Dárá Shukóh. On his death, which took place in November 1656,[26] he was succeeded by his son Alí, a youth of nineteen; and Sháh Jehán was tempted, by the persuasion of his younger son, to deny that the minor was the real issue of the late king, and to assert his own right to decide on the succession to his tributary. Though the force of the kingdom of Bíjápúr was still undiminished, it was in no state of preparation for war; and a large portion of its army was employed at a distance, in wars with the Hindú petty princes of Carnáta. Aurangzíb, therefore, met with little difficulty in his invasion of the territory; and a fortunate accident having thrown the strong frontier fort of Bídar into his hands, he advanced without further obstruction to the capital.[27] The suddenness of the attack had prevented the mode of defence, by destroying the country, so successfully practised on former occasions. No resource, therefore, was left to the new king, but to sue for peace on the most unfavourable terms.[28] Even those were peremptorily rejected by Aurangzíb; and he would probably, ere long, have obtained possession both of the capital and the country, if he had not been called off by a matter that touched him more nearly than the conquest of any foreign kingdom.[29]

Unprovoked war with Bíjápúr.

A.D. 1657, March; A.H. 1067.

CHAPTER III.

FROM 1657 TO THE DEPOSAL OF SHÁH JEHÁN.

The emperor had been seized with an illness of so serious a nature, that it not only threatened an immediate transfer of the crown to Dárá Shukóh, but invested him at the moment with the administration of his father's government. This state of affairs, involving all Aurangzíb's prospects of

Dangerous illness of the emperor

[26] Grant Duff. It corresponds to Moharram, 1067.

[27] Grant Duff.

[28] ["He offered to pay down one crore of rupees, and to make any sacrifice demanded." (*Duff.*)—Ed.]

[29] ["Aurangzib's first step now to accept Alí Ádil Sháh's overtures, from whom he gained a considerable supply of ready money; and he concluded a treaty, by which he relinquished the advantages he had gained, and in a few days he was on his march towards the Nerbadda." (*Duff.*)—Ed.]

aggrandizement, and even of safety, turned his exertions towards the seat of the monarchy, and for a long time withdrew his attention from the affairs of the Deckan.

Characters and pretensions of his sons.

Sháh Jehán had four sons, all of an age to render them impatient of a subordinate station. Dárá Shukóh was in his forty-second year, Shujá was forty, and Aurangzíb thirty-eight. Even Morád, the youngest, had long been employed in great commands.[1] Dárá Shukóh was a frank and high-spirited prince, dignified in his manners, generous in his expense, liberal in his opinions, open in his enmities; but impetuous, impatient of opposition, and despising the ordinary rules of prudence as signs of weakness and artifice. His overbearing temper made him many enemies, while his habitual indiscretion lessened the number as well as the confidence of his adherents. Shujá was not destitute of abilities, but given up to wine and pleasure. Aurangzíb was a perfect contrast to Dárá Shukóh. He was a man of a mild temper and a cold heart; cautious, artful, designing; a perfect master of dissimulation; acute and sagacious, though not extended in his views, and ever on the watch to gain friends and to propitiate enemies. To these less brilliant qualities he joined great courage and skill in military exercises, a handsome though not athletic form, affable and gracious manners, and lively agreeable conversation. He was so great a dissembler in other matters, that he has been supposed a hypocrite in religion. But, although religion was a great instrument of his policy, he was, beyond doubt, a sincere and bigoted Mussulman. He had been brought up by men of known sanctity, and had himself shown an early turn for devotion: he at one time professed an intention of renouncing the world, and taking the habit of a fakír; and throughout his whole life he evinced a real attachment to his faith, in many things indifferent to his interest, and in some most seriously opposed to it. His zeal was shown in prayers and reading the Korán, in pious discourses, in abstemiousness (which he affected to carry so far as to subsist on the earnings of his manual labour), in humility of deportment, patience under provocation, and resignation in misfortunes; but, above all, in constant and earnest endeavours to promote his own faith and to discourage idolatry and infidelity. But neither religion nor morality stood for a moment in his way when they interfered with his ambition; and, though full of

Dárá Shukóh.

Shujá.

Aurangzíb.

[1] Gladwin's *History of Jehángír.*

scruples at other times, he would stick at no crime that was requisite for the gratification of that passion.

His political use of religion arose from a correct view of the feelings of the time. Akber's innovations had shocked most Mahometans, who, besides the usual dislike of the vulgar to toleration, felt that a direct attack was made on their own faith. Jehángír's restoration of the old ritual was too cold to give full satisfaction; and though Sháh Jehán was a more zealous Mussulman, Dárá openly professed the tenets of Akber, and had written a book to reconcile the Hindú and Mahometan doctrines.[2] No topic, therefore, could be selected more likely to make that prince unpopular than his infidelity, and in no light could the really religious Aurangzíb be so favourably opposed to him as in that of the champion of Islám. In this character he had also an advantage over Shujá, who was looked on with aversion by the orthodox Mahometans, from his attachment to the Persian sect of the Shías.

Morád.

Morád was brave and generous, but dull in intellect, and vulgar in his pursuits. He was abundantly presumptuous and selfwilled; but his object never was more exalted than the indulgence of his humours, and the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.[3]

Daughters of Sháh Jehán.

Sháh Jehán had, by the same mother as his sons,[4] two daughters. To the eldest, Pádsháh Bégam, he was devotedly attached. She was endowed with beauty and talents, and was a great support to the interest of Dárá Shukóh. Roushanárá,* the second daughter, had fewer personal attractions, and less influence; but her talent for intrigue, and her knowledge of the secrets of the harem, enabled her to be of the greatest assistance to her favourite brother, Aurangzíb.

It was from this princess that Aurangzíb obtained the intelli-

[2] [Some time before this Dárá had brought some Pandits from Benares to Delhi, and employed them in making a Persian translation of fifty Upanishads; the work professes to have been finished in Ramazán, A.H. 1067 (A.D. 1657). It was this book which Anquetil Duperron translated into Latin in 1801, under the title of *Oupnekhat*. See also the account of the *Nádir un nikat*, or seven days' dialogue between the Prince and Bábá Lál, in Wilson's *Hindú Sects*. (Collected Works, vol. i. p. 348.)—Ed.]

[3] The characters of the princes are taken from Bernier, modified by the facts in Kháfí Khan, and by some passages in Aurangzíb's letters. The following is given by that monarch as Sháh Jehán's opinion of his four sons. Dárá (he said) had talents for command, and the dignity becoming the royal office, but was intolerant to all who had any pretensions to eminence; whence he was "bad to the good, and good to the bad." Shujá was a mere drunkard, and Morád a glutton and a sensualist. Aurangzíb excelled both in action and counsel, was well fitted to undertake the burden of public affairs, but full of subtle suspicions, and never likely to find any one whom he could trust. (*Letter from Aurangzíb to his son, in the "Dastúr ul Amal Ágahí."*)

[4] Gladwin's *History of Jehángír*.

* [Or rather, Roshan-rái.—Ed.]

gence on which he now acted. Though Sháh Jehán had only attained his sixty-seventh year, the habits of indolence and pleasure in which he had indulged seem to have latterly diminished his attention to business, and allowed a greater share of influence to Dárá Shukóh, on whom, as heir-apparent, he devolved such of his duties as he did not himself perform. Things were in this state when the emperor was seized with a sudden disorder in his kidneys, together with a suppression of urine, which entirely incapacitated him from business, and soon brought him to the brink of the grave.[5] During this crisis Dárá stopped all correspondence, and detained all travellers likely to spread the news of the king's danger throughout the provinces. He could not, however, long elude the vigilance of his brothers. Aurangzíb, in particular, was minutely informed of all his proceedings during the whole of the struggle which followed.

Dárá administers the government under the emperor.

A.D. 1657, October; A.H. 1067, Zí Haj 7.

The first to act on the emergency was Prince Shujá, the viceroy of Bengal. He assembled the troops of his province, and immediately marched into Behár, on his way to the capital.

Rebellion of Shujá.

Prince Morád, viceroy of Guzerát, soon followed his example: he seized on all the money in the district treasuries, and laid siege to Surat, where there was a governor independent of his authority, and where he thought there was a considerable sum in deposit.

and of Morád.

Aurangzíb conducted himself with more caution. He did not assume the royal title, as Shujá and Morád had done; and although he instantly moved to his northern frontier, and urged on the preparation of his army, he made no open declaration till orders came from Dárá, in the emperor's name, to direct Mír Jumla and the other military commanders to quit his standard. Mír Jumla, after he joined the Moguls, had been summoned to the capital, and had for a time been intrusted with the highest offices in the state. He had afterwards been sent back to the Deckan; but his family was still at Agra, and the fear of the consequences to them made him hesitate to oppose an order of the emperor. But his embarrassment was removed by a stratagem suggested by Aurangzíb.

Cautious measures of Aurangzíb.

Reconciliation with Mír Jumla.

According to a concerted plan, he sent for Mír Jumla to his court; and when that commander, after some affected delays

[5] Khafí Khán.

and alarms, presented himself, he ordered him to be made prisoner in the fort of Doulatábád; while his principal officers, secretly influenced by their commander, continued to serve with Aurangzíb. Even when he had thrown off the mask, he still proceeded with his usual policy. He left Dárá and Shujá to weaken each other for his profit, and applied all his art to gain Morád, whom he might hope to render an instrument in his own hands. He wrote to him with the most vehement professions of attachment, congratulating him on his accession to the crown, and declaring his own intention of renouncing the world, and indulging his love of devotion in retirement at Mecca. He nevertheless offered his zealous services against the irreligious Dárá, and advised that, as their father was still alive, they should present themselves before him, when, if received with favour, they should secure him from undue influence, while they interceded for the pardon of their erring brother; meanwhile they should unite their forces, and proceed to engage the infidel Jeswant Sing, who, it was understood, had been sent against them.[6] It seems incredible that Morád should have been deceived by so improbable a profession, but the coarseness of the artifice was disguised by the masterly execution; and the assiduous flatteries of Aurangzíb found a willing auditor in his brother, naturally unsuspicious, and dazzled by the prospect of assistance so necessary to the support of his feeble cause.

He marches to join Morád.

Before this period Dárá had taken measures to resist the threatened attacks of his rivals. He sent Rája Jeswant Sing into Málwa to watch Morád and Aurangzíb, and to act against them, with his whole army, or by dividing it, as circumstances might suggest. At the same time he himself advanced to Agra, and despatched an army, under the command of his own son, Soleimán Shukóh, assisted by Rája Jei Sing, to oppose the approach of Shujá. By this time Sháh Jehán was sufficiently recovered to resume the general control of the government; but his confidence in Dárá was only increased by the misconduct of the other princes. He wrote to Shujá commanding him in positive terms to return to his government. Shujá pretended to consider these orders as dictated by Dárá Shukóh, and probably still looked on the emperor's recovery as doubtful. He continued to move on until he met Soleimán Shukóh in the

Defensive measures of Dárá.

A.D. 1657, November; A.H. 1068, Rabi ul Awwal 4.

Sháh Jehán resumes the government.

Shujá continues to advance on Agra.

Is defeated by Soleimán, son of Dárá, and returns to Bengal.

[6] Khafi Khán.

neighbourhood of Benáres. A battle then took place, and Shujá, though his army was not dispersed, was defeated, and compelled to return into Bengal.

Meanwhile Aurangzíb quitted Burhanpúr[7] and marched into Málwa. He there formed a junction with Morád; and the combined armies marched to attack Rája Jeswant Sing, who was encamped near Ujein. The rája drew up his army on the bank of the river Sipra, which at that season was nearly dry, but still presented a formidable obstruction from the rocky nature of its bed. A.D. 1658, end of March; A.H. 1068, Jamádá'l Á'khir 25. A.D. 1658, April; A.H. 1068, Rajab.

The battle was bravely contested by the Rájpúts, who were ill-supported by the rest of the troops. It was chiefly decided by the gallantry of Morád. Jeswant Sing retired in disorder to his own country, and the rest of the army dispersed.[8] On rewarding his chiefs after this battle, Aurangzíb sent them all to return their thanks to Morád, as if he alone were the fountain of all honour. On the first junction he had taken an oath to adhere to that prince, and renewed all his promises with every appearance of warmth and sincerity; and throughout the whole campaign, although his abilities gave him the real control of all operations, he continued his professions of devotion and humility—always acknowledging Morád as his superior, and treating him on all occasions with the utmost respect and attention.[9] After this victory the princes advanced by slow marches to the Chambal, near Gwáliór.[10] Some dispositions made by Dárá Shukóh for the defence of that river were rendered ineffectual by the manœuvres of Aurangzíb, and the army crossed without opposition. Aurangzíb and Morád defeat the imperial army under Jeswant Sing at Ujein. A.D. 1658, May; A.H. 1068, from Rajab 27, to Shában 25.

Before Jeswant Sing's defeat, Sháh Jehán, unable to bear the heat of the season, had set out on his way to Delhi. The news of that misfortune recalled him, much against his will, to Agra. He found that during his absence Dárá had thrown Amín, the son of Mír Jumla, into confinement; but, as he disapproved of the proceeding, it was immediately countermanded by the prince himself. Sháh Jehán at this time, notwithstanding his feeble health, had ordered his tents to be prepared, and intended to take the field in person. His hope was, that he should be able to bring about an adjustment by his presence and authority, and to avoid a war which could Sháh Jehán's anxiety for an accommodation.

[7] Khafí Khán.

[8] Khafí Khán. Bernier. Bernier, who soon after joined the emperor's army, accuses Kásim Khán, who commanded along with Jeswant Sing, of disaffection.

[9] Khafí Khán. Bernier. [10] Khafí Khán.

not but bring many dangers and calamities on himself and all the parties engaged. He was dissuaded from this resolution by his brother-in-law, Sháyista Khán. If it had been pursued, it would have had no effect on the princes, whatever it might on the armies; for all were now too far engaged to recede, or to trust their future safety to anything so precarious as the life of Sháh Jehán. Dárá likewise looked with an ill eye on an accommodation that must have removed him from almost unlimited power, and restored the administration to its ordinary train under the immediate control of the emperor. Urged on by this consideration, and confident in his superior numbers, he refused even to wait for Soleimán, then on his march from Benáres with the most efficient part of the army. Contrary to the earnest injunctions of Sháh Jehán, he marched out at the head of an army which seemed irresistible from its numbers and equipment, but was rendered weak, in reality, by the arrogance of the commander, the disaffection of the chiefs, and the absence of the flower of the fighting men.[11]

Dárá marches from Agra to oppose his brothers, against the wish of Sháh Jehán.

On the 6th of Ramazán, A.H. 1068, the two armies approached each other at Samaghar, one march from Agra: they drew up face to face on the next day, but did not join battle until the succeeding morning.

A.D. 1658, beginning of June.

The action began by a charge of a body of Dárá's cavalry, under Rustam Khán. It was unable to penetrate a row of guns chained together in front of Aurangzíb's line. A second and more powerful charge, headed by Dárá himself, was equally unsuccessful; but his attack was renewed, and kept up without intermission on the centre, where Aurangzíb was stationed. In the meantime Morád was attacked by 3,000 Uzbeks, who poured in flights of arrows on him, with such rapidity that it was with difficulty he could bear up against them. His elephant gave way before the storm, and would have run off the field, if Morád had not ordered its feet to be chained—thus cutting off the power of retreat for himself. This sharp contest with the Uzbeks was succeeded by a much more formidable attack. A large body of Rájpúts rushed on the prince with an impetuosity that nothing could resist. Rám Sing, their rája, in a saffron robe, and with a chaplet of pearls

It totally defeated

[11] Kháfi Khán says the army consisted at Agra of upwards of 70,000 horse, with innumerable elephants and guns. Bernier, though generally distrustful of native numbers, thinks it may have been 100,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 80 pieces of artillery. He reckons Aurangzíb's and Morád's army at 30,000 or 35,000 horse.

on his head, ran up to Morád's elephant, and hurled his pike at the prince, while he shouted to the driver to make the elephant kneel down. Morád received the pike on his shield, and nearly at the same moment laid the rája dead with an arrow.[12] His death only exasperated the Rájpúts, who fought with desperate fury, and fell in heaps round the prince's elephant. At this time Aurangzíb was about to move to his brother's assistance, but he had soon full employment where he was; for Dárá, having at length broken through the line of guns, charged his centre at full speed, and carried all before him, by the united force of velocity and numbers.

Aurangzíb alone remained unshaken: he presented his elephant wherever there was the greatest danger, and called aloud to his troops that "God was with them, and that they had no other refuge or retreat."[13] In the height of this contest Rája Rúp Sing leaped from his horse, and running up to Aurangzíb's elephant, began to cut away the girths with his sword. Aurangzíb was struck with his audacity, and even in that moment of alarm called out to his men to spare him; but before his voice could be heard the rája had fallen, almost cut to pieces. At this critical juncture Morád, having at length repelled the Rájpúts, was able to turn his attention to the centre; and Dárá, who found his right thereby exposed, was obliged to abate the vigour of his front attack. His numbers, however, might in the end have prevailed; but as he was pressing forward on his elephant, conspicuous to all his troops, whom he was encouraging by his voice, and by waving his hand to them to advance, a rocket from the enemy struck the elephant, and rendered it so ungovernable that Dárá had no choice but to throw himself from its back, and to mount a horse with all expedition. His disappearance struck a sudden alarm among the distant troops; and an attendant being carried off by a shot at his side, while fastening on his quiver after he mounted, those immediately round him were also thrown into confusion: the panic spread, and its effects were soon felt throughout the whole army. The death of an Asiatic leader is often the loss of the battle: in a civil war it is the annihilation of the cause. Success seemed now useless, and every man's thoughts were turned to safety. Even the part of the line which was not engaged began to waver, while the princes pressed forward amidst the disorder of

[12] Khâfi Khán. Bernier. Colonel Tod (vol. ii. p. 481) ascribes this attack to Rája Chitar Sál of Bundi, who was a distinguished commander in the reign of Sháh Jehán, and was likewise killed in this battle.

[13] Bernier has preserved his words in the original Hindostani.

the centre, and compelled the troops opposed to them, and even Dárá himself, to take to flight.

The victory was no sooner decided than Aurangzíb threw himself on his knees, and returned his thanks to Divine Providence for the mercy it had vouchsafed to him. His next care was to salute his brother, and congratulate him on the acquisition of a kingdom. He found Morád's howdah bristled with arrows, and himself wounded in several places; and, after expressing the greatest joy at *his* victory, he began to wipe the blood from his face, and to show the most affectionate attention to his sufferings.[14] While this was passing on the field, the unfortunate Dárá pursued his flight towards the city; he arrived in the evening with 2,000 horse, many of them wounded—all he now had of the great force with which he had so lately marched out.

Dárá flies to Delhi.

He was ashamed to present himself before his father, to the disregard of whose opinion he owed his ruin; and after securing some valuables at his own palace, he continued his flight towards Delhi, accompanied by his wife and two of his children. He had already reached the third regular stage from Agra, before he was overtaken by 5,000 horse, sent by Sháh Jehán to his assistance.[15]

Aurangzíb marched to Agra three days after the battle. He encamped before the walls, and took immediate possession of the city. Some more days elapsed before he interfered with the interior of the royal residence. He employed the interval in humble messages to his father, pleading the necessity of his case, and protesting his inviolable respect and duty. It is probable,

Aurangzíb enters Agra. A.D. 1658, June; A.H. 1068, Ramazán 10. Sháh Jehán adheres to the cause of Dárá.

[14] Morád's howdah was preserved as a curiosity to the time of Ferókhsír, when it was seen by Kháfí Khán, who says it was struck as full of arrows as a porcupine is of quills.

[15] In the account of the battle I have taken some circumstances from Bernier, but have preferred the general narrative of Kháfí Khán, who, besides his access to verbal and written evidence, refers to his own father, who was present in the action. Bernier lived nearer the time, and is an excellent writer; but his acquaintance both with men and books must have been limited, and his means of judging Indians imperfect; his relation, besides, is mixed with some anecdotes which look like popular inventions. Dárá's descent from his elephant (for instance) is ascribed to the insidious advice of a traitor in the moment of victory; while Kháfí Khán says he was obliged to get down in such precipitation, that he left his slippers, and mounted his horse with bare feet and without arms. Bernier afterwards relates a plot of Sháh Jehán to seize Aurangzíb, and a counterplot of the latter, which ended in the seizure of Sháh Jehán; but the story is improbable in itself, and is not alluded to by Kháfí Khán. It is necessary throughout to look closely into the accounts which favour Aurangzíb; for though Bernier himself is captivated with the open character of Dárá, his master was a personal enemy of that prince, against whom Kháfí Khán also has a strong prejudice; and both wrote after

indeed, that he was sincerely desirous of conciliating his father, and would have preferred carrying on the government in his name; but he found it impossible to gain his confidence, or to shake his attachment to Dárá; and at length sent his own son, Mohammed Sultán, to take complete possession of the citadel, and to prevent all communications between the emperor and every one beyond its walls. Sháh Jehán was still treated with the highest respect: but, although he lived for seven years longer, his reign ends at this period. Ramazán 17. Is confined in his palace.

It seems unaccountable that so able a prince should have thus been dethroned without any of his old servants attempting to stir in his favour: the truth is, that his habits of indulgence had impaired his energy; and as he had long ceased to head his armies, the troops turned their eyes to the princes who led them in the field, and who had the immediate distribution of their honours and rewards. To this must be added the peculiar abilities of Aurangzíb, who was more successful in defeating conspiracies and managing factions than in any other branch of government, though he was good in all.

Having now no further use for Morád, Aurangzíb dismissed him from his pretended sovereignty, without even the ceremony of a quarrel or a complaint. He kept up the delusion of that simple prince by submissive behaviour and constant presents and attentions, till they had marched from Agra in pursuit of Dárá; when he one day invited Morád to supper, and so far waived his own scruples as to allow the free use of the goblet, of which Morád so fully availed himself that he was soon in a state of helpless intoxication. On this he was stripped of his arms without resistance, was cast into chains, and sent off on an elephant to Selímghar, part of the citadel of Delhi; while three other elephants were despatched, under similar escorts, in different directions, to mislead people as to his place of confinement. He was afterwards removed to Gwáliór, the great state-prison of those days. Aurangzíb then continued his march to Delhi, where he caused himself to be proclaimed emperor.[16] He did not put his name on the coin, and was not crowned until the first anniversary of his accession, a circumstance which has introduced some confusion into the dates of his reign. Aurangzíb imprisons Morád, and openly assumes the government. A.D. 1658, Aug. 20; A.H. 1068, Zí Cáadah

The reign of Sháh Jehán, thus harshly closed, was perhaps

Aurangzíb had been successful, and was cried up as the Mussulman hero and the greatest of emperors.

[16] Kháfí Khán.

the most prosperous ever known in India. Though sometimes engaged in foreign wars, his own dominions enjoyed almost uninterrupted tranquillity, together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations.

High prosperity of India under Sháh Jehán.

Notwithstanding Sháh Jehán's love of ease and pleasure, and the time spent in his visits to Cashmír, and the erection of those celebrated structures in which he took so much delight, he never remitted his vigilance over his internal government; and by this, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system, and even introduced important improvements,—such as his survey of the Deckan.

Kháfí Khán, the best historian of those times, gives his opinion, that, although Akber was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a lawgiver, yet for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances, and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Sháh Jehán.

Whatever might be the relative excellence of his government, we must not suppose that it was exempt from the evils inherent in a despotism: we may assume some degree of fraudulent exaction in the officers of revenue, and of corruption in those of justice; and we have the testimony of European travellers to acts of extortion by custom-house officers, and of arbitrary power by governors of provinces; but, after all deductions on these accounts, there will remain enough to convince us that the state of India under Sháh Jehán was one of great ease and prosperity.[17]

The erection of such a capital as Delhi proves great private as well as public wealth. Mandesloe describes Agra as at least twice as large as Isfahán (then in its greatest glory), with fine streets, good shops, and numerous baths and caravanserais. Nor was this prosperity confined to royal residences: all travellers speak with admiration of the grandeur of the cities, even

[17] Tavernier, who had repeatedly visited most parts of India, says that Sháh Jehán "reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children;" and goes on to commend the strictness of his civil government, and to speak in high terms of the security enjoyed under it. (Page 108 of the English translation of 1678.) Pietro Della Valle, who wrote in the last years of Jehángír (1623), when things were in a worse state than under his son, gives the following account:—"Hence, generally, all live much after a genteel way; and they do it securely as well, because the king does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly, and with the appearance of riches (as is often done in other Mahometan countries), as because the Indians are inclined to those vanities," &c. &c. (Page 22, English translation of 1665.)

in remote provinces, and of the fertile and productive countries in which they stood.[18]

Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity; but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we still see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the decayed causeways, wells, and caravánserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation.

The whole continent of India, however, was far from being in a uniform state: vast tracts were still covered with forests, and the mountainous ranges often harboured wild and predatory inhabitants. Even in the best-cleared parts, there were sometimes revolts of subject rájas, as in Bundélcand, during the present reign; but in that case the disturbance was confined to a district of less extent than the Tyrol, while populous provinces, as large as France or England, were scarcely aware of its existence.

But, after all allowances, the state of the people must have been worse than in an indifferently-governed country in *modern* Europe. On the one side, there are the absence of slavery and polygamy, less personal oppression by the great, and less fear of scarcity and consequent disease; while on the other there is nothing to oppose but lighter taxation, and freedom from a meddling and complicated system of law and regulation. A fairer object of comparison would be the Roman Empire, under such a prince as Severus: we should there find the same general tranquillity and good government, with similar examples of disturbance and oppression; the same enjoyment of physical happiness, with the same absence of that spirit which would tend to increase the present felicity, and which might afford some security for its duration beyond the life of the reigning monarch. The institutions, traditions, and opinions which remained from better times must, even in this case, have given a superiority to the European empire.

Magnificence of Sháh Jehán.

Sháh Jehán was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largesses, and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond the excess they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be

[18] Mandesloe, for Guzerát; Graaf and Bruton (in Murray's *Asiatic Discovery*), for Bengal, Behár, and Orissa; and Tavernier, for most parts of the empire.

palliated by the fact, that they neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. The most striking instance of his pomp and prodigality was his construction of the famous peacock throne. It took its name from a peacock with its tail spread (represented in its natural colours in sapphires, emeralds, rubies, and other appropriate jewels), which formed the chief ornament of a mass of diamonds and precious stones that dazzled every beholder. Tavernier, a jeweller by profession, reports, without apparent distrust, the common belief that it cost 160,500,000 livres, nearly six millions and a half sterling.

His buildings.

But his greatest splendour was shown in his buildings. He founded a new city at Delhi, built on a regular plan, and far surpassing the old one in magnificence: three wide streets (one of great length, ornamented by a canal and rows of trees, and composed of houses rising over a line of shops under arcades) led to a spacious esplanade, in the centre of which, and on the Jumna, stood the fortified palace, the spacious courts, marble halls, and golden domes of which have so often been the subject of enthusiastic description. The great mosque of the same city is a work of extraordinary elegance and grandeur.

The Táj Mahal.

But of all the structures erected by Sháh Jehán, there is none that bears any comparison with the Táj Mahal at Agra—a mausoleum of white marble decorated with mosaics, which, for the richness of the material, the chasteness of the design, and the effect, at once brilliant and solemn, is not surpassed by any other edifice, either in Europe or Asia.[19]

[19] Táj Mahal is a corruption of Mumtáz Mahal, the name of Sháh Jehán's queen, whose sepulchre it forms. It stands on a marble terrace over the Jumna, is flanked at a moderate distance by two mosques, and is surrounded by extensive gardens. The building itself, on the outside, is of white marble, with a high cupola and four minarets. In the centre of the inside is a lofty hall, of a circular form, under a dome, in the middle of which is the tomb, enclosed within an open screen of elaborate tracery formed of marble and mosaics. The walls are of white marble, with borders of a running pattern of flowers in mosaics. The graceful flow, the harmonious colours, and, above all, the sparing use of this rich ornament, with the mild lustre of the marble on which it is displayed, form the peculiar charm of the building, and distinguish it from any other in the world. The materials are lapis-lazuli, jasper, heliotrope or bloodstone, a sort of golden stone (not well understood), with chalcedony and other agates, cornelians, jade, and various stones of the same description. "A single flower in the screen," says Mr. Voysey (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 434), "contains a hundred stones, each cut to the exact shape necessary, and highly polished;" and "yet," says Bishop Heber, "though everything is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room chimneypiece, the general effect produced is rather solemn and impressive than gaudy." In the minute beauties of execution, however, these flowers are by no means equal to those on tables and other small works in "Pietra Dura," at Florence. It is the taste displayed in the outline and application of this ornament, combined with the lightness and simplicity of the building, which gives it so prodigious an advantage over the gloomy panels of the chapel of the Medici. The mosaics of the Táj are said, with great

All these vast undertakings were managed with so much economy that, after defraying the expenses of his great expeditions to Candahár, his wars in Balkh, and other heavy charges, and maintaining a regular army of 200,000 horse, Sháh Jehán left a treasure, which some reckon at near six and some at twenty-four millions sterling, in coin, besides his vast accumulations in wrought gold and silver, and in jewels.[20] His economy.

Notwithstanding the unaimable character given of him in his youth, the personal conduct of Sháh Jehán seems to have been blameless when on the throne. His treatment of his people was beneficent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which (unlike most Eastern princes) he so generously reposed in his sons. His personal character.

Sháh Jehán had reigned thirty years; he was sixty-seven years old when he was deposed, and seventy-four when he died.

BOOK XI.

AURANGZÍB (OR ÁLAMGÍR[1]).

CHAPTER I.

FROM 1658 TO 1662.

THOUGH Aurangzíb's main object was the pursuit of Dárá, he did not fail to attend to the motions of Soleimán, who was marching to his father's aid at the time of the fatal battle. He was a young man of twenty-five, and was assisted in his command by Rája Jei Sing, and accom- Soleimán deserted by Jei Sing and Dilir Khan.

probability, to be the workmanship of Italians. It is singular that artists of that nation should receive lessons of taste from the Indians.

[20] Bernier says under 6,000,000*l.* (vol. i. p. 305). Khafi Khán says 24,000,000*l.*, and he is not likely to exaggerate, for he makes Sháh Jehán's revenue 23,000,000*l.* (only 1,000,000*l.* more than that now collected in the British portion of India); while it is generally reckoned to have been 32,000,000*l.*, and is admitted by Bernier, when depreciating it, to be greater than that of Persia and Turkey put together (vol. i. p. 303).

[1] Aurangzíb, on his accession, took the title of A'lamgír, by which he is designated in Indian history and in all regular documents. Europeans, however, as well as some of his own countrymen, still call him Aurangzíb (properly pronounced Ourangzíb).

panied by another general named Dilír Khán. Jei Sing, like the other Rájpút princes, had adhered to Dárá, as well on account of his lawful claims as of his liberal principles in religion; but though he had acted with decision against Shujá, the case was different with Aurangzíb. His inclinations probably favoured that prince, with whom he had served in Balkh, and his interest counselled him against opposition to the actual possessor of the throne. He determined to abandon Soleimán; Dilír Khán took the same resolution; and their defection was aggravated rather than palliated by the paltry pretexts they employed to excuse it. Soleimán, thus deprived of the strength of his army, formed a design of avoiding Aurangzíb by keeping close to the mountains, and thus making his way to join his father at Láhór. Aurangzíb frustrated his project by sending a detachment to Hardwár to intercept him; and this disappointment occasioned the desertion of most of his remaining troops. He next sought refuge in Sirinagar, but the rajá refused him an asylum unless he would send away the 500 horse that still adhered to him. After a vain attempt to return to the fort of Allahábád, in which his small band was reduced to 200, he agreed to the rája of Sirinagar's terms, entered his fort with five or six attendants, and, though treated with civility, soon found that he was, in reality, in a sort of confinement.

Flies to Sirinagar, and is made prisoner by the rája.

Aurangzíb did not wait till the conclusion of these operations: after settling his affairs at Delhi he continued his march against Dárá. That unfortunate prince, at the commencement of his flight, had halted for a few days at Delhi, where he obtained some treasure, and collected some thousand troops: he then marched rapidly to Láhór, and, finding a large sum of money in the royal treasury, began to raise an army. Before he had made much progress he heard of the advance of Aurangzíb, and soon after of the near approach of a light detachment sent on in pursuit of him. Sháh Jehán had written to Mohábat Khán (son of the great general), who was viceroy of Cábul; and it is probable that Dárá had been expecting encouragement from him. Besides the troops of the province, Cábul would have afforded a ready refuge, in case of need, among the Afghán tribes, and an easy exit to the territories of the Uzbeks or the Persians; but these views, if entertained, were disconcerted by the prompt measures of Aurangzíb; and Dárá, unable to resist

Aurangzíb marches from Delhi in pursuit of Dárá. A.D. 1658, July 28; A.H. 1068, Zí Cádah 7.

the force that threatened him, left Láhór with 3,000 or 4,000 horse, and took the road of Multán on his way to Sind.

Dárá flies from Láhór

On this Aurangzíb, who had already crossed the Satlaj, altered his course for Multán. Before he reached that city, he heard that Dárá had proceeded on his flight, and at the same time received intelligence of the advance of his brother Shujá from Bengal. He therefore gave up his march to the westward, and returned without delay to Delhi.

Aurangzíb returns to Delhi.

A.D. 1658, from Sept. 30 to Nov. 21; A.H. 1069, from Moharram 12 to Rabí ul Awwal 4.

Meanwhile, Shujá had advanced to Benáres, with 25,000 horse and a numerous train of artillery; and Aurangzíb, after some stay at Delhi, set out to arrest his progress. They met at Cajwa, halfway between Allahábád and Etáya. Shujá was advantageously posted; and though both drew up their armies, neither was anxious to begin the attack. On the third or fourth day, Aurangzíb, was forming his line before daybreak, according to his usual practice, when he was surprised by a prodigious uproar that suddenly arose in his rear. This was occasioned by Rája Jeswant Sing, who, though not serving in his camp, had treacherously attacked his baggage.

Marches against Shujá, who is advancing from Bengal A.D. 1659, Jan. 8; A.H. 1069, Rabí Second 17.

Treacherous attack on his baggage by Jeswant Sing.

The rája had submitted when Dárá's case became hopeless: he had not been received with the confidence or distinction he expected, and had entered on a correspondence with Shujá, promising to fall upon the baggage at a particular hour, when the prince's army was also to attack in front. Had the cooperation been complete, it must have been entirely successful; for, although Shujá was not at his post in time, it had nearly occasioned the dispersion of his rival's army. The tumult created by the unexpected onset, combined with the darkness and the ignorance of the cause, spread the greatest confusion among the troops who were forming; some left the field, others flew to protect their baggage, and a few went over to the enemy. In the midst of this perturbation, Aurangzíb dismounted and seated himself on a portable throne, from which he issued his directions with a serene and cheerful countenance, sent a party to repel the attack, and took measures for checking the disorder which had already spread so far. In the meantime, Jeswant found that he was not supported; and, expecting to have the whole army turned upon him, was glad to recall his troops from

plunder, and to retire to a place out of reach, where he could await in safety the event of the approaching contest.

By this time the sun had risen, and Shujá was seen advancing to the attack. The battle began by a cannonade, soon followed by a close action: Aurangzíb's right was forced back, and his centre, where he was himself, was hard pressed. He was often in imminent danger; and his elephant was charged by another of greater strength, and would have been borne to the ground if the opposite driver had not been shot by one of the king's guards. But he still continued to press upon the enemy's centre, until they at length gave way and fled from the field, leaving 114 pieces of cannon and many elephants to the victor.

Defeat of Shujá.

Aurangzíb sent his son, Prince Mohammed Sultán, in pursuit of Shujá from the field of battle; and some days after despatched a regular army to support the prince, under the command of Mír Jumla, who, having been released from his mock imprisonment, had joined the army a day or two before the engagement, and acted as second in command on that occasion. Having made these dispositions, he returned to Agra.

A.D. 1659, Jan. 15; A.H. 1069, Jamádia'l Awwal 1.

That city, the most vulnerable point of his possessions, had just been exposed to considerable alarm and danger. Jeswant Sing, as soon as he perceived the victory to incline to his enemies, commenced his retreat towards his own country, and unexpectedly presented himself at Agra before the result of the battle was accurately known. He had it in his power to have made an effort for delivering and restoring Sháh Jehán, and it is probable the popular feeling was already strongly inclined in that direction; for Sháyista Khán, who was governor, had given himself up to despair, and was on the point of swallowing poison.[3] He was relieved by the departure of Jeswant, who, considering how much he might lose by pushing things to extremities, pursued his march, and was soon safe among the hills and sands of Jódpúr.

Jeswant Sing threatens Agra, and flies to Márwár.

Aurangzíb, on reaching Agra, despatched a force of 10,000 men in pursuit of him; and about the same time he received a report from Prince Mohammed Sultán that the fort of Allahábád had been given up by Shujá's governor, and that Shujá himself had retired to Bengal.

A.D. 1659, Feb 2; A.H. 1069, Jamádia'l Awwal 17

These successes were more than counterbalanced by the in-

[3] Bernier.

telligence he received of the proceedings of Dárá Shukóh. By the last accounts, that prince had deposited his baggage at Bakkar on the Indus; and, being forced by the desertion of his men and the death of his carriage-cattle to relinquish his design on Sind, he had no means of escaping the detachment in pursuit of him, but by endeavouring to cross the desert to Cach. It now appeared that he had made little stay in that district, that he had entered Guzerát, and had been joined by the governor, Sháh Nawáz Khán[8] (one of whose daughters was married to Morád, and another to Aurangzíb himself), and by *his* powerful assistance had occupied the whole province, including Surat and Baróch. He had opened a negotiation with the kings of the Deckan, but had turned his immediate attention to a march to Hindostan, and a junction with Jeswant Sing. Amidst the surprise occasioned by this rapid change of circumstances, Aurangzib did not fail to perceive the increased importance of the Rájpút prince, whose territories extended from Guzerát to Ajmír; and as he never allowed his passions to interfere with his interests, he forgot the perfidy and outrage with which he had just been treated, and set all his usual arts to work to win over his rebellious dependent. He wrote a complimentary letter with his own hand, conceding the rank and titles, his previous refusal of which was the ground of Jeswant's discontent; and at the same time he called in the aid of Jei Sing, to convince his brother rája of the confidence that might be placed in the king's good-will, and of the ruin that awaited all who joined the hopeless cause of his rival. These arguments and concessions had their weight with Jeswant; and although Dárá had marched from Ahmedábád, and was arrived within fifty miles of Jódpúr, he sent to apprise him that he felt himself unable to contend alone with the power of Aurangzíb, and could not undertake to join him unless some other of the great Rájpút princes could be prevailed on to embark in the same cause. After repeated attempts to bring back Jeswant to his former views and promises, Dárá was obliged to renounce all hopes of his assistance, and to move with his own forces into the adjoining province of Ajmír. He had assembled an army of 20,000 men in little more than a month after his arrival in Guzerát, and had left that province with a considerable increase of numbers, and with the addition of thirty or forty guns. With

Dárá Shukóh appears in Guzerat, and is acknowledged in that province.

He sets out to join Jeswant Sing.

Jeswant Sing is won over by Aurangzíb.

A.D 1659, Feb 14: A.H 1069, Jamádia'l Awwal 1.

Abandons Dárá.

[8] [The brother of Sháyista Khán.—ED.]

this force he took up and fortified a commanding position on the hills near Ajmír.

Dárá is attacked and defeated by Aurangzíb.

Aurangzíb, who marched from Agra as soon as he heard of the proceedings in Guzerát, was now at Jeipúr, and soon arrived in front of Dárá's position. After cannonading for three days with loss to his own army, he ordered a general assault. It was obstinately resisted for many hours, till the death of Sháh Nawáz (who fell just as a party of Aurangzíb's troops had mounted the rampart) so disheartened Dárá, that he fled with precipitation, and his troops dispersed in all directions. Even the body of horse that adhered to his person gradually straggled and fell off, and some even plundered the treasure which he was endeavouring to save from the wreck of his resources.

Disasters of his flight to Guzerát.

He reached the neighbourhood of Ahmedábád, after eight days and nights of almost incessant marching, rendered nearly intolerable by the heat and dust of a scorching season. To this were latterly added the merciless attacks of the Cólís in the hills, who hung upon his devoted band, and stripped or massacred every man who fell into the rear. It was in the midst of these calamities that Dárá was met by the celebrated traveller Bernier, who was on his way to Delhi, unconscious of what had just been passing. As Dárá's wife was wounded, and he had no physician, he obliged Bernier to turn back with him, and they remained together for three days. On the fourth they were within a march of Ahmedábád where they counted on a secure refuge and on some repose after all their sufferings. They slept that night in a caravanserai, which afforded them protection from the attacks of the Cólís, but was so confined that Bernier was only separated by a canvas screen from the princesses of Dárá's family. About daybreak, when they were preparing for what they thought the last of their distressing marches, news was brought to Dárá that the gates of Ahmedábád were shut against him and that if he had any regard for his own safety, he would instantly remove from the neighbourhood. These tidings were first made known to Bernier by the cries and lamentations of the women, and soon after Dárá came forth, half-dead with consternation. The bystanders received him with a blank silence, and Bernier could not refrain from tears when he saw him addressing himself to each of them, down to the meanest soldier, conscious that he was deserted by all the world, and distracted with the thoughts of what would become of himself

He is met by Bernier.

Ahmedábád shuts its gates on him

and his family. Bernier saw him depart with the most melancholy forebodings. He was accompanied by four or five horsemen and two elephants; with these he made his way to Cach, and was there joined by about fifty horse and two hundred matchlockmen, who had accompanied one of his faithful adherents from Guzerát. The chief of Cach, who had been hearty in his cause when he first entered Guzerát, now received him coldly. He pursued his march towards Candahár, and reached the small territory of Jún, or Juín, on the eastern frontier of Sind. The chief of the place, who seems to have been an Afghán, was under great obligations to Dárá, and received him with every demonstration of attachment, while his only thought was how to betray him to his enemies. Dárá's wife (the daughter of his uncle Parvíz) died at this place of her fatigues and sufferings; and the prince, with a disregard of circumstances that looks like infatuation, sent a portion of his small escort, with two of his most confidential servants, to attend her remains to Láhór. When the period of mourning permitted, he set out on prosecution of his journey to the Indus. The chief of Jún accompanied him for one march, and then returned on some pretext, leaving his brother and a body of troops, as if to attend the prince to the frontier. No sooner was he gone than his brother fell suddenly on Dárá, made him and his son Sepehr Shukóh prisoners, and sent to all the king's officers to announce his capture.

He flies towards Sind.

He is betrayed by the chief of Jún, and delivered up to Aurangzíb.

The news reached Aurangzíb while he was celebrating the first anniversary of his accession. He concealed the intelligence until it was confirmed beyond doubt, when he ordered public rejoicings, and directed the feast of the accession to be prolonged. It had scarcely expired when his prisoners arrived at the capital. Dárá, by special orders, was brought in loaded with chains, on a sorry elephant, without housings, and was thus conducted up the most populous streets of the city. The sight awakened a general feeling of compassion and indignation; and Bernier thought an insurrection so probable, that he went into the street armed, and prepared for any exigency that might arise; but the sympathy of the people was only shown in tears and groans. Dárá was exposed through all the principal places, and then led off to a prison in Old Delhi. The inhabitants were less patient on the next day, when the chief of Jún was recognised on his way to court. A mob imme-

It began A.D. 1659, June 6; A.H. 1069 Ramazan 24

He is brought to Delhi A.D. 1659, July 26; A.H. 1069, Zi Cáadah 15.

Sympathy of the people.

diately assembled, who first assailed him with reproaches and curses; and, growing warmer as their numbers increased, began to throw mud, then tiles and stones; and at last got to such a pitch of fury, that several lives were lost, and the chief himself would have been torn to pieces, if he had not been rescued by the police.

Next day the leader of the riot was put to death. A few days after this tumult, a mock consultation was held with some of the king's counsellors and some learned lawyers, at which Dárá was pronounced worthy of death, as an apostate from the Mahometan religion. Aurangzíb, with seeming reluctance, gave his orders conformably to this opinion, and a personal enemy was selected to carry the sentence into effect. Dárá was, with his son, preparing some lentils (the only food they would touch, for fear of poison), when he saw the executioners, and at once guessed his fate: he snatched up a small knife, which he had just been using, and defended himself manfully, until oppressed by numbers. His body was exhibited to the populace on an elephant; his head was cut off and carried to Aurangzíb, who ordered it to be placed on a platter, and to be wiped and washed in his presence. When he had satisfied himself that it was the real head of Dárá, he began to weep, and, with many expressions of sorrow, directed it to be interred in the tomb of Humáyún. Sepehr Shukóh was sent away, in confinement, to Gwáliór.[1]

He is put to death.

During these transactions, Prince Sultán and Mír Jumla were carrying on their operations against Shujá. That prince, on retiring towards Bengal, had taken up a position at Móngír, and had thrown up a strong intrenchment between the hills and the Ganges; but Mír Jumla turned his left flank by a march through the hills, and compelled him to fall back on Rájmahal, where, during his long government of Bengal, he had established a sort of capital. The rainy season now set in, which in that country puts an end to every sort of movement by land, and Mír Jumla cantoned

Operations against Shujá by Prince Sultán and Mír Jumla.

[1] Almost all the account of Dárá's proceedings is taken from Kháfí Khán. I have seldom used Bernier's delightful narrative, except when he was an eyewitness; for, although he does not differ in the main from the native historian, he introduces many particulars not probable in themselves, and not alluded to by the other. It is true that he must have received his accounts from persons engaged in the transactions, and *that* almost immediately after they had occurred; but such fresh materials have their disadvantages as well as their advantages. Before the subjects have been discussed and examined, each man knows but a fragment of the whole, and to it he adapts the reports he hears from others: the beaten party have always some act of treachery, or some extraordinary accident, with which to excuse their defeat; and all men take a pleasure in discovering secret histories and latent motives, which are soon forgotten unless confirmed by further testimony.

at some distance from Rájmahal. An important event to both parties had taken place before this pause. Prince Sultán had long been discontented with playing the part of a pageant under the authority of Mír Jumla; and his impatience became so ungovernable, that, although he was the eldest son and recognised heir of Aurangzíb, he entered into a correspondence with Shujá, and finally deserted to his camp. Shujá received him with honour, and gave him his daughter in marriage; but, either from disappointed expectations or natural levity of temper, Sultán became as much dissatisfied in his new situation as he had been before; and after taking an active part in the hostilities which recommenced after the rainy season, he again deserted his party, and returned to Mír Jumla's camp.

Prince Sultán goes over to Shujá. A.D. 1659, June; A.H. 1069, Ramazán. Returns to his allegiance, A.D. 1660, Jan. 27; A.H. 1070 Jamádi'a Sání 6;

Aurangzíb, who had at one time determined on a journey to Bengal, had given it up before this news reached him. He showed himself little affected by his son's behaviour; he ordered him to be committed to prison, and kept him in confinement for many years.

and is imprisoned by his father.

From this time Shujá's affairs went progressively to decay. After a series of unsuccessful struggles, he was compelled to retreat to Dacca; and, Mír Jumla continuing to press him with vigour, he quitted his army, fled with a few attendants, and took refuge with the rája of Aracán. His subsequent story is uncertain. It would appear that the rája took some unfair steps to prevent his leaving Aracán, and that Shujá entered into a plot with the Mussulmans of the country, to overturn the rája's government: this much is certain, that Shujá and all his family were cut off, and, though there were many rumours regarding them, were never heard of more.

Shujá flies to Aracán. A.D 1660, April or May; A.H. 1070, Shábán or Ramazan.

Uncertainty regarding his fate.

His ignorance of Shujá's fate left Aurangzíb in some uneasiness for a time, but that and all his other grounds of anxiety were removed before the end of the next year. He had attempted by means of threats, and afterwards by force, to compel the rája of Sirinagar to give up Soleimán Shukóh. The rája (whether from avarice, or policy, or sense of honour) withstood all his demands, until he had recourse to Jei Sing, his zealous agent in all negotiations with Hindús. By that chief's persuasion, the rája was, at length, induced to make over Soleimán to the imperial officers, and by them he was conveyed to Delhi.[a]

Soleimán given up by the rája of Sirinagar A.D 1661, Jan 5; A.H 1071, Jamádi'a l Awwal 11

[a] Khafí Khán.

He was paraded through the city on an elephant, and then brought before the emperor. The chains were taken off his legs, but his hands were still secured in gilded fetters. His appearance affected many of the courtiers to tears. Even Aurangzíb put on an appearance of compassion; and when he entreated that, rather than have his strength and reason undermined by drugs[6] (as was thought to be often the fate of captive princes), he might be put to death at once, the emperor addressed him in the mildest accents, and assured him of safety and good treatment.[7] It was not believed that he kept his word, for Soleimán, his brother Sepehr Shukóh, and the young son of Morád, all died in Gwáliór within a short space;[8] while the emperor's own son, Sultán, who was confined in the same fort, lived several years, and was partially restored to freedom.

Morád murdered in his prison.

The atrocious murder of Morád, which took place a few months after Soleimán's imprisonment, justifies the worst suspicions. That unfortunate prince had endeavoured to escape, by means of a rope let down from the battlements; but the wailing of a Hindú concubine, of whom he was taking leave, drew the attention of the guard, and led to the discovery of his design. Aurangzíb felt that his own security was incomplete while his brother lived; and, as he had not even the shadow of an offence to allege against him, he instigated the son of a man, who had been arbitrarily put to death by the prince while viceroy of Guzerát, to complain of him as a murderer; when, after the ceremony of a trial, and a legal sentence, the unhappy Morád was executed in his prison.[9]

A.D. 1661, November; A.H. 1072, Rabí us Sání.

Some time before this period, Aurangzíb sent a force against the rája of Bikanír, who had deserted him in the Deckan, and still held out against him. He was reduced to submission by this expedition.

Expedition of Mír Jumla to Assám

When the quiet of Bengal had been restored by the successes of Mír Jumla, it seems to have been an object with Aurangzíb to find employment for that powerful minister. To that end he engaged him in the conquest of Assám, a rich country lying along the river Brahmaputra, and shut in on both sides by woody mountains. Mír Jumla marched from Dacca up the river, conquered the petty principality of Cúch Behár, overran the plain of Assám, and took

[6] [For the *pústa*, or slow poison of poppies, see Mill's *India*, vol. ii. p. 401, note. —Ed.]

[7] Bernier, who was present at the interview.

[8] Bernier.

[9] Kháfí Khán. Bernier.

possession of Ghérgong, the capital. He announced his success with great exultation to the emperor, and boasted of his intention of pursuing his conquests, and opening the way to China. Soon after this the rainy season set in; the whole plain was flooded; the cavalry could not march, nor even forage; the natives assembled on all sides, cut off supplies and stragglers, and distressed the camp; and as the rains subsided, a pestilential disorder broke out among the troops; so that when the season opened, Mír Jumla, although he had received reinforcements, was obliged to renounce his magnificent projects, and even required the exertion of his known talents to obtain such contributions and cessions from the rája as might save his honour from the appearance of a defeat. When he had accomplished this object he withdrew his army; but died before he reached Dacca, worn out with the fatigues and sufferings which, though at a very advanced age, he had encountered equally with the humblest soldier.[10] The emperor immediately raised his son, Mohammed Amín, to the high rank and honours which had been possessed by the deceased.

A.D. 1652, March 12; A.H. 1072, Shábán 6.

A.D. 1663, Jan. 6; A.H. 1073. Jamáda's Sani 6. Death of Mir Jumla. A.D. 1663, March 31; A.H. 1073, Ramazan 2.

The death of this powerful subject seemed to relieve Aurangzíb from every ground for jealousy or apprehension; but he had recently received a severe warning of the precarious terms on which he still held his life and empire. Soon after the fifth anniversary of his accession he was seized with a violent illness, which at first threatened immediate death, and afterwards left him in a state of extreme bodily weakness, and almost entirely deprived of the use of speech. This unexpected calamity shook his newly-established government to its foundations. Reports were current that Rája Jeswant was in full march to release Sháh Jehán, and that Mohábat Khán was coming from Cábul with the same intention. The partisans of the deposed monarch began to intrigue at the capital; while two parties were formed among the emperor's own adherents—one anxious to secure the succession to his second son, Moazzim, and the other to raise his third son, Akber,[11] to the throne. These dangers were averted by the constancy and force of mind of Aurangzíb himself. On the fifth day of his illness, though scarcely rescued from the jaws of death, he caused

Dangerous illness of Aurangzíb.

Intrigues and agitation.

Firmness and self possession of Aurangzíb.

[10] Kháfí Khán. Bernier.

[11] [Or rather Azam.—ED.]

himself to be raised up, and received the homage of his principal courtiers; and on a subsequent day, when his having a fainting-fit had led to a general report that he was dead, he summoned two or three of the greatest nobles to his bedside; and although not yet recovered from the paralysis which had affected his tongue, he wrote an order, in their presence, to his sister Roushanárá, to send his great seal, which had been intrusted to her, and placed it near himself, that no use might be made of it without his special orders. The respect and admiration inspired by his conduct on these occasions had as much effect in suppressing disturbances as the prospect they afforded of his recovery.[12]

His recovery. A.D. 1662, Dec. 6.

As soon as he was able to travel, he set off for Cashmír, where he hoped to regain his strength sooner than at any place in the plains.[13]

Disturbances in the Deckan.

While Aurangzíb was seeking repose in the north, a scene was opening in the Deckan, with which his thoughts were soon to be fully employed.

Description of the Maratta country.

The Maratta race, it will be remembered, inhabits the country lying between the range of mountains which stretches along the south of the Nerbadda, parallel to the Vindhya chain, and a line drawn from Goa, on the seacoast, through Bídar to Chánda, on the Warda. That river is its boundary on the east, as the sea is on the west.

The great feature of the country is the range of Siádri, more commonly called the Ghâts, which runs along the western part of it, thirty or forty miles from the sea; and, though only from 3,000 to 5,000 feet high, is made very remarkable by its own peculiarities, and by the difference between the tracts which it divides. On the west it rises abruptly, nearly from the level of the sea, and on that side presents an almost inaccessible barrier; but on the east, it supports a table-land 1,500 or 2,000 feet high, extending eastward, with a gradual slope, far beyond the Maratta limits, to the Bay of Bengal.

The strip of land between the Ghâts and the sea is called the Cóncan, and is, in general, very rugged. Towards the coast are small rich plains, producing rice; the rest is almost impervious from rocks and forests, cut by numerous torrents, which change, when near the sea, into muddy creeks, among thickets of mangrove.[14] The summits of the ridge itself are bare rocks; its

[12] Bernier. Khâfí Khán merely mentions a dangerous illness.

[13] Bernier.

[14] The native legends relate that the sea once washed the foot of the Ghâts, and that the Cóncan was rescued from it by a miracle of one of the gods.

sides are thickly covered with tall trees mixed with underwood. The forest spreads over the contiguous part of the table-land to the east, a tract broken by deep winding valleys and ravines, forming fit haunts for the wild beasts with which the range is peopled. Fifteen or twenty miles from the ridge, the valleys become wide and fertile, and by degrees are lost in open plains, which stretch away to the eastward, covered with cultivation, but bare of trees, and rarely crossed by ranges of moderate hills. The great chain of the Ghâts receives the whole fury of the south-west monsoon, the force of which is thus broken before it reaches the plains. For several months the high points are wrapped in clouds, and beaten by rains and tempests. The moisture soon runs off from the upper tracts, but renders the Cóncan damp and insalubrious throughout the year.

The greatest of the inferior branches of hills which run east form the Ghâts is that called the range of Chándór, from one of the forts constructed on its summits. It separates the low basin of the Tapti from that of the Godáverí, on the table-land. The basin of the Tapti is composed of Khándésh and Berár, fertile plains, only separated from Guzerát by the forest tract of Bagláua, and differing in many respects from the high country, which is more peculiarly that of the Marattas.

The whole of the Ghâts and neighbouring mountains often terminate towards the top in a wall of smooth rock, the highest points of which, as well as detached portions on insulated hills, form natural fortresses, where the only labour required is to get access to the level space, which generally lies on the summit. Various princes, at different times, have profited by these positions. They have cut flights of steps or winding roads up the rocks, fortified the entrance with a succession of gateways, and erected towers to command the approaches; and thus studded the whole of the region about the Ghâts and their branches with forts, which, but for frequent experience, would be deemed impregnable.

Though the Marattas had never appeared in history as a nation, they had as strongly-marked a character as if they had always formed a united commonwealth. Account of the nation. Though more like to the lower orders in Hindostan than to their southern neighbours in Cánara and Télingáua, they could never for a moment be confounded with either.

They are small sturdy men, well made, though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy, and persevering. If they have none of the pride and dignity of the Rájpúts, they have

none of their indolence or their want of worldly wisdom. A Rájpút warrior, as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Maratta thinks of nothing *but* the result, and cares little for the means, if he can attain his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life, or even his interest, for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations; there is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rájpút, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Maratta.

The Rájpút is the most worthy antagonist—the Maratta the most formidable enemy; for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensable, and will always support them, or supply their place, by stratagem, activity, and perseverance. All this applies chiefly to the soldiery, to whom more bad qualities might fairly be ascribed.* The mere husbandmen are sober, frugal, and industrious, and, though they have a dash of the national cunning, are neither turbulent nor insincere.

The chiefs, in those days, were men of families who had for generations filled the old Hindú offices of heads of villages or functionaries of districts,[15] and had often been employed as partisans under the governments of Ahmednagar and Bíjápúr. They were all Súdras, of the same cast with their people, though some tried to raise their consequence by claiming an infusion of Rájpút blood.

The early Mahometan writers do not seem to have been aware of the existence of the Marattas. We can perceive, by the surnames of some chiefs whom they mention, that they must have belonged to that race; but the word Maratta first occurs in Ferishta, in the transactions of the year A.D. 1485, and is not then applied in a general sense. It has been mentioned that, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the king of Bíjápúr adopted the Maratta language, instead of Persian, for his financial papers; and as he was substituting natives of the Deckan for foreigners in his armies, he enlisted a considerable number of Marattas among them. They were at first chiefly employed in the lowest military capacity, that of garrisoning forts; by degrees their aptitude for service as light cavalry was discovered, and they began to obtain military rank under the

[15] Patéls, désmukhs, déspándés, &c. &c. See pp. 67 and 270.

governments of Bíjápúr and Ahmednagar; while individuals were also engaged in the service of the Kutb Sháh kings of Golcónda. Still they are very little mentioned by the Mussulman writers, until the beginning of the seventeenth century. In the time of Malik Amber they emerge into notice, and thenceforward occupy a conspicuous part in the history of the Deckan.[16]

Among the officers of Malik Amber was a person named Málojí, of a respectable though not a considerable family, the surname of which was Bósla. He served with a few men mounted on his own horses, and was especially dependent on the protection of Jádu Ráo. Rise of the Bósla family.

If any Maratta had a claim to Rájpút descent, it was the family of Jádu. The name is that of one of the Rájpút tribes: it was borne at the first Mahometan invasion by the rája of Deógiri, the greatest prince in the Deckan; and it is not improbable that the protector of Málojí (who was désmukh of a district not far from Deógiri) may have been descended from that stock. Whatever was his origin, Lúkjí Jádu Ráo had attained to a command of 10,000 men under Malik Amber, and was a person of such consequence, that his desertion to Sháh Jehán turned the fate of a war against his former master.

It was long before this defection that Málojí Bósla attended a great Hindú festival at the house of Jádu, accompanied by his son Sháhjí, a boy of five years old. During the merriment natural to such an occasion, Jádu Ráo took young Sháhjí and his own daughter, a girl of three years old, on his knees, and said, laughing, "that they were a fine couple, and ought to be man and wife." To his surprise, Málojí instantly started up, and called on the company to witness that the daughter of Jádu was affianced to his son. It did not require the pride of birth to raise Jádu's indignation at the advantage taken of him, and the consequence was a rupture between him and his dependent. But Málojí was by this time on the road to fortune: he acquired a considerable sum of money, increased his party, and, being an active partisan, rose at last to a command of 5,000 horse in the service of Ahmednagar, and to the possession of a large jágír, of which the chief place was Púna. He had still kept up his son's claim to the daughter of Jádu Ráo, which, in his present prosperity, was no longer looked on as so unreasonable; and Jádu Ráo at last consenting, his daughter

[16] Grant Duff, vol. i. pp. 73—96.

was regularly married to Sháhjí. One of the fruits of this union was Sivají, the founder of the Maratta empire.[17]

Sháhjí has already been mentioned as a great actor in the last events of the kingdom of Ahmednagar.[18] He then entered the service of Bíjápúr, and was continued in his jágír, which had fallen to that state in the partition of the Ahmednagar territory. He was afterwards employed on conquests to the southward, and obtained a much more considerable jágír in the Mysore country, including the towns of Síra and Bangalór.

Sháhjí Bósla.

As all Maratta chiefs were wholly illiterate, their affairs were managed by Bramins, who formed a numerous class of men of business, even under the Mahometans. A person of that cast, therefore, whose name was Dádají Cóndu, was left in charge of the jágír at Púna, and to him was committed the care of the chief's second son, Sivají, the elder accompanying his father to the Mysore. The education of a young Maratta consisted in horsemanship, hunting, and military exercises; and as Púna is situated at the junction of the hilly country with the plains, Sivají's principal associates were the soldiery belonging to his father's horse, or the plundering highlanders of the neighbouring Ghâts. From such companions he imbibed an early love of adventure, which was increased by his fondness for listening to the ballads of his country. By the time he was sixteen he began to be beyond the control of Dádají, by whom he had been admitted to a share in the management of the jágír; and though he was generally popular for his conciliating manners, he was already suspected of sharing in several extensive gang-robberies committed in the Cóncan. Those practices and his hunting excursions made him familiar with every path and defile throughout the Ghâts, and he was before well acquainted with their wild inhabitants. Those in the parts of the range north of Púna were Bhíls and Cólís,[19] and those to the south Rámúsís; but immediately to the west of Púna were Marattas, who had long braved the dangers and hardships of that uncultivated region, and who were called Máwalís, from the appellation of the valleys where they resided.

Sivají Bósla.

His robberies.

His adherents.

It was from among these last that Sivají chose his earliest adherents; and as he was remarkably quick and observing, he soon perceived a way of employing them on higher objects than he had yet been engaged with.

[17] He was born in May, 1627 (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 122).

[18] A.D. 1636. See p. 582.

[19] Hill tribes. See page 213.

The hill-forts belonging to Bíjápúr were generally much neglected: being remote and unhealthy, they were sometimes occupied by a single Mahometan officer, with a small garrison of ill-paid local troops; at other times they were left in charge of the nearest désmukh, or other revenue officer. Among those in the last predicament was Tórna, a strong fort twenty miles south-west of Púna. Of this place Sivají contrived to get possession,[20] and succeeded, A.D. 1646. by a proper application of arguments and money, in convincing the court of Bíjápúr that it was better in his hands than in those of the désmukh. But on his afterwards fortifying a neighbouring hill, the attention of the government was seriously drawn to him, and remonstrances were addressed to Sháhjí on his son's proceedings. Sháhjí made the best excuse he could, and wrote in strong terms to Dádají and Sivají to forbid their attempting any further encroachments. The Bramin used all his endeavours to persuade his young chief to attend to these injunctions; but he did not long survive the receipt of them, and Sivají, when freed from his control, pursued his enterprises with more audacity than before. He withheld the revenue of the jágír, which was due to Sháhjí; and as there were two forts within it (Chákan and Súpa), held by officers immediately under his father, he gained over the first and surprised the second; and being now master within his own jágír, he proceeded to more extensive undertakings. He bribed the Mahometan governor to surrender Condána, or Singhar, a strong hill-fort near Púna: and, by taking advantage of a dispute between two Bramin brothers, friends of his own, who were contesting the command of the still stronger hill-fort of Purandar, he introduced a body of Máwalís into the place, and treacherously took possession of it for himself.[21] A.D. 1647

He surprises a hill-fort.

He usurps his father's jágír.

Obtains possession of several forts.

As all these acquisitions were made without bloodshed, and without disturbing the neighbouring districts, they called forth no exertion on the part of the king of Bíjápúr, who was at this time occupied with conquests to the southward, and with the magnificent buildings which he was erecting at his capital.[22]

[20] Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 131.

[21] Grant Duff.

[22] "Thus did Sivají obtain possession of the tract between Chacun and the Neera: and the manner in which he established himself, watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could at once spring on his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise, and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power, when his progress had attracted notice, and longer conceal-

But the time was come when Sivají's own views required that he should throw off the mask.[23] The signal of open rebellion was the plunder of a convoy of royal treasure in the Cóncan; and before the court recovered its surprise at this outrage, it heard that five of the principal hill-forts in the Ghâts had fallen into the hands of Sivají. Almost immediately after this, a Bramin officer of his surprised and made prisoner the Mahometan governor of the northern Cóncan; and not only took possession of Kalián, where he resided, but occupied the whole of his province, and compelled him to give orders for the surrender of all his forts. Sivají was transported with this success. He received the governor with respect, and dismissed him with honour. His first care in his conquest was, to restore Hindú endowments, and revive old institutions. He had been brought up in a strong Hindú feeling, which perhaps was, at first, as much national as religious; and out of this sprang up a rooted hatred to the Mussulmans, and an increasing attachment to his own superstitions. This inclination fell so well in with his policy, that he began to affect peculiar piety, and to lay claim to prophetic dreams, and other manifestations of the favour of the gods.

Revolts against the government of Bijápúr.

A.D. 1648.

Takes possession of the northern Concan.

His attachment to the Hindú religion.

The court of Bijápúr, when at length awakened to Sivají's designs, was still misled by the belief that he was instigated by his father. They therefore dissembled their displeasure until they had an opportunity of making Sháhjí prisoner. His seizure was effected, under pretence of a friendly entertainment, by a chief of the family of Górpara, on whom Sivají afterwards most amply revenged his treachery.[24] Sháhjí's assurances that he was innocent of his son's transgressions received little credit from the court of Bijápúr; and, after being allowed a reasonable time to put a stop to the insurrection, he was thrown into a dungeon, and told that the entrance would be built up after a certain period, unless Sivají should make his submission in the interval. Sivají was seriously alarmed by this threat; but reflection convinced him that submission was not the way to gain safety from so treacherous an enemy. He held out as before, and made overtures to Sháh Jehán, whose territories he had carefully abstained from injuring. The emperor received his

The government of Bijápúr seize Sháhjí as a hostage for his son.

A.D. 1649.

ment was impossible." (Grant Duff, of whose clear and animated account of Sivají that inserted in the text is a mere abstract.)

[23] Grant Duff.

[24] Ibid.

application favourably, took him into his service, and appointed him to the rank of a commander of 5,000. It was probably owing to *his* powerful interposition that Sháhjí was released from his dungeon, although he remained for four years a prisoner at large in Bíjápúr. Tranquillity prevailed during this interval, Sivají being restrained by fears for his father, and the government of Bíjápúr by the apprehension that Sivají might call in the Moguls. A.D. 1649 to 1653.

At the end of that time the disorders in Carnáta rendered Sháhjí's presence necessary to the interests of the government. His own jágír had been overrun, and his eldest son killed; while all the surrounding country was in arms, and threatened the speedy expulsion of the Bíjápúr authorities. Sháhjí released.

No sooner was his father released, and the attention of the Bíjápúr government turned to the affairs of Carnáta, than Sivají began with fresh activity to renew his plans of aggrandisement. The whole of the hilly country south of Púna, from the Ghâts inclusive to the Upper Kishna, was in the hands of a Hindú rája, whom Sivají could never prevail on to join in his rebellion. He now procured his assassination, and profited by the consternation which ensued to seize on his territory. After this atrocity he surprised some hill-forts and built others, and went on extending his authority, until Prince Aurangzíb was sent down to the Deckan in 1655. Renewal of Sivají's encroachments.

Sivají at first addressed the prince as a servant of the Mogul government, and obtained a confirmation of his possessions from the imperial authority. But when he found Aurangzíb engaged in war with the king of Golcónda, and fancied he saw the prospect of long troubles, he determined to profit by the confusion at the expense of all the combatants, and for the first time invaded the Mogul territories. He surprised the town of Junér, and carried off a large booty; and afterwards attempted the same operation at Ahmednagar, where he met with only partial success. The rapid conquests of Aurangzíb disappointed all his hopes; and, during the prince's operations against Bíjápúr, he endeavoured, by every sort of excuse and promise, to obtain forgiveness for his rash attack. When the sickness of Sháh Jehán called off Aurangzíb to Delhi, Sivají continued his devotion, and offered his zealous services, provided attention were paid to some claims he pretended to possess within the Mogul territory. The prince readily granted him forgiveness, on his engaging to send a body of horse to the army, but endeavoured Plunders the Mogul provinces. Obtains forgiveness from Aurangzíb A.D. 1658

to reserve the question of his claims for future inquiry; and Sivají, who was as artful as himself, in like manner suspended the despatch of his horse, and confined his services to promises and professions.

He now renewed his attacks on Bíjápúr (where the king had been succeeded by his son, a minor); and the regency, at length aware of the danger of neglecting his advances to power, despatched a large army against him. The commander was Afzal Khán, who to the usual arrogance of a Mahometan noble joined an especial contempt for his present enemy. But that enemy knew well how to turn his presumption to account; he affected to be awed by the reputation of Afzal Khán, and to give up all hopes of resisting his arms. He sent humble offers of submission to the khán, who deputed a Bramin high in his confidence to complete the negotiation. This man Sivají won over, and by his assistance Afzal Khán was easily persuaded that Sivají was in a state of great alarm, and was only prevented surrendering by his apprehension of the consequences. During these negotiations Afzal advanced through intricate and woody valleys to the neighbourhood of the hill-fort of Partábghar, where Sivají was residing; and the Maratta consented to receive his assurances of forgiveness at a personal interview, if the khán would concede so much to his fears as to come unattended for the purpose of meeting him. Afzal Khán on this quitted his army, and went forward with an escort, which he was afterwards persuaded to leave behind, and advance with a single attendant. He was dressed in a thin muslin robe, and carried a straight sword, more for state than any expectation of being required to use it. During this time Sivají was seen slowly descending from the fort: he advanced with a timid and hesitating air, accompanied by one attendant, and to all appearance entirely unarmed; but under his cotton tunic he wore a shirt of chain-armour, and, besides a concealed dagger, he was armed with sharp hooks of steel, which are fastened on the fingers, but lie concealed in the closed hand, and are known by the descriptive name of "tiger's claws." The khán looked with contempt on the diminutive figure, which came crouching on to perform the usual ceremonies of meeting; but at the moment of the embrace, Sivají struck his claws into his unsuspecting adversary, and, before he could recover from his astonishment, despatched him with his dagger. He had, before this, drawn his troops from all quarters, by secret paths, into the woods round Afzal's army; and, on a

Afzal Khán sent against him from Bijapúr.

Is assassinated by Sivají.

and his army dispersed.

signal from the fort, they rushed at once on the Mussulmans, who were reposing in insolent security, and slaughtered and dispersed them almost without resistance.[25] As soon as the victory was secure, Sivají issued orders to spare the fugitives: vast numbers fell into the hands of the conqueror, after wandering in the woods until subdued by hunger. They were all treated with humanity; many of them who were Marattas entered into Sivají's service, and a chief of that nation, who refused to forfeit his allegiance, was dismissed with presents. During his whole career, Sivají, though he inflicted death and torture to force confessions of concealed treasure, was never personally guilty of any *useless* cruelty. A.D. 1659, October.

This victory gave a fresh impulse to Sivají's progress. He overran all the country near the Ghâts, and took possession of all the hill-forts; and was going on to complete the reduction of the Cóncan, when he was recalled by the march from Bíjápúr of an army much more formidable than the first. He threw part of his troops into forts, and employed the rest to cut off the enemy's supplies;[26] but he allowed himself to be shut up in the almost inaccessible fort of Panála, and would have been compelled to surrender, after a siege of four months, if he had not contrived, with his usual mixture of boldness and dexterity, to quit the place, during a dark night, after he had amused the besiegers with the prospect of a capitulation. His escape was ascribed at Bíjápúr to treachery in their general, Sídí Jóhar, an Abyssinian, whose indignation was excited by this calumny, and added to the elements of discord already abundant at Bíjápúr. Another army sent from Bíjápúr. A.D. 1660, May.

The king now took the field in person, and brought such a force along with him as Sivají was unable to resist. His operations, during the whole of this invasion, were desultory and ill-directed; and before the end of a year he found himself stripped of almost all his conquests. The king of Bíjápúr's affairs now obliged him to turn his attention to Carnáta, where his presence was further required by the revolt of Sídí Jóhar. He was employed in that country for two whole years, during which Sivají recovered and increased his territories. The king of Bíjapúr takes the field. A.D. 1661, January. Recovers most of Sivají's conquests. A.D. 1662.

At the end of that time a peace was mediated by Sháhjí; and Sivají remained in possession of a territory including upwards of 250 miles of the country on the sea (being Sivají makes a very favourable

[25] Grant Duff. [26] Ibid.

peace. Extent of his territory. the part of the Cóncan between Goa and Kalián); while above the Ghâts its length was more than 150 miles, from the north of Púna to the south of Mirich on the Kishna. Its breadth, from east to west, was, at the widest A.D. 1662. part, 100 miles. In this small territory the hardiness and predatory habits of his soldiers enabled him to maintain an army of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot.[27]

CHAPTER II.

FROM 1662 TO 1681.

It was about this period that Aurangzíb was attacked by the violent sickness which exposed his life to so much danger.[1] He had previously appointed his maternal uncle, Sháyista Khán,[2] to the viceroyalty of the Deckan, and that officer was now residing at Aurangábád.

It does not appear what led to an open rupture between Sivají and the Moguls; but soon after the peace with Bíjápúr we find Sivají's horse ravaging their country nearly to Aurangábád, and himself taking their forts in the neighbourhood of Junér.

Sivají's rupture with the Moguls. About the end of A.D. 1662, A.H. 1073.

To put an end to these aggressions, Sháyista Khán marched from Aurangábád, drove Sivají's army out of the field, took the fort of Chákan, and finally took up his ground at Púna, within twelve miles of Singhar, the hill-fort into which Sivají had retired. At Púna, Sháyista occupied the house in which Sivají had passed his early days; and it was probably the local knowledge thus acquired that suggested a plan for chastising the intruder. The khán had taken every precaution to guard against the advance of troops, and also against the admission of Marattas individually into the town; and in these circumstances, and with his troops cantoned around him, he thought himself as secure as if he were in a peaceful country. But Sivají, who was well aware of all that was passing, left Singhar one evening after dark, and, posting small bodies of infantry on the road to support him, went on with twenty-five Máwalís to the town.

Sháyista Khán marches against him.

Occupies Púna.

Night exploit of Sivají

[27] Grant Duff.

[1] See page 613.

[2] [Sháyista Khán was the son of Núr Jehán's brother Asaf Khán, and his sister had married Sháh Jehán. Orme calls him "the first subject in the empire, not of the royal blood."—Ed.]

He gained admission by joining a marriage procession, with the conductor of which he had a previous concert. Being now within the line of guards, he proceeded direct to the house, and entered by a back-door before any person within had a suspicion of danger. So completely was Sháyista Khán surprised, that he had barely time to escape from his bedchamber, and received a blow from a sword which cut off two of his fingers, as he was letting himself down from a window into the court below. His son and most of his attendants were cut to pieces in a moment. Sivají's retreat was as rapid as his attack: he was joined by his parties on the road as he retired, and ascended to Singhar amidst a blaze of torches, which made his triumph visible from every part of the Mogul camp. This exploit, so congenial to the disposition of his countrymen, is the one of all his actions of which the Marattas still speak with the greatest exultation. It was attended with consequences that could scarcely have been foreseen; for Sháyista Khán imputed his danger to treachery on the part of Rája Jeswant Sing, who had not long before been sent to reinforce him; and the dissensions of the leaders crippled the army, until Aurangzíb removed Sháyista Khán to the government of Bengal,[3] and sent his son, Prince Móazzim, to command, with the assistance of Jeswant Sing. Before the prince's arrival, Jeswant had withdrawn to Aurangábád, after an attempt to reduce Singhar, and Sivají was preparing to take a full retaliation for the attack he had been exposed to. During his operations in the mountains, his chief force was in his infantry; but the Marattas had been distinguished in the Bíjápúr armies for their services as light-cavalry, and it was in this shape that Sivají now resolved to employ them. After gaining intelligence of the state of affairs where he was going, and deceiving his enemies by various feigned movements, he suddenly set off with 4,000 horse, and came at once on the rich and defenceless city of Surat, in a part of the country which was thought to be beyond the reach of his arms. He plundered it at leisure for six days; and though beaten off from the English[4] and Dutch factories, where some of the native merchants had also taken refuge, he carried off an ample booty, and lodged it in safety in his fort of Réri, or Ráighar, in the Cóncan.

Prince Móazzim sent against him.

Sivají plunders Surat.

A.D. 1664, Jan. 5; A.H. 1074, Jamádi-s Sani 15.

[3] [Under his government occurred the wars with the English in 1687 and 1688: see Mill, vol. i. p. 124.—ED.]

[4] [See Mill, vol. i. p. 98.—ED.]

It was soon after this expedition that Sivají heard of the death of Sháhjí. Although of a great age, he was killed by a fall in hunting. He had restored his jágír to perfect order, and had extended his conquests to the southward (under the name of the king of Bíjápúr), until they comprehended the country near Madras and the principality of Tanjore.

Death of Shahji.

His possessions in the South of India.

Sivají was now again at war with Bíjápúr, and chiefly carried on his operations in the Cóncan, where he had established his capital at Ráighar. He collected a fleet, took many Mogul ships, and on one occasion embarked with a force of 4,000 men, on 87 vessels; and, landing at a remote point in the province of Canara, sacked Barcelór, a wealthy seaport belonging to Bíjápúr, and plundered all the adjoining tract, where there was not the slightest apprehension of a visit from such an enemy. Nor did he, during these employments, leave the country quiet above the Ghát; he sent troops to ravage the territory of Bíjápúr, and led, in person, a destructive inroad into the Mogul dominions. This injury did not exasperate Aurangzíb so much as the capture of some vessels conveying pilgrims to Mecca, and the violation of Surat, which derives a sort of sanctity from being the place of embarkation for those devotees.[5] Sivají had added another provocation to these offences: soon after his father's death, he had assumed the title of rája, and began to coin money, one of the most decisive marks of independent sovereignty. A large army was therefore sent to the Deckan, at the head of which was Rája Jei Sing, the constant engine in all difficult affairs with Hindús; but the emperor's suspicious temper made him still adhere to the system of divided authority, and Dilír Khán was associated on equal terms in the command. These appointments superseded Jeswant Sing and Prince Móazzim, who returned to Delhi. As Aurangzíb anticipated little opposition from Sivají, Jei Sing had orders, as soon as he should have reduced the Maratta, to employ his arms in the conquest of Bíjápúr.

Maritime exploits of Sivaji.

A.D. 1665, February.

Sivaji assumes sovereignty.

Rája Jei Sing sent against him.

These chiefs crossed the Nerbadda in February, and advanced unopposed to Púna, when Jei Sing undertook the siege of Singhar, and Dilír Khán that of Purandar. Both places held out; but Sivají seems himself to have despaired of successful resistance; and he may, perhaps, have

Submission of Sivaji.

A.D. 1665.

[5] [Surat is called Báb ul Makkah.—Ed.]

looked to some recompense, for the temporary sacrifice of his pride, in the advantages he might gain by co-operating with the Moguls against Bíjápúr. He opened a negotiation with Jei Sing, and after receiving assurances, not only of safety, but of favour, from the emperor, he privately withdrew himself from his own army, and went, with a few attendants, to the rája's camp. He was received with great distinction, and on his part made the humblest professions of fidelity. An agreement was concluded, by which Sivají was to give up twenty out of the thirty-two forts he possessed, together with the territory attached to them. The remaining twelve forts, with their territory and all his other possessions, he was to hold as a jágír from the Mogul emperor, in whose service his son Sambají, a boy of five years old, was to receive the rank of a commander of 5,000. In addition to these advantages, Sivají was to be entitled to a sort of percentage on the revenue of each district under Bíjápúr; and this grant was the foundation of the ill-defined claims of the Marattas, which afforded them such constant pretexts for encroachment on foreign territories in later times. These terms, except the last (which was not noticed), were distinctly confirmed in a letter from Aurangzíb to Sivají. He now joined the imperial army, with 2,000 horse and 8,000 infantry; and the whole body commenced its march on an invasion of Bíjápúr.

He co-operates with Jei Sing against Bíjapúr.

The Marattas distinguished themselves in this campaign, and Sivají was gratified by two letters from Aurangzíb: one complimenting him on his services, and the other containing great but general promises of advancement, and inviting him to court, with a promise that he should be allowed to return to the Deckan. Won by these attentions, and by the cordiality with which he was treated by Jei Sing, Sivají made over his jágír to three of his chief dependents, and set off for Delhi, accompanied by his son Sambají, and escorted by 500 chosen horse and 1,000 Máwalís.

Goes to Delhi

Aurangzíb had now an opportunity of uniting Sivají's interests to his own by liberal treatment, and of turning a formidable enemy into a zealous servant, as had been done before with so many other Hindú princes: but his views in politics were as narrow as in religion, and, although he could easily suppress his feelings to gain any immediate advantage, he was incapable of laying aside his prejudices, or making such full and free concessions as might secure permanent attach-

Haughty reception by Aurangzíb.

ment. Moreover, he despised as well as disliked Sivají: he felt the insults offered to his religion and his dignity the more, because they came from so ignoble a hand; and he so far mistook the person he had to deal with, as to think he would be most easily managed by making him sensible of his own insignificance.

Accordingly, when Sivají was about to enter Delhi, an officer of inferior rank was sent, on the emperor's part, along with Rám Sing, the son of Jei Sing, who went out to meet him; and his reception, when he came to court, was conducted in the same spirit. Sivají performed his obeisance, and presented his offerings in the most respectful manner, and probably intended to have made his way, as usual, by suppleness and humility; but when he found he was received without notice, and placed, undistinguished, among the officers of the third rank,[6] he was unable any longer to control his feelings of shame and indignation; he changed colour, and, stepping back behind the line of courtiers, sank to the ground in a swoon. When he came to himself, he reproached Rám Sing with the breach of his father's promises, and called on the government to take his life, as it had already deprived him of his honour. He then retired, without taking leave, or receiving the honorary dress usual on such occasions.[7] Aurangzíb was not prepared for this decided conduct; he ordered Sivají's motions to be watched, while he professed to wait for a report from Jei Sing as to the promises he had really made to him.

From this time Sivají's whole thoughts were turned to the means of making his escape, which was soon rendered more difficult by guards being posted round his residence. He applied for leave to send back his escort, with whom he said the climate of Delhi did not agree; and as this arrangement seemed to leave him more than ever in the power of the government, it was willingly agreed to. He next took to his bed on pretence of sickness, gained over some of the Hindú physicians who were allowed to attend him, and by their means established a communication with his friends without. He also made a practice of sending presents of sweetmeats and provisions to be distributed among fakírs and other holy men, Mahometan as well as Hindú, and thus accustomed his guards to the passage of the

[6] Commanders of 5,000, the station which had been promised to his infant son. [It is mentioned in the memoirs of Irádat Khán that Jeánsháh appointed him a commander of 6,000, on which Scott remarks: "7,000 was properly the highest order of nobility; in the decline of the empire, the rank of 8,000 and 10,000 was conferred on powerful ministers."—Ed.]

[7] Khafí Khán.

large baskets and hampers in which those donations were conveyed. At length, one evening, when he had concerted his measures with those without, he concealed himself in one of the hampers, and his son in another, and was carried out unquestioned through the midst of the sentinels. His bed was occupied by a servant, and a long time elapsed before his escape was suspected. In the meantime he repaired to an obscure spot, where he had a horse posted, mounted it with his son behind him, and made the best of his way to Mattra. At this place were some of his chosen companions, in assumed characters; and he himself put on the dress of a Hindú religious mendicant, shaving off his hair and whiskers, and rubbing over his face with ashes. In this disguise he pursued his journey by the least suspected roads[8] to the Deckan, leaving his son at Mattra in charge of a Maratta Bramin.

Sivají escapes from confinement

It must have required much address to elude his pursuers, who had a long time to be prepared for him before he made good his retreat to Ráighar. He reached that place on his return, nine months after his departure from Delhi.[9]

Arrives at Raighar. A.D. 1666, December.

Soon after Sivají's flight died Sháh Jehán. Though always confined to the citadel of Agra, he had been treated with great respect, and allowed an ample establishment and complete authority within the palace. He carried this control so far as to prevent the removal of Dárá's daughter, whom Aurangzíb wished to marry to a son of his own, and also to withhold some valuable crown-jewels which the emperor was anxious to possess: on these subjects several letters of remonstrance and expostulation passed between him and his son.

Death of Shah Jehán. A.D. 1666, December; A.H. 1076, Rajab.

This was the most prosperous period of the reign of Aurangzíb. Every part of his own dominions was in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity. His governor of Cashmír had just brought Little Tibet under his authority, and his viceroy of Bengal made an acquisition of more real value in the fine country of Chittagong, on the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal.

Prosperous state of Aurangzib's empire

He had also received marks of respect from most of the neighbouring powers. The sheríf of Mecca, and several other princes of Arabia, sent embassies; as did the king of Abyssinia, and

[8] [By Allahabad, Benares, Gayá, Cattak, and Hyderabad.—ED.]

[9] The English factors at Carwar, in the Cóncan, write, September 29th: "*If it be true* that Sivají has escaped, Aurúngzíb will quickly hear of him to his sorrow."

the khán of the Uzbeks. The most important came from the king of Persia, and was returned by an embassy of unusual splendour. But this last interchange of missions did not lead to permanent friendship; for some questions of etiquette arose between the monarchs, which led to so much irritation on the part of Sháh Abbás II., that he assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Candahár; and Aurangzíb was thinking seriously of moving in person against him, when he heard of the Sháh's death, and the discontinuance of all his preparations.

Failure of Jei Sing's attack on Bíjapúr.

The only exception to the general prosperity of the empire was the ill-success of its army in the territory of Bíjápúr. Jei Sing's operations in that country had at first gone on to his wish; but as soon as he had formed the siege of the capital, the old plan of defence was adopted against him: the surrounding country was reduced to a desert, and all his supplies were cut off by plundering horse. The king of Golcónda also secretly assisted his neighbour; and Jei Sing, perceiving that he had no chance of success, retreated, not without loss and difficulty, to Aurangábád. He was removed after this failure, and died on his way to Delhi. Prince Móazzim was sent to replace him, with Jeswant Sing to assist: Dilír Khán, who was unacceptable to the prince as well as to the rája, was left as an additional check on both.

His death.

Return of Prince Móazzim and Jeswant Sing.

Jei Sing's misfortune was of the utmost importance to Sivají. During his struggle and retreat he had withdrawn all his troops from the country near the Ghát, had evacuated many forts, and left others with scarcely any garrisons. Many of these were occupied by Sivají's officers before he himself reached the Deckan, and his own arrival was speedily followed by still more extensive acquisitions.

A D 1667. A H 1077.

Progress of Sivají

The change in the Mogul commanders was yet more to Sivají's advantage. Jeswant Sing had a great ascendancy over Prince Móazzim, and was much better disposed to the Hindús than to the government which he served; and it was, moreover, believed that he was not inaccessible to the influence of money. By these means combined, Sivají enlisted him on his side; and, through his and the prince's aid, obtained a peace with Aurangzíb on terms exceeding his most sanguine hopes. A considerable portion of territory was restored to him, and a new jágír granted to him in Berár. His title of rája was acknowledged, and all his former offences seemed to be buried in oblivion.

He makes peace with the emperor

Thus delivered from his most powerful enemy, Sivají turned his arms against Bíjápúr and Golcónda; and those states, weak within, and threatened by the Moguls, were unwilling to enter on a new contest with their formidable neighbour, and averted the evil by the humiliating expedient of agreeing to an annual tribute.

Levies tribute on Bíjápúr and Golconda.

A long period of tranquillity which followed was employed by Sivají in giving a regular form to his government; and none of his military successes raise so high an idea of his talents as the spirit of his domestic administration. Instead of the rules of a captain of banditti, we are surprised to find a system more strict and methodical than that of the Moguls. The army, both horse and foot, was formed into uniform divisions, commanded by a regular chain of officers, from heads of ten, of fifty, &c., &c., up to heads of 5,000, above which there was no authority except that of the general appointed to command a particular army; and these officers were not feudal chiefs, but servants of the government, placed over soldiers mustered and paid by *its* agents. Both troops and officers received high pay, but were obliged to give up their plunder of every description to the state. The most minute attention to economy pervaded every department of Sivají's service.

His internal arrangements. A.D. 1668 and 1662, A.H. 1078 and 1079.

His civil government was equally regular, and very vigorous, both towards its own officers and the heads of villages; and this in checking oppression of the cultivators, no less than frauds against the state. His civil officers were all Bramins, and those of the highest rank were often employed in military commands also.

The real motive of Aurangzíb's concessions was the hope of getting Sivají again into his power, without the expense and damage of a protracted war with him. He pursued his object with his usual patience, enjoining Prince Móazzim and Jeswant Sing to keep up a constant intercourse with Sivají, and let slip no opportunity of making him their prisoner. They were even directed to feign disaffection to his own government, and to show a disposition for a secret and separate alliance with the Marattas.[10] But Sivají turned

Schemes of Aurangzib to entrap Sivají.

[10] Grant Duff. He, however, doubts whether Móazzim ever gave in at all to the emperor's design, and whether he ever attempted to deceive Sivají by a show of disaffection; but it seems probable that he must, to a certain extent, have conformed to his instructions; and that it was his consequent proceedings that gave rise to the story first told by Catrou (or Manucci), of a mock rebellion of Prince Móazzim, got up by his father's desire, for the double purpose of finding out his secret enemies and of discrediting his son, in case that prince should ever

all the emperor's plans against himself: he conciliated Móazzim and Jeswant by bribes and presents, and made them his instruments in deceiving Aurangzíb. That monarch was too sagacious not to discover in time the failure of his scheme; and when he had ascertained it beyond doubt, he gave orders for an open attempt to seize Sivají, which of course involved a renewal of the war.

A.D. 1670, A.H. 1080.

Aurangzíb breaks the peace.

The first blow struck by Sivají was the recovery of Singhar, near Púna. The Moguls were as sensible as he was of the importance of this place, and maintained in it a strong garrison of Rájpúts, under an experienced officer. Yet it was surprised by 1,000 Máwalís, under Sivají's great friend and confidant, Tánají Málúsri, who contrived to climb up that apparently inaccessible rock in the night-time, and to escalade the walls, before they were discovered by the guards. They, however, met with an obstinate resistance; and it was not without the loss of their leader, and a large proportion of their number, that they at length overpowered the garrison. Sivají was so much impressed with the difficulty and importance of the undertaking, that he conferred a silver bracelet on every individual of the survivors.

Sivají surprises Singhar.

He failed in some attacks on other forts, but reduced a much greater number, and occupied much territory: he also again plundered Surat,[11] carried his ravages over Khándésh, and, for the first time, levied the *chout*, afterwards so celebrated in Maratta history. It was a permanent contribution of one-fourth of the revenue, and exempted the districts that agreed to it from plunder as

Ravages the Mogul territory.

A.D. 1670, December; A.H. 1081.

Chout.

be disposed to rebel in earnest. According to this account, Prince Móazzim openly declared against his father, and was joined by Jei Sing and all the rest of the army, except Dilír Khán, and had actually marched to the river Chambal (towards Agra), before he professed to renounce his design. The only use (it says) made by Aurangzíb of the knowledge obtained at so great a hazard was, to secure himself against one of his enemies by poisoning Jei Sing. But Jei Sing had been removed from the Deckan before the prince's arrival, and was dead before the date of the pretended insurrection. This last inconsistency was discovered by Orme, who does not doubt the rest of the story; but the absurdity of the whole is laid open in a few words by Grant Duff (vol. i. p. 221). It is not the only occasion in which the wily character of Aurangzíb has led to his being suspected of deep schemes and intrigues in which he never was engaged. Dow substitutes Jeswant Sing for Jei Sing, and makes Móazzim's rebellion a real one; which, he says, was only frustrated by a succession of skilful operations on the part of Dilír Khán, after Aurangzíb himself had been obliged to take the field. He seems to draw his account from the "Bondéla Memoirs," afterwards translated by Scott, *Deckan*, vol. ii. p. 24); but he goes beyond his authority in some things, and omits the Bondéla's statement (doubtless an erroneous one) that Sivají actually joined the prince. [The "*Bondéla Memoirs*" are a journal kept by a Bondéla officer who attended Dalpat Rái, the chief of his tribe, in Aurangzíb's campaigns.—Ed.]

[11] [See Mill's History, vol. i. p. 99.—Ed.]

long as it was regularly paid. Sivají also equipped a powerful fleet, and renewed his attacks on his old enemies, the Abyssinians of Jinjera, who held a small principality as admirals to the king of Bíjápúr. This attack was injudicious; for it led to the Abyssinians placing themselves under the Moguls, and thus increasing the power of Sivají's only formidable enemy.

The rapidity of Sivají's progress was owing to the inadequacy of the force under Móazzim, whom Aurangzíb long refused to reinforce from distrust; and when, at last, he was convinced of the necessity of having more troops in the Deckan, he sent down an army of 40,000 men, under Mohábat Khán, and quite independent of the prince's authority. Nor was he by any means entirely satisfied even with this new commander: shortly before his march from Delhi he took offence at some of his proceedings, and ordered one of the ministers to remonstrate with him in private. The arrival of his army was attended with no corresponding result. Móazzim remained inactive at Aurangábád; and Mohábat Khán, after undertaking some sieges, was obliged to suspend his proceedings by the approach of the rainy season. When he again began operations, Sivají sent an army to raise a siege in which Mohábat was engaged; and the latter, in an injudicious attempt to cover the siege, exposed a body of 20,000 men to a total defeat by the Marattas.[12] This was the first field-action won by Sivají's troops, and the first instance of success in a fair conflict with the Moguls. It seems to have made a strong impression on the beaten party: they immediately concentrated their forces on Aurangábád, and both Móazzim and Mohábat were soon after recalled; Khán Jehán, the viceroy of Guzerát, was sent to take their place; Aurangzíb's exertions were required in another quarter, and the war languished for a period of several years.

A.D. 1671, A.H. 1081.

Defeats the Moguls in a field-action.

A.D. 1672, A.H. 1082.

Khán Jehán made viceroy of the Deckan.

Suspension of active operations in the Deckan.

What drew off Aurangzíb's attention was, the increasing importance of a war which had for some time been going on with the north-eastern Afgháns. It was always a matter of difficulty to remain at peace with those tribes; but, as the communication with Cábul and other western countries lay through their lands, it was necessary

Aurangzíb occupied by a war with the north-eastern Afgháns.

[12] There are doubts about this battle, which some say was with a detachment of Dilír Khán's, and others, of Mohábat's. The obscurity arises from the same cause as the defeat,—the divided command of the Mogul army.

to find some means of keeping them quiet: and as the tribes upon the road were also the most open to attack, it was generally managed, between threats and pensions, to retain them in a certain degree of submission to the royal government. The more powerful tribes were let alone, and remained quiet within their own limits. But from the numerous small communities, and the weakness of the internal government even in the large ones, there must often have been acts of aggression by individuals, which required forbearance on the part of the royal officers. As Aurangzíb was very jealous of his authority, and as he knew nothing of the structure of society among the Afgháns, it is not unlikely that he suspected the chiefs of countenancing these irregularities underhand; but, from whatever cause it proceeded, he fell out with the whole of the tribes, even including the Yúsufzeis. This was the state of things in A.D. 1667, when Amín Khán, the son of the celebrated Mír Jumla, and the successor to his rank and title, was appointed governor of Cábul, and gained such success as for a time prevented the disturbances increasing, although they never were entirely suspended. But, in A.D. 1670, the Afgháns regained their superiority, defeated Amín Khán in a great battle, and totally destroyed his army: even his women and children fell into their hands, and were obliged to be redeemed by the payment of a ransom.

The Afgháns, about the same time, set up a king, and coined money in his name.[13]

The emperor at last determined to conduct the war in person. A.D. 1672, about Jan; A.H. 1082, Ramazán. He marched to Hasan Abdál, and sent on his son, Prince Mohammed Sultán, whom he had now released and intrusted with the command of an army.[14] He probably was prevented going himself by the fear of committing his dignity in a strong country, where great blows could not be struck, and where great reverses might be sustained.

This war occupied Aurangzíb for more than two years,[15] and From A.D. 1672, January, to A.H. 1083, October, A.H. 1084, was carried on through his lieutenants after his own return to Delhi, until the increased disturbances in India, and the hopelessness of success, at length com-

[13] The Indian writers seem to consider this person as an Afghán chief; but such a nomination is equally inconsistent with the feelings and institutions of that people: and (although the authority is, no doubt, inferior I am inclined to believe, with the Europeans, that the pretended king was an impostor, who was passed off for Shujá, whom the Afgháns represented to have taken refuge among them, and whose pretensions to the throne of India would furnish good means of annoying Aurangzíb.

[14] [The prince had remained in prison since 1660. He did not live long after his release.—Ed.]

[15] Khafi Khan.

pelled him to be contented with a very imperfect settlement. But although the contest was of such importance at the time, it had no permanent influence on the history of India; and the events of it, though varied and interesting, may be imagined from those already related under the reign of Akber.[16]

Ramazán, to A.H. 1086, Jumada's Sání, or thereabouts.

The emperor had scarcely returned from this unsuccessful expedition when an extraordinary insurrection broke out near the capital. A sect of Hindú devotees, called Satnarámís, were settled near the town of Nárnól: they were principally engaged in trade and agriculture; and, though generally peaceable, carried arms, and were always ready to use them in their own defence. One of their body, having been mobbed and beaten by the comrades of a soldier of the police, with whom he had quarrelled, collected some of his brethren to retaliate on the police. Lives were lost, and the affray increased till several thousand Satnarámís were assembled; and the chief authority of the place having taken part against them, they defeated a band of troops, regular and local, which he had got together, and finally took possession of the town of Nárnól. An inadequate force sent against them from Delhi was defeated, and served only to add to their reputation; a repetition of the same circumstance raised the wonder of the country, and, joined to their religious character, soon led to a belief that they were possessed of magical powers: swords would not cut nor bullets pierce them, while their enchanted weapons dealt death at every blow. The belief that they were invincible nearly made them so in reality. Many of the zemíndárs of the neighbourhood took part with them; no troops could be got to face them; and as they approached Delhi, Aurangzíb ordered his tents to be prepared to take the field, and with his own hand wrote extracts from the Korán, to be fastened to the standards as a protection against enchantment. The absolute necessity of resistance, and the exertions of some chiefs, both Mussulman and Hindú, at last prevailed on the royal troops to make a stand, when the insurgents were defeated and dispersed with great loss. But the previous success had tempted many of the

A.D. 1676, A.H. 1087.

Aurangzíb returns to Delhi.

Insurrection of the Satnarámí religionists.

[16] This war derives additional interest from the picture of it preserved by one of the principal actors. Khush Khál, the khán of the tribe of Khatak, was a voluminous author, and has left several poems, written at this time, for the purpose of exciting the national enthusiasm of his countrymen. They are remarkable for their high and ardent tone, and for their spirit of patriotism and independence, so unlike the usual character of Asiatics. [Some of them have been translated in Capt. Raverty's specimens of Afghán poetry.—ED.]

Hindú population to take up arms, and had thrown the whole provinces of Ajmír and Agra into such confusion that Aurangzíb thought his own presence necessary to restore order.[17]

Aurangzíb's bigotry.

These disturbances had irritated his temper, already ruffled by his failure beyond the Indus; and led him, while he was still in Delhi, to take the last step in a long course of bigotry and impolicy, by reviving the jizya or capitation tax on Hindús.

At the second anniversary of his accession (A.D. 1659), he forbade the solar æra, as an invention of fire-worshippers, and directed the Mahometan lunar year to be used on all occasions; and in this resolution he persevered, notwithstanding long-continued remonstrances from his official people, on the disadvantage of a calendar that did not agree with the seasons.[18]

His vexatious treatment of the Hindús.

At the same time he appointed a mullah, with a party of horse attached to him, to suppress all drinking and gambling-houses, and to check all ostentatious display of idol-worship.[19] Not long afterwards, he abolished all taxes not expressly authorised by the Mahometan law, and all duties on goods sold at the great Hindú fairs, which he considered as polluted by their original connexion with idolatry. His remissions, as far as they were carried into effect, were productive of great inequality; the unauthorised taxes being chiefly those that fell on bankers, great traders, and other inhabitants of towns, whom the new rule would have left nearly exempt from contribution. The land revenue remained as before; and the customs and road duties, which were by much the most vexatious of all, were rather increased than diminished.[20]

But, in fact, the alteration produced a heavy loss to the state, without affording any relief to the subject: except in a few cases, where the exaction was likely to attract notice, the revenue officers and jágírdárs confined the remission to their accounts with the government, and levied the taxes without diminution on those under their authority. Some years later he forbade fairs on Hindú festivals altogether; and about the same time he issued an edict against music, dancing, and buffoons, and discharged all the singers and musicians attached to the palace. He likewise forbade astrology, and dismissed the astrologers previously attached to the court. He also discountenanced

[17] Khâfí Khán.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Khâfí Khán.
[20] Ibid.

poets, who used to be honoured and pensioned, and abolished the office and salary of royal poet. It is even distinctly related that he prohibited the composition and recitation of poetry;[21] but this extreme austerity must have been of very short duration, for his own notes and letters are filled with poetical quotations, and sometimes with extemporary verses made by himself. His prohibition of history was more permanent: he not only discontinued the regular annals of the empire, which had before been kept by a royal historiographer, but so effectually put a stop to all record of his transactions, that from the eleventh year of his reign,[22] the course of events can only be traced through the means of letters on business and of notes taken clandestinely[23] by private individuals. A few years later he took off one-half of the customs paid by Mahometans, while he left those of Hindús undiminished. Among other minute reforms, he made further changes in the mode of saluting him; and discontinued his public appearance at the window of his palace, for fear of affording an opportunity for the ceremony of adoration. Though few of these alterations bore directly on the Hindús, they all tended to stir up a scrupulous and captious spirit, and to mark the line between the followers of the two religions which it had been the policy of former monarchs to efface.

His present measures were far more decidedly intolerant: for, although he began with an equitable edict, by which all claims on the government were to be received in the courts, and tried according to the Mahometan law, yet, at the same time, a circular order was sent to all governors and persons in authority to entertain no more Hindús,[24] but to confer all the offices immediately under them on Mahometans only.

It was found quite impracticable to comply with this order; and, in fact, most of the above edicts remained a dead letter, and had no other effect but to excite alarm and disaffection.

But no such laxity appeared in the levy of the jizya. The

[21] Khâfí Khán.

[22] [The *Alamgír náma* was written by Muhammad Kázim in the thirty-second year of the emperor's reign; it goes down to the eleventh year, when Aurangzíb forbade its continuation. ED.]

[23] [The word "clandestine" has a meaning in the text. "Mír Muhammad Háshim composed his history in the latter part of Aurangzíb's reign, but, owing to the well-known prohibition of that monarch, he concealed his work, and from some other causes did not publish it until A.H. 1145. The book was well received on its publication; and, from the circumstance of its having been so long concealed (*Khafí*), its author received the title of Khâfí Khán." *Morley's Catalogue*). Besides Khâfí Khán's history, Sir H. Elliot (*Historians*, p. 6) mentions fifteen works which treat of Aurangzíb's reign.—ED.]

[24] [Nearly all the revenue officers had hitherto been Hindús.—ED.]

poll-tax so called was imposed, during the early conquests, on all infidels who submitted to the Mahometan rule, and was the test by which they were distinguished from those who remained in a state of hostility. The revival of it excited the utmost discontent among the Hindús: those at Delhi and the neighbourhood assembled in crowds, and besieged the king's palace with their complaints and clamours. No attention was paid to these remonstrances. On the next Friday, when the king was going in procession to the mosque, he found the streets completely choked by the crowd of suppliants. He waited some time, in hopes that a passage might be opened by fair means; but as the mob continued to hold their ground, he ordered his retinue to force their way through, and many persons were trampled under foot by the horses and elephants. This harsh conduct was successful in striking terror, and the tax was submitted to without further demur.

He revives the jizya, or poll-tax on infidels.

The effects of these fanatical proceedings were not long in showing themselves. At the beginning of this reign, the Hindús served the state as zealously as the Mussulmans, and that even when employed against people of their own religion; but their attachment declined as they had experience of the new system; discontent spread among the inhabitants of the emperor's own dominions, the Rájpúts began to be disaffected, and every Hindú in the Deckan became at heart a partisan of the Marattas.[25]

A.D. 1677, AH 1088. General disaffection of the Hindús.

These religious animosities were kindled into a flame by an event which took place a few months after the imposition of the jizya. Rája Jeswant Sing died at Cábul, leaving a widow and two infant sons. The widow immediately set out for India, without leave or passports;

Oppressive measures against the widow and children of Rája Jeswant Sing.

[25] Khâfi Khán. The general sentiment of the time is well shown in a letter to Aurangzib, commonly ascribed to Jeswant Sing. It cannot be his work; for it is the letter of an open enemy, whose dominions are about to be invaded; and Jeswant Sing was serving against the Afghâns when the jizya was imposed, and continued beyond the Indus till his death: it must, besides, have been written at a later period, after the decline of the empire had become apparent. It is also assigned to Râj Sing, rána of Oudipúr, as well as to a rája named Subah Sing; and the Marattas claim it for Sivaji (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 219). It is not improbable that it is the work of some private Hindú politician, who chose this way of publishing a sort of manifesto against the government. It is not destitute of ability. It maintains the principles of toleration, which are violated by the jizya; exalts the liberality of the former princes of the house of Timúr; and contrasts the flourishing state of the empire in their time with that of the present reign, when men of all classes and religions are discontented, the revenue gone to ruin, the people oppressed; and yet the treasury empty, the police neglected, the cities insecure, and the forts falling into decay. (A translation of this letter is given in *Orme's Fragments*, p. 252. A closer translation, with the Persian, was published, by Mr. Weston, in 1803.)

and on her being stopped at the Indus, her escort made an attempt to force the guard at Attok, and afterwards did effect their passage by some neglected ford. This violence offered a pretext for Aurangzíb to get the children into his power. He refused them admission into Delhi, and surrounded their encampment with his troops.

But on this occasion the Rájpúts united considerable address to their accustomed courage. Their leader, Durgá Dás, obtained leave to send off part of the escort with their women and children to their own country: along with this party he despatched the ráni and her infants in disguise, while he substituted two children of the same age for the young princes, and employed one of her female attendants to personate the ráni, all which was rendered more easy by the privacy of the women's apartments. In spite of these precautions, many hours had not elapsed before Aurangzíb's suspicions were awakened, and he sent orders that the ráni and her children should be brought into the citadel. His fears for their actual escape were for the time removed by the obstinacy of the Rájpúts, who refused to give up the widow and children of their rája, and declared themselves ready to die in their defence. His attention was now occupied in overcoming their resistance; troops were sent against them, whom they gallantly repulsed. At length, after the loss of the greater part of their number, the supposed ráni and her family were seized, while Durgá Dás and the survivors dispersed for the time, and, again assembling at a distance, retired to their own country. Their protracted defence had given time for the ráni to effect her escape. She arrived in safety in Jódpúr, and her eldest son, Ajit Sing, lived to enjoy a long reign over Márwár, and to be a formidable enemy to Aurangzíb for all the rest of that monarch's life. His identity, however, was long exposed to question; for Aurangzíb, with his usual adroitness, received the supposititious children as the undoubted issue of Rája Jeswant Sing, directed them to be honourably treated, and afterwards employed their pretensions in aid of his attacks on Jódpúr.

They escape from Delhi.

This outrage towards the family of one of their body, combined with the imposition of the jizya, disposed the Rájpúts to unite in their own defence. Rája Rám Sing of Jeipúr, or Ambér, whose family was connected with that of the emperor by so many intermarriages and the distinguished services of several generations, retained his attachment even at the present crisis; but Ráj Sing, rána of Oudipúr or Méwár, entered

Combination of the Rajpúts

heartily into the cause of the children of Jeswant Sing, and at the same time peremptorily refused to agree to the jizya. The whole of the western part of Rájpútana being now opposed to him, Aurangzíb assembled an army and marched to Ajmír.[26] From that place he sent on detachments to ravage Márwár; and, with his main army, he made so great an impression on the rána, as to reduce him to send in overtures of submission. He was allowed very favourable terms, a small cession of territory being accepted in lieu of the jizya, and no other sacrifice demanded but a promise not to assist Jódpúr.

The emperor marches against them.

A.D. 1679, January; A.H. 1089, Zi Haj.

Grants favourable terms to the rána of Méwár.

This arrangement concluded, the emperor returned to Delhi, having been absent less than eight months.[27] He had scarcely reached his capital, when he learned that the rána had broken the treaty (probably by giving secret assistance to Jódpúr), and before many months were over he again set out for Ajmír. On this occasion, he put forth his utmost strength, and applied all his energy to the speedy suppression of the combination against him. He summoned Prince Móazzim from the Deckan, and Prince Azam from Bengal; and at a later period he ordered the viceroy of Guzerát to invade the Rájpút territory from that quarter also. But the principal attack was made by his own army, which was sent under Prince Akber (assisted by Tohavvar Khán) direct to Oudipúr; while the rána, intimidated by the forces which threatened him on all sides, abandoned his capital, and took refuge in the Aravalli mountains. He was pursued into his retreat by Akber, who left a detachment behind him to ravage the open plains. Prince Móazzim had by this time reached Ujein, and was ordered to adopt the same course; and Prince Azam, on his arrival, was directed against the Jódpúr territory and the adjoining part of the rána's. Their orders were, to employ part of their troops to cut off all supplies from the fugitives in the hills, and with the rest to lay waste the country, burn and destroy the villages, cut down the fruit-trees, and carry off the women and children, so as to make the enemy feel all the evils of war in their utmost severity.

The rána breaks the peace.

A.D. 1680, July; A.H. 1090, Rajab.

Devastation of the Rajpút territory.

It is consistent with Aurangzíb's character to suppose that these inhuman orders were dictated by an unfeeling policy alone; but his religious prejudices and his hatred of opposition make it probable that anger and revenge also

Permanent alienation of the Rajpúts.

[26] Khafi Khán. [27] Ibid.

had an influence even on his calculating temper. Whatever were the motives, the effect was to complete for ever the alienation of the Rájpúts. They were afterwards often at peace with Aurangzíb's successors, and they sometimes even furnished their contingents, and professed their allegiance, but their service was yielded with constraint and distrust, very unlike the zealous attachment which formerly made them the prop of the monarchy.

During all this time, the Rájpúts kept a body of 25,000 horse, chiefly Ráhtórs of Jódpúr, in the field, with which, aided by their infantry in the hills, they occasioned much distress and some danger to their adversaries: they cut off convoys, attacked detachments, defended favourable positions, and sometimes gained important advantages by surprises and night attacks. But Durgá Dás, who still acted a prominent part in their councils, did not trust to force alone for the deliverance of his country. He endeavoured to open a negotiation with Prince Móazzim, and to draw him off from his allegiance by offers to support him in possessing himself of the crown. These prospects seem for a time to have had some charms even for Móazzim, a prince of mature years, and next in succession to the throne; but on his rejection of them, they were eagerly embraced by Prince Akber, the youngest of the brothers, who was then only twenty-three, and who in his boyhood had been considered as the chosen heir of his father.[28] He at once entered into Durgá Dás's views; and although Prince Móazzim warned the emperor of the plots which were going on, yet Aurangzíb was attached to Akber, whose youth, he thought, prevented his being dangerous, and at the same time he entertained the greatest jealousy of Móazzim himself. He therefore set down his information to envy, or some worse motive, and took no step to guard against Akber's infidelity, until he heard that Durgá Dás was encamped beside him, and that he had assumed the title and all the functions of a king. Tohavvar Khán became his prime minister; Mojáhid Khán, another great nobleman, also accepted of an office; and the rest of the army, destitute of a leader, continued submissive to the authority which they had been accustomed to obey. Aurangzíb had sent all his troops on different detachments, and had scarcely one thousand men with him at Ajmír, when he heard that Akber was in full march against him. He instantly called in Móazzim, with as many of

Prince Akber joins the Rájpúts with his army.

Is proclaimed emperor

Marches against Aurangzíb

[28] Bernier, vol. i. p. 193.

his troops as he could assemble; but they produced nothing capable of opposing Akber, now at the head of 70,000 men. Aurangzíb's situation seemed hopeless; and, to render it still more desperate, he gave way to his old suspicions of Móazzim; and ordered his guns to be pointed on that prince's division. But he did not lose his penetration even in this perplexity; conjecturing that the bulk of Akber's army had been surprised into revolt, rather than led to it by any real disaffection, he sent an officer of ability, who was brother to Mojáhid Khán, with a small body of horse, to get as near as he could to the enemy, and try to open a communication with his brother. Mojáhid, who had never sincerely united with Akber, took the first opportunity of coming over to his brother. His example was followed by other chiefs, and the general inclination was so evident, that Tohavvar Khán, when next day sent out with the advanced guard, came forward as if to engage with that opposed to him, and at once passed over to the emperor's side.

Dangerous situation of the emperor.

His presence of mind.

Defection of Akber's army.

It is not clear whether there was a real or affected suspicion that he came over with treacherous intentions, or whether, which is extremely improbable, he really did entertain such designs; but a report was set on foot that he intended to assassinate the emperor, and, on his refusing to give up his arms, force was used, and he was cut down close to the royal pavilion.

Meanwhile, his desertion, and that of so many other men of all ranks, struck the Rájpúts with dismay; and, finding themselves left to oppose the whole Mussulman army, they thought it necessary at last to attend to their own safety; only Durgá Dás remaining, with 3,000 horse, to protect Prince Akber on his retreat. That prince was left with scarcely a single Mahometan soldier, and all he could expect from the Rájpúts was to be allowed to share in their privations. He therefore resolved to seek an asylum with the Marattas; and, eluding pursuit by a march through the hills into Guzerát, he made his way to the Cóncan, and arrived in safety, still escorted by Durgá Dás, with 500 Rájpúts.[29]

Akber flies to the Marattas.

A D 1681, June 1

But the war with Méwár and Jódpúr, though it had returned into its old channel, continued unabated. The Moguls went on with their ravages; the Rájpúts retaliated by similar inroads into Málwa; and having, at length, caught the spirit of intolerance from their persecutors, they plundered the mosques, burned the Korán, and insulted the mullahs. The chief

Protracted war with the Rájpúts

[29] Letters from Bombay, quoted in Orme's *Fragments*, p. 267.

sufferer by this system of hostility was the rána of Oudipúr, whose fertile territory lay nearest the Moguls, and was occupied by their troops; while the remote and barren tracts under Jódpúr were less exposed to such an impression. Aurangzíb himself was desirous of putting an end to a struggle which withdrew him from more important affairs; and, by his contrivance, the rána was induced to make overtures, which were immediately and favourably received. The jizya was passed over in silence, the small cession formerly made in lieu of that impost was now given as a penalty for having assisted Akber; but all the other articles were favourable to the rána, whose honour was saved by a clause promising the restoration of Ajit Sing's country to him when he should come of age.[80] This treaty allowed Aurangzíb to draw off his army, without discredit, to the Deckan, where its presence could no longer be dispensed with; but it did little towards the real restoration of tranquillity. The western Rájpúts were still in arms; the war with the rána was renewed at no distant period; and the whole of the Rájpút states, except Jeipúr and the little principalities towards the east, continued in a state of open hostility till the end of Aurangzíb's reign. The capitals remained in the hands of the Moguls; but, though the dissensions among the Rájpúts prevented their making solid acquisitions, they still severely harassed the troops in their own country, and often laid waste the neighbouring provinces.[81]

CHAPTER III.

FROM 1681 TO 1698.

THE continuance of this warfare did not prevent Aurangzíb from turning all the resources he could command to the settlement of the Deckan, where many changes of movement had taken place, while he was engaged in other quarters. When his forces were first drawn off for the war with the Afgháns (A.D. 1672), Khán Jehán, his general in the Deckan, found himself too weak to prosecute active hostilities against the Marattas; and would probably have been unable to defend

Affairs of the Deckan resumed

[80] Orme's *Fragments*, p. 106. Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. i. p. 388.

[81] Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. ii. p. 69, &c. Colonel Tod's account of the transactions subsequent to the treaty is probably rectified from the Mahometan newspapers (akhbárs) of the day, which he mentions were in his possession. It is certainly quite unlike the Rájpút legends; being distinct and consistent, and constantly referring to dates, which coincide with those of events related by other authors.

his own province, if their leader had been disposed to attack it.

Sivají's conquests from Bíjápúr.

But while things were in this position, the king of Bíjápúr died,[1] and the state of discord into which his country fell offered greater temptations to Sivají than were presented by any attack on the Moguls. The part of Bíjápúr which most attracted him on this occasion was that on the sea, with the adjoining Ghâts; and in the course of the years 1673 and 1674 A.D., after a succession of battles and sieges, he made himself master of the whole of the southern Cóncan (except the points held by the English, Abyssinians, and Portuguese), and of a tract above the Ghâts, extending farther to the east than the upper course of the Kishna. Though Sivají had long borne the privileges of sovereignty, he conceived it suitable to the undertakings he had now in view to assume the exercise of them with greater solemnity than before. He was therefore again inaugurated at Ráighar with all the ceremonies of a Mogul coronation; including his being weighed in gold, and distributing rich presents to all around him. At the same time he changed the titles of his principal officers from Persian to Sanscrit; and while he thenceforth assumed all the pomp of a Mahometan prince, he redoubled his attention to the duties of his religion, and affected greater scrupulosity than ever in food and other things connected with cast.[2]

Is crowned at Ráighar with additional solemnity.

The long period for which Sivají had been employed in his conquests encouraged the Moguls to make an incursion into his possessions soon after this ceremony; but they had reason to repent their temerity. Sivají, without moving in person, sent detachments into the imperial territory; and these bands took two forts, plundered the country to the heart of Khándésh and Berár, and even penetrated into Guzerát as far as Baróch, where for the first time they crossed the river Nerbadda. These incursions took place in 1675; and as he hoped they might induce the Moguls to refrain from disturbing him again, they left Sivají at liberty to execute a design that had long occupied his thoughts. This was the recovery of his father's jágír, and a further extension of his conquests in the South of India. The jágír had hitherto remained in the hands of his younger brother, Véncají, who held it under the nominal supremacy of

Makes an incursion into the Mogul territory.

and first crosses the Nerbadda.

Sivají's expedition to the South of India.

[1] [Alí Ádil Sháh died in 1672, and was succeeded by his son Sekandar, only five years old.—Ed.]

[2] Mr. Ovenden, who was envoy from Bombay to Sivají, was present at his coronation, and describes it as much more splendid than would have been expected among early Marattas. It took place on the 6th of June, 1674.

the government of Bíjápúr. Sivají was therefore now at liberty either to claim it as heir, or to conquer it as an enemy; and his views were particularly directed to it from his having lately been joined by Raghunáth Náráin, the Bramin who had formerly managed it on the part of Sháhjí, and had afterwards been minister to Véncají until a recent quarrel. This man was useful to Sivají both from his knowledge and connexions. But as he could not safely set out on so remote an expedition without leaving a friend in his rear, he took advantage of the jealousy of Bíjápúr and fears of the Moguls entertained by the king of Golcónda, and proposed an alliance to him against their common enemies. His overtures being encouraged, he marched for Golcónda with an army of 30,000 horse and 40,000 infantry. He halted for some time at Golcónda to make a definite settlement of his alliance; when it was agreed that he was to share with the king whatever conquests he made beyond his father's jágír, and that the king was to supply him with a sum of money and a train of artillery, reserving all his other forces to keep the armies of Bíjápúr and the Moguls in check. Having thus secured his rear, Sivají crossed the Kishna at Carnúl, proceeded through Cadapa, and passing close to Madras,[1] presented himself before Jinjí (Gingee), 600 miles from his own territories. Jinjí was a strong and important hill-fort belonging to Bíjápúr, but was given up in consequence of a previous understanding with the commander. The heavy part of his army, which he had left behind, next laid siege to, and ultimately took, Vellór; while Sivají had a personal interview with his brother, and endeavoured to persuade him to give him a share of their father's possessions. Having failed in this negotiation, he took A'rní, and various other forts, and forcibly occupied the whole of Sháhjí's jágír in the Mysore. While thus employed, he heard of the invasion of Golcónda by the Moguls and the government of Bíjápúr; on which he marched off to the north, leaving his conquests in charge of his half-brother Santají, who had joined him on his first arrival. As soon as Sivají was out of reach, Véncají made an attempt to recover his possessions; and the dispute terminated in a compromise, by which Véncaji* was to retain the jágír, but pay half the revenue to Sivají, who was to keep to himself the places which *he* had conquered from

Towards the end of A.D. 1676.

A.D. 1677, March.

He takes Jinjí.

and Vellor.

and recovers all his father's jágír in Mysore

[1] First week of May, 1677. Wilks' *Mysore*, from the "Madras Records."

*[Véncají's son Tukají had two sons, one legitimate named Sahají, the other illegitimate named Pratáp Sing. Their disputes led to the first interference of the English in the affairs of the Deccan in 1749, see Mill, iii. 87, Duff's *Mahrattas*, i. 566.—ED.]

Bíjápúr. The king of Golcónda had by this time come to a settlement with the Moguls; and Sivají, after conquering the districts of Belári and Adóni on his way, passed on to Ráighar, which he reached after an absence of eighteen months.

About the middle of A.D. 1678.

The invasion of Golcónda was owing to a change in the policy of the Moguls. Khán Jehán had been removed, and succeeded by Dilír Khán, perhaps the best of Aurangzíb's officers. His force was still small; but a considerable portion of his troops were Patáns like himself, and he made up for all deficiencies by his own vigour and activity. The king of Bíjápúr was still a minor, and various revolutions had taken place among his ministers and guardians. Dilír formed a union with one of them, and made the above-mentioned attack on Golcónda. The regent of Bíjápúr, who acted with him on that occasion, died soon after; and Dilír, by supporting the claims of an Abyssinian, named Masaúd, to succeed him, acquired a perfect ascendancy in the councils of Bíjápúr. But Aurangzíb, not satisfied with these advantages, sent down Prince Móazzim, as viceroy, to advance further demands, which Dilír, as general, was to enforce. In execution of this plan, Dilír renewed the war with Bíjápúr, and laid siege to the capital. The regent, in despair, had recourse to Sivají, who, not finding himself strong enough to attack the besieging army, invaded and laid waste the Mogul territory with more than ordinary severity. He was nearly cut off on his retreat, or rather flight, from one of those inroads; but, almost immediately afterwards, appeared in greater strength than ever, and took several forts from the Moguls. But Dilír Khán still persevered in the siege, and the regent, reduced to extremity, entreated Sivají to come to his assistance before it was too late. Sivají had set off for this purpose, when he was surprised by the intelligence that his son, Sambají, had deserted to the Moguls. This young man, who had none of his father's qualities, except his courage, had given himself up to debauchery; and having attempted to violate the wife of a Bramin, was imprisoned by Sivají in one of his hill-forts. He now escaped from his place of confinement, and fled to Dilír, who received him with open arms, intending to make use of him among the Marattas as a counterpoise to his father. The embarrassment this occasioned to Sivají was only temporary, for Aurangzíb, disapproving of Dilír's views, ordered Sambají to be sent prisoner to his own camp; and Dilír, whose honour was pledged for his safety, connived at his return to his father. Mean-

The Moguls, under Dilír Khán, invade Golcónda.

Lay siege to Bijapúr, A.D. 1679.

Sivají's son, Sambají, deserts to the Moguls.

He returns to his father.

while the defence of Bíjápúr had surpassed expectation: Sivají, as soon as he recovered from his first surprise, had renewed his exertions; and Dilír Khán, finding his supplies cut off, was obliged to raise the siege. The price of Sivají's alliance was a cession of the territory between the Tumbadra and Kishna, and of all the king's rights over the jágír of Sháhjí. This last acquisition gave him the right, as his successes did the power, of exercising a more effectual control over his brother; and Véncají's mortification at the change had led him to the thoughts of renouncing worldly affairs; when all Sivají's designs were cut short by an illness which carried him off on the 5th of April, 1680, in the fifty-third year of his age.

Siege of Bijápúr raised.

Death of Sivají.

Though the son of a powerful chief, he had begun life as a daring and artful captain of banditti, had ripened into a skilful general and an able statesman, and left a character which has never since been equalled or approached by any of his countrymen. The distracted state of the neighbouring countries presented openings by which an inferior leader might have profited; but it required a genius like his to avail himself as he did of the mistakes of Aurangzíb, by kindling a zeal for religion and, through that, a national spirit among the Marattas. It was by these feelings that his government was upheld after it passed into feeble hands, and was kept together, in spite of numerous internal disorders, until it had established its supremacy over the greater part of India. Though a predatory war, such as he conducted, must necessarily inflict extensive misery, his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced. His devotion latterly degenerated into extravagances of superstition and austerity, but seems never to have obscured his talents or soured his temper.[1]

His character.

When Sambají returned from the Mogul camp, he was again placed in confinement at Panálla, and was there when his father died. This circumstance, and some expressions of uneasiness which had fallen from Sivají regarding the future conduct of his eldest son, offered a pretext for alleging that he designed the succession for the second,

Unsuccessful attempt to set aside Sambají

[1] [Aurangzíb did not attempt to conceal either his own satisfaction at Sivají's death or the merits of the foe. "He was," he said, "a great captain, and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom while I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India. My armies have been employed against him for nineteen years, and nevertheless his state has been always increasing." (Orme's *Fragments.*)—ED.]

Rája Rám, a boy of ten years old. The intrigues of this young prince's mother gained acceptance to the story; and the Bramin ministers, who dreaded Sambají's violence, and looked with pleasure to a long minority, affected to receive it as authentic, and sent orders for the close arrest of Sambají, concealing Sivají's death till that object should be accomplished.

He is acknowledged rája.

But Sambají, who was a prisoner at large within Panálla, contrived to get possession of the secret, and announced his own accession to the garrison, who immediately acknowledged his authority. He did not at first venture out of his stronghold, but the public opinion was favourable to his right; the Bramin ministers fell out among themselves; a force that was sent to besiege him was gained over to his interest, and he at length made his entry into Ráighar as undisputed sovereign (June, 1680).

Sambají's cruelty.

His prudence, up to this time, had gone far to remove the prejudice entertained against him, but the favourable impression was effaced by his cruelties after his accession. He put the widow of Sivají to a painful and lingering death; he imprisoned her son Rája Rám, threw the Bramin ministers who had been most active against him into irons, and beheaded such of his other enemies as were not protected by the sanctity of their class. The same prevalence of passion over policy appeared in his foreign proceedings. Sivají had always been in a state of hostility with the Abyssinians of Jinjera, and had occasionally made great efforts to reduce them. Sambají's first operations were against these people; and as they were near neighbours to his capital, he took a personal interest in the war, and for a long time gave up his whole thoughts to subduing them, as if he had no other enemy in the world. He was not diverted from this pursuit even by the arrival of Prince Akber in his camp (June, 1681). He received the prince with honour, and acknowledged him as emperor, yet showed no intention of rendering his pretensions useful by supporting them against Aurangzíb. The arrival of Akber suggested to the party still secretly opposed to Sambají the possibility of obtaining his sanction to the claim of Rája Rám. Their plot was soon discovered; many of their leaders were trampled to death by elephants, and among the sufferers was one of the chief Bramin ministers, whose eminent services to Sivají seemed to protect him from capital punishment almost as much as his sacred order.

His obstinacy in besieging Jinjera.

Joined by Prince Akber.

Plots against his authority.

Executions.

The disaffection to Sambají's government produced by these

executions was increased by other causes. He neglected or persecuted his father's ministers, while he threw his own affairs, without reserve, into the hands of Calusha, a Bramin from Hindostan, who had gained his favour by encouraging his vices, as well as by his insinuating manners and superficial accomplishments. Gives himself up to a favourite, Calusha.

With the aid of this counsellor he eagerly prosecuted his operations against Jinjera (A.D. 1682). He endeavoured to construct a mound to connect the island with the mainland, and he afterwards attempted an assault by means of boats. All his exertions were in vain; and when he was constrained to raise the siege, the Abyssinians increased his mortification by sallying out and plundering his villages. They soon after injured him still more sensibly by entirely defeating his fleet at sea. Exasperated by these affronts, he charged the Europeans settled on the coast with having contributed to produce them: he began hostilities in person against the Portuguese, with whom Sivají had also been at war, and nearly proceeded to the same extremity with the English, although they had hitherto always been treated as friends. These petty operations were interrupted by attacks from the Moguls, the precursors of the appearance of Aurangzíb. Sambají's chiefs had not been entirely inactive in the Deckan during his own occupation with the Abyssinians; but great relaxation had been introduced into discipline, and it was increased, along with all other disorders, by the habits to which the rája had given himself up. His whole time was spent in idleness and debauchery; the vast treasures left by Sivají were soon dissipated; and, although Calusha added to the general disaffection by increasing the land revenue, the income of the state was inadequate to its expenditure. The troops, left long in arrears, appropriated the plunder taken on expeditions to their own use, and degenerated from the comparatively regular bands of Sivají into the hordes of rapacious and destructive freebooters which they have ever since remained. Fails at Jinjera. Decline of his affairs in the Deckan.

By this time Aurangzíb had made his treaty with the rána of Oudipúr; and, after leaving a detachment to ravage the Jódpúr territory, moved with the whole force of his empire to the conquest of the Deckan. A.D. 1683. Aurangzíb arrives in the Deckan.

It would appear to have been sound policy for Aurangzíb to have combined with the kings of Bíjápúr and Golcónda in putting down Sambají, and restoring the tranquillity of the Deckan; but he, perhaps, thought that those monarchs were His views.

more jealous of him than of the Marattas, and would not sincerely unite with him, so that Sambají would never want a retreat while they had dominions in which to harbour him. It is at least as probable that the acquisition of the kingdoms of Bíjápúr and Golcónda was Aurangzíb's primary object, and that he judged the reduction of Sambají to be a necessary consequence of success in his other more important undertaking. He had seen with pleasure the wars of those kings with each other and with the Marattas, had fomented their internal disorders, and seemed so far blinded as to think that everything that threw the Deckan into confusion must turn to his advantage.

His first advance was to Burhánpúr, where he made a long halt, as he afterwards did at Aurangábád. He was occupied during those periods on political and financial arrangements; and, by a sort of infatuation, he took this occasion to enforce the strict exaction of the jizya, which the common sense of his officers had led them to avoid. A.D. 1683.

His first operations.

Before he had left Burhánpúr, he sent Prince Azam with a considerable force to reduce the hill-forts near the junction of the Chandór range with the Ghâts; and Prince Móazzim, with a still larger one, to overrun the Cóncan, and penetrate to the south of Sambají's country, and the borders of that of Bíjápúr. It is as difficult to see any general design in the employment of these armies as to understand the principles on which their operations were conducted. The strong fort of Sálér was given up by previous concert to Prince Azam, and this petty intrigue may have tempted Aurangzíb to detach a force to this unconnected point; but to send a large army of cavalry[1] among the rocks and thickets of the Cóncan, where there were no roads, no forage, and no field for the employment of horse, shows a want of judgment that it is quite impossible to explain. Móazzim marched the whole length of the Cóncan unopposed; yet by the time he got to the neighbourhood of Goa, he had lost almost the whole of his horses and cattle, and even his men began to suffer from scarcity. The pressure was increased by Sambají, who stopped up the Ghâts, while his cruisers cut off the vessels that were sent with supplies by sea; and Móazzim thought himself fortunate when he was able to emerge into the country above the Ghâts with the remains of his dismounted army. He was pursued by the effects of an unwholesome climate and A.D. 1684.

Destruction of Prince Moazzim's army in the Concan.

[1] Orme says 40,000.

unusual food, and lost a great portion of his men by an epidemic which broke out at Wálwa, near Mirich, on the Kishna, where he encamped for the period of the rains.

When the season opened he was directed to enter the territory of Bíjápúr from the south-west, so as to co-operate with Prince Azam, who, after failing in his expedition against the forts, was despatched with a powerful army to invade Bíjápúr; while Aurangzíb himself advanced to Ahmednagar, leaving a reserve under Khán Jehán at Aurangábád. A.D. 1685. Invasion of Bíjápúr.

This movement gave Sambají an opportunity to retaliate the invasion of his country. He gradually assembled a body of horse in the north of the Cóncan, behind the right flank of Aurangzíb's armies, which from thence moved rapidly along their rear, sacked and burned the great city of Burhánpúr, and then drew off again to the Cóncan, leaving all the country through which it had passed in a blaze. So secret as well as rapid were the movements of this body, that Khán Jehán, marching on a point where he thought to intercept it, found himself entirely off the line of its retreat. Sambají ravages the country in the emperor's rear.

Meanwhile Prince Azam had taken Sólápúr, and was advancing towards Bíjápúr; but he found himself unable to cope with the army that was sent out to oppose him, and was compelled to retreat beyond the Bíma; while Móazzim, too weak to attempt any movement by himself, was obliged to wait for reinforcements, by which he was escorted to Ahmednagar with the wreck of his fine army.

After these failures Aurangzíb advanced in person to Sólápúr, and sent on Prince Azam with his army reinforced: although the distance was so short, the Bíjápúr troops cut off the prince's supplies, and would have destroyed his army if a large convoy of grain had not been skilfully conducted into his camp by Ghází ud din.[6] The impression he made was still small, until Aurangzíb, at a later period, moved on to the siege in person. A.D. 1686. Failure of the invasion of Bijápúr.

It was in the present stage of the war that the Marattas, seeing the Moguls drawn off to the south, made another bold inroad into the territory in their rear, plundered the city of Baróch, and retreated after ravaging the adjoining part of Guzerát. It is not clear whether Sambají sent out this expedition from motives of his own, or in concert with the Deckan kings. He had about this time entered into a defensive alliance with the king of Golcónda; and on this fact becoming Sambají plunders Baroch

[6] The ancestor of the present Nizám.

known to Aurangzíb, he did not allow his attention to be drawn off to Sambají, but immediately made it a ground of quarrel with Golcónda, and sent an army to invade that kingdom. From his usual distrust of powerful armies and great commanders, the force he sent was insufficient; and ere long he was constrained to send his son, Prince Móazzim, with a large body of troops, to support the first army, and take the command of the whole. The government of Golcónda was in a very different state from the distracted condition of Bíjápúr. The king, Abúl Hasan, though indolent and voluptuous, was popular; and his government and finances were ably conducted by Madna Pant, a Bramin, to whom he wisely gave his full confidence. But the exclusive employment of this minister was odious to the Mussulmans, and especially to Ibráhím Khán, the commander-in-chief, into whose hands the power would probably have fallen under any different arrangement. When Móazzim drew near, this man deserted to him with the greater part of his army. Madna Pant was murdered in a simultaneous tumult in the city; the king fled to the hill-fort of Golcónda, and Heiderábád was seized and plundered for three successive days. Móazzim did his best to check this breach of discipline; and it gave the utmost displeasure to the emperor, not so much from humanity, or even policy, as on account of the quantity of treasure lost to the crown, which he violently suspected that Móazzim had embezzled for his own ambitious purposes, as he himself had done on a similar occasion under Sháh Jehán. Having thus effectually crippled the king of Golcónda, he granted him peace for a great pecuniary payment, and turned his whole forces to the reduction of Bíjápúr.

Aurangzíb invades Golconda.

Makes peace with the king

The army of that monarchy appears at this time to have melted away; for, although the walls of the city are six miles in circumference, Aurangzíb was able to invest it completely, while he employed a portion of his army on a regular attack and breach. So well was the blockade kept up, that by the time the breach was practicable the town was distressed for provisions; and as the garrison, though small, was composed of Patáns, it was thought prudent to give them favourable terms: Aurangzíb entered the place on a portable throne through the breach, the young king was made prisoner,[1] and Bíjá-

Aurangzíb, in person, moves against Bijapúr.

Takes the capital, and destroys the

[1] [Grant Duff says that the young prince was kept a close prisoner in the Moghul camp for three years, when he died suddenly, not without suspicion of having

púr, ceasing to be a capital, was soon reduced to the deserted condition in which it now stands.[8] monarchy. A.D. 1686, Oct. 15.

No sooner had Bíjápúr fallen than Aurangzíb determined to break the peace with Golcónda; and the means he employed were as base as the design was perfidious. He drew his army near on pretext of a pilgrimage, and he obtained jewels and gifts of all sorts from the unfortunate king, anxious at any cost to purchase his friendship, or at least his compassion; but during all this interval he was intriguing with the ministers of Golcónda, and debauching the troops; and when his plot was ripe for execution, he published a manifesto denouncing the king as a protector of infidels, and soon after laid siege to his fort. From this moment Abúl Hasan seemed to cast aside his effeminacy; and, though deserted by his troops, he bravely defended Golcónda for seven months, till it also was given up by treachery; and he then bore his misfortunes with a dignity and resignation that has endeared his memory to his subjects and their descendants even to this day. Aurangzíb breaks the peace with Golcónda. A.D. 1687, September. Takes the capital, and subverts the monarchy.

During this siege, the unsleeping suspicions of Aurangzíb were stirred up by some indiscreet communications between Abúl Hasan and Prince Móazzim. The object of this intercourse was to procure the prince's intercession with his father; but to Aurangzíb it appeared to afford a confirmation of all his former surmises, and he lost no time in securing Móazzim, who remained in more or less strict confinement for nearly seven years. Móazzim seems never to have given any cause for these alarms. All accounts give him credit for caution and moderation. Bernier says, no slave could be more obedient, or seem more devoid of ambition: he, however, hints that this was rather too like Aurangzíb's own conduct in his youth, and perhaps the same reflection may have occurred to the emperor.[9] Imprisons Prince Moazzim.

been poisoned by Aurangzíb. Mr. Morley (*Catalogue*, p. 78) says that he died in 1699.—ED.]

[8] "The walls, which are of hewn stone, and very lofty, are to this day entire, and, being surmounted by the cupolas and minarets of public buildings, still present to the spectator, from without, the appearance of a flourishing city; but within, all is solitude, silence, and desolation. The deep moat, the double rampart, and the ruins of the splendid palaces in the citadel, attest the former magnificence of the court. The great mosque is a grand edifice, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Sháh, already mentioned, is remarkable for its elegant and graceful architecture; but the chief feature in the scene is the mausoleum of Mohummud Adil Sháh, the dome of which fills the eye from every point of view; and, though in itself entirely devoid of ornament, its enormous dimensions and austere simplicity invest it with an air of melancholy grandeur, which harmonises with the wreck and desolation that surround it." (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 340.) One is at a loss, in seeing these ruins, to conjecture how so small a state could have maintained such a capital.

[9] Bernier, vol. i. p. 120.

Aurangzíb had new attained the summit of his wishes, but had sown a harvest of which he and his posterity were to reap the bitter produce. The governments which in some degree kept up order in the Deckan being annihilated, the frame of society which depended on them was dissolved, and the scattered materials remained as elements of discord. Though the Patáns and foreign mercenaries may have obtained service with the emperor, the rest of the troops of both armies were obliged to join Sambají, or to plunder on their own account. The distant zemíndárs seized every opportunity to make themselves independent, and, among all the wars and robberies to which they betook themselves, were always ready to befriend the Marattas, whom they looked on as the patrons of anarchy: those most within reach of the Moguls were disaffected to their conquerors; and from this motive, and the new-born feeling of religious opposition, were always ready to assist their enemies; so that, in spite of a short gleam of prosperity after the fall of Golcónda, Aurangzíb might date from that event a train of vexations and disasters which followed him to the grave.

Effects of these conquests.

Disordered state of the Deckan.

He was not remiss in taking advantage of his present good fortune. He took possession of all the territories of Bíjápúr and Golcónda, even their latest southern conquests:[10] he seized on Sháhjí's jágír in the Mysore, confining Véncají to Tanjore, and compelling the Marattas in Sivají's late acquisitions to fly to their forts. But in all these countries he had little more than a military occupation: the districts were farmed to the désmukhs and other zemíndárs, and were governed by military leaders, who received 25 per cent. for the expense of collecting, and who sent up the balance, after paying their troops, to the king; unless, as often happened, assignments were made for a period of years on fixed districts for the payment of other chiefs.*

Aurangzíb takes possession of Bíjápúr and Golcónda, as far as Tanjore.

A.D. 1688.

During all these great events Sambají remained in a state of personal inertness, ascribed by the Maratta historians to the enchantments of Calusha, but naturally explained by the stupor and mental debility produced by a course of drunkenness and debauchery.

Inactivity of Sambají.

[10] [Ghází ud dín was left as governor of the Deckan.—Ed.]

* ["The operations of the Moguls in the Deckan, although they broke to pieces the consistency of both the Mohammedan and Hindú principalities, substituted no paramount authority in their place, and furnished an opportunity and example to adventurers of all classes to scramble for power, annihilating all right except that of the sword." (Wilson's note, Mill's *History*, iv. 92.) Hence the anarchy, which opened the way for the contentions of the English and the French, and the ultimate establishment of the British empire.—Ed.]

Prince Akber, disgusted with his manners, and hoping nothing from such an ally, quitted his court and repaired to Persia, where he lived till A.D. 1706. The chiefs exerted themselves individually against the Moguls, notwithstanding the inefficiency of their rája; but, in spite of their resistance, the open country belonging to the Marattas was gradually taken possession of, and Aurangzíb was preparing for a systematic attack on the forts, when the activity of one of his officers unexpectedly threw his principal enemy into his hands. Sambají was enjoying himself, with a small party of attendants, in a favourite pleasure-house, at Sangaméswar in the Cóncan, when intelligence of his unguarded situation was brought to Tokarrab Khán, the Mogul officer at Cólápúr.[11] Though this place is only fifty or sixty miles from Sangaméswar, it is separated from it by the range of Ghâts; and as Tokarrab Khán was only a governor of a district, his neighbourhood (if it could so be called) gave little uneasiness to Sambají or those about him. Being an active and enterprising soldier, he set off with a small body of troops, and took his measures so well that he reached Sangaméswar before his march was suspected. Sambají might still have escaped, for, before his house was surrounded, some of his followers ran in with information of the arrival of the Moguls; but Sambají was in a state of intoxication, and replied by threatening them with punishment for such insulting intelligence. Soon after, Tokarrab made his appearance; most of the attendants fled; Calusha was wounded in endeavouring to save his master; and both were made prisoners, and sent in triumph to the imperial head-quarters.[12]

Prince Akber goes to Persia.

Sambají made prisoner.

They were led through the camp on camels, amidst the din of drums and other noisy instruments, and surrounded by an innumerable multitude who flocked to see their dreaded enemy; and, after being exhibited before Aurangzíb, they were ordered into confinement. Aurangzíb probably intended to spare his prisoner, for a time at least, as an instrument for gaining possession of his forts; but Sambají, now roused to a sense of his degradation, courted death, and replied to an invitation to become a Mussulman by language so insulting to the emperor, and so impious towards his prophet, than an order was given for

[11] Grant Duff. From a letter in the *Rakâimi Karâim* (the forty-first in the India House copy), it appears that the plan originated with Aurangzíb himself, and was executed in strict conformity to his orders. Tokarrab, by that letter, seems to have been besieging Parnála.

[12] Calusha is generally, but erroneously, believed to have betrayed his master.

his immediate execution. The sentence was probably issued on the ground of blasphemy; for it was attended with studied bárbarity, very unlike the usual practice of Aurangzíb. His eyes were first destroyed with a hot iron, his tongue was cut out, and he was at last beheaded along with his favourite, Calusha.

Put to death.

A.D. 1689, August.

Though his person had been despised by the Marattas, his fate was pitied and resented; and the indignation and religious hatred of the nation was raised to a higher pitch than ever.

Strong as was the animosity of the Marattas, their chance of resistance appeared to be very small. The overwhelming force of Aurangzíb, his personal reputation, even the pomp and grandeur which surrounded him, and the very name of the Great Mogul, struck them with an awe which they had not experienced in their former wars with his lieutenants. Their weakness became more conspicuous when Aurangzíb, remaining himself near Púna, sent a force to lay siege to their capital of Ráighar. The principal chiefs had assembled there on the death of Sambají, had acknowledged his infant son, afterwards called Sáho, as rája, and had nominated his uncle, Rája Rám, to be regent.

Weakness of the Marattas.

Aurangzíb sends a detachment to besiege Ráighar.

They then, after providing the fortress with a garrison and provisions, withdrew with the regent, to be ready for any service that might arise. Ráighar held out for several months, until a secret ascent was disclosed to the Moguls by a Máwalí chief, whom some personal disgust, combined with the general despondency, induced to this act of treason.[18] The infant rája was now in the hands of the enemy, and it was resolved that the regent, instead of exposing to risk the last representative of Sivají, should withdraw to the distant fortress of Jinjí in the Carnatic; while his forts in the Deckan were to be put in a good state of defence, and his troops dispersed in their villages, ready to profit by better times. Rája Rám accordingly proceeded with a few followers in disguise through the hostile provinces between him and Jinjí. When he reached that place, he proclaimed

Regency of Rája Rám.

Ráighar taken.

A.D 1690.

Rája Rám escapes to Jinjí and proclaimed rája.

[18] It seems unaccountable that these forts, which, at some times, are taken by a dozen at a time, at others held out for years against well-equipped armies, but they are often ill-garrisoned, and without provisions; the garrison is often paid by lands which lie under the fort, and make them dependent on the enemy; even good garrisons are often surprised from overconfidence in the strength of the place, and sudden despair when they find difficulties overcome which they thought insurmountable. When such forts are in good order, with properly prepared garrisons and stores, it requires all the military resources and active courage of Europeans to make an impression on them.

his arrival, and assumed the title of rája, on the ground of the captivity of his nephew. He was fortunate in an adviser in Prillád, one of the Bramin ministers, who had sufficient talents to gain an ascendancy over the other ministers and chiefs, and judgment to see that it was not desirable, even if it had been practicable, to do more than give a common scope to the general efforts. System of defence adopted by the Marattas.

Without the pervading genius of Sivají, the Marattas would never have been formed into a nation; but now, when all were animated by one spirit, the nature of the people, and their mode of war, required that it should be left to operate by individual exertions. The plan best adapted to them was, to bend before a blow, to offer nothing tangible for the enemy to attack, and to return to the charge with undiminished vigour whenever it suited them to take the part of assailants. Accordingly, their chiefs who were in possession of lands lost no time in making their submission to the Mogul, and none were louder in professions of zeal and attachment than they; but they almost all kept up a communication with the rebels, allowed their retainers to join them, even sent parties secretly, under their own relations, to share in plundering expeditions, and did more mischief as spies and hollow confederates than they could have done as open enemies. The soldiers also, when they had no efficient government or regular treasury to look to, formed each his own plan for his individual profit. The thirst for plunder was always the strongest passion of the nation, from the first robbers under Sivají to the most opulent times of the monarchy. Their only word for a victory is, "to plunder the enemy;" and though they readily combine for common objects, yet even then the mass is moved by each man's eagerness for his separate booty. When this spirit was called into activity, it required but a moderate interference on the part of the government to give it a direction that rendered it more formidable than the courage of disciplined armies.

When the Maratta government appeared to have been expelled from the Deckan, Aurangzíb despatched Zúlfikár Khán, the son of Assad Khán, who had distinguished himself by the capture of Ráighar, to give it its death-blow by the reduction of Jinjí.[14] Zúlfikár, on his arrival, found Zúlfikár Khan sent to reduce Jinji, 1691

[14] ["Aurangzíb, after the reduction of Bijápúr and Haiderabád, and the taking of Samba, remained to finish some objects which then appeared easily attainable, but afterwards extended in such a chain that he could not quit the Deckan for the rest of his life. He often lamented the necessity of the relaxation which his absence occasioned in the government of Hindostan, and would frequently say to his con-

that his force, though considerable, was not sufficient to reduce or even to invest the place. He applied to Aurangzíb for reinforcements, and in the meantime employed part of his army in levying contributions on Tanjore[15] and other southern countries. Aurangzíb was in no condition to furnish the reinforcements desired. He had sent his son Cámbakhsh, with an army, to reduce Wákinkerá, a fort not far from Bíjápúr, which, though only held by the head of one of the predatory tribes of the Deckan, was strong enough to baffle all his efforts. A still greater demand for troops was created by the reappearance of the Marattas themselves. No sooner was Rája Rám settled in Jinjí, than he despatched his two most active chiefs, Santají Górpara and Danají Jádu, to make a diversion in his own country. Before they arrived, some bands of discharged Bíjápúr troops had begun to plunder on their own account; and as soon as these well-known leaders made their appearance, Maratta horsemen issued from every village, and flocked to join their standards. Rám Chander Pant, who was left at Sattára, in the civil charge of what little territory remained to the Marattas, had assembled some troops within his own districts; and by appealing to the predatory spirit before adverted to, he now called a new and most efficient army at once into existence. His plan was, to confer on every man of influence amongst the soldiery a right to levy the *chout*, and other claims on the Maratta government, on all places not in its possession, and to plunder and lay waste every country that refused this tribute. The contributions were to go to the payment of the troops, the booty to the actual captors; and each chief was authorised to impose, for his personal benefit, a new exaction, called *ghás dána*, or *corn and hay money*. This invitation put every horseman in the country in motion. Most of the principal Maratta names appear (and many for the first time) as leaders of independent parties of various strength, which set out to enrich themselves at the expense of the Mogul's subjects; sometimes each acting singly, and sometimes with a general concert, and fixed plans for rendezvous and retreat. The armies of Santají and Danají, though under the control of those chiefs, acted much on the same system: the Marattas spread, at once, in all directions, and the whole Deckan was filled with fire and rapine, terror and confusion.

Marattas renew the war by desultory operations under independent leaders.

A.D. 1692.

fidants in private, 'My disloyal subjects have imposed this plaything upon me that they may enjoy commands and honours.'"

(*Iráda Khán*, p. 57).—Ed.]

[15] Called by the Marattas "Chandáwar."

It was now that the Mogul and Maratta systems of war were fairly brought into competition, and it soon appeared with which side the advantage lay. The long tranquillity and mild government and manners established by Akber, and the greater mixture with the Hindús, first began to soften the character of the northern conquerors of India. The negligence of Jehángír's reign, and the internal quiet of Sháh Jehán's, were respectively unfavourable to discipline and to military spirit; and by the time we are speaking of, both were very sensibly impaired. The nobles had far advanced towards the sloth and effeminacy for which they have since been noted, and even those who retained their energy were unsuited to active service. They all went into the field in coats of wadding, that would resist a sword, and over that chain or plate armour; and were mounted on large and showy horses, with huge saddles, and ample housings of cloth or velvet, from which many streamers of different-coloured satin, and often pairs of the bushy ox-tails of Tibet, hung down on each side. The horse's neck, and all the harness, were loaded with chains, bells, and ornaments of the precious metals; and as each soldier imitated his superior, as far as his means would admit, they formed a cavalry admirably fitted to prance in a procession, and not ill-adapted to a charge in a pitched battle, but not capable of any long exertion, and still less of any continuance of fatigue and hardship.

Comparison of the Mogul and Maratta armies.

To their individual inefficiency was added a total relaxation of discipline. In spite of all Aurangzíb's boasted vigilance, the grossest abuses had crept into the military department. Many officers only kept up half the number of their men, and others filled the ranks with their menials and slaves. Such comrades corrupted the soldiers by their example, and extinguished spirit by degrading the military character. The indulgence and connivance necessary for chiefs so conscious of their own delinquencies completed the ruin of their troops. They could neither be got to keep watch nor to remain alert on picket; and their sluggish habits would have prevented them ever turning out on an emergency, even if the time required to adjust their bulky housings and heavy defensive armour had not put it out of the question.[16]

The emperor's camp-equipage was in all the pomp of peaceful

[16] "The Frenchman praised the high pay, and said the service was diversion; nobody would fight or keep watch, and only forfeited a day's pay when they failed to do either." (Gemelli Carreri in Churchill's *Collection*, vol. iv. See also the Bondela Narrative in Scott's *Deckan*, vol. ii.)

times. Each nobleman endeavoured to imitate this magnificence; even private soldiers attended to comfort in their tents, and the line of march presented a long train of elephants, camels, carts, and oxen, mixed up with a crowd of camp-followers, women of all ranks, merchants, shopkeepers, servants, cooks, and all kinds of ministers of luxury, amounting to ten times the number of the fighting men. This unwieldy host soon eat up a country, and the people suffered further from the insolence and licence of the soldiery.[17]

The Marattas, as has been said, were little active men; accustomed to hard work and hard fare. Their usual food was a cake of millet, with perhaps an onion; their dress a small turban, tight breeches covering their thighs, and a scarf or sash rolled round their middle. When their body was not bare, it was covered by a light cotton tunic.

Their arms were a sword and a matchlock, but oftener a bamboo spear thirteen or fourteen feet long, their national weapon, which they used with extraordinary skill. Their horses were those of their own country, small, strong, and active, capable of enduring great fatigue, and taught to bound forward, or stop, or to wheel round when at full speed, on the slightest pressure from their rider's leg. They had a pad for a saddle, with a blanket folded over it. When stationary, few except the chiefs had tents; and on their inroads, each man slept on the ground, with his spear stuck by him and his bridle tied to his arm, ready to leap on horseback on the slightest alarm of the approach of an enemy.

An assemblage of such troops never stood the heavy charge of a body of Moguls, but dispersed at once, and scampered off singly to the nearest hills or broken ground. If the enemy left their ranks to pursue them, they cut off single horsemen, or rapidly assembled behind a ravine, or in some other situation where it was not safe for small parties to attack them; and when the disheartened pursuers turned back, with their horses exhausted, the Marattas were upon them in a moment, charged in on them if there was an opening or confusion, but generally hung loosely on their flanks and rear, sometimes dashing up singly, to fire their matchlocks into the mass, or even to despatch a straggler with their long spears. Their chief excellence, as well as their delight, was in the plunder of a convoy. The favour of the country-people gave them full information, while it kept the

[17] Gemelli Carreri saw Aurangzib's cantonment at Galgala (March 1695). He describes it as an enormous assemblage, said greatly to exceed a million. The king's and princes' tents occupied a space of upwards of three miles in circumference, and were fortified with a ditch, palisades, and falconets.

Moguls in darkness, till they were suddenly assailed on the line of march, and saw the camels and cattle, carrying the grain and stores they were escorting, swept off in a moment. They would then form a compact body, to protect those which were carrying treasure; but with such a prize before them, the Marattas were irresistible: the party was generally obliged to take post; the Marattas cut off the communications, and perhaps even the water; and, at the end of a day or two, the Moguls were obliged to surrender; the men were stripped of their horses and their valuables, and the chiefs detained for a ransom.

As Aurangzíb drew a great proportion of his recruits and treasures from Hindostan, Santají and Danají threw themselves between his army and that country. They intercepted several convoys, defeated more than one detachment, and gained such a superiority that the Moguls began to change their contempt for them into fear and dread. A.D. 1693.

In this state of discouragement, Aurangzíb perceived the necessity of adopting some measure which, if it did not bring the war to an end, might recover his reputation, and restore the spirit of his troops. He resolved on the vigorous prosecution of the operations against Jinjí: he had withdrawn Cámbakhsh from Wákinkerá, and he now sent that prince with a fresh army to assume the conduct of the siege; but, according to his usual practice, he appointed Assad Khán, the father of Zúlfikár Khán, to serve with him, and committed the real direction of all operations to those noblemen. This arrangement disgusted both parties: the prince was displeased at the little solid authority intrusted to him, and the others thought it hard that Zúlfikár should be deprived of the dignity of the command and the honour of the victory.[16] Siege of Jinjí committed to Prince Cámbakhsh. A.D. 1694. Disgust of Zúlfikár.

So completely was Zúlfikár led away by his resentment, that he listened to overtures from the Maratta Bramins (ever on the watch to profit by such dissensions); and by indecisive operations on his own part, as well as by affording intelligence to the enemy, he enabled them to spin out the siege for no less than three years. He obstructs the siege

At the end of that time Santají Górpara resolved on a bold attempt to relieve his rája. Leaving the rest of the Maratta hordes to keep Aurangzíb in occupation, he called in Danají Jádu, and set off for Jinjí with 20,000 of their best cavalry. He passed rapidly through Santají Górpara advances to raise the siege. A.D. 1697.

[16] Grant Duff; Khafí Khán; and the Bondéla Narrative in Scott's *Deckan*.

the intervening country, and came on the besieging army with such celerity that, before they could arrange their cumbrous body for mutual support, his advance had surprised one of their divisions, plundered its tents, and made the commander prisoner; and he himself immediately after defeated a considerable body of troops sent out in haste to oppose him. He then drove in the outposts, destroyed the foragers, and cut off all supplies and intelligence from the camp. He next circulated reports of the emperor's death, which were easily believed in such a moment of calamity; and under favour of that rumour, he made proposals to Cámbakhsh to support his claim to the throne. Cámbakhsh, who seems to have apprehended sinister designs on the part of Assad and Zúlfikár, gave ear to these communications, while his intercourse with the enemy in like manner alarmed those officers. One night Cámbakhsh ordered his immediate contingent to get under arms, and the two generals, assuming (whether justly or otherwise) that this was a direct attempt to go over to the Marattas, immediately placed the prince under restraint.[19] This step increased the alarms and dissensions in the army to such a pitch, that they were soon compelled to blow up their cannon, abandon their batteries, and concentrate on one spot, where they entrenched themselves, and were besieged in their turn. At length an agreement was entered into between the parties; the Moguls were to be allowed to withdraw about twenty miles to Vandiwash, and were there to await the further orders of the emperor.

Cámbakhsh placed under restraint by Zulfikár.

Retreat of the besiegers.

On the first advance of Cámbakhsh and Assad Khán, Aurangzíb had moved southward, and cantoned at Galgala, on the Kishna. In the next year he retired to Birmapúri, near Panderpúr, on the Bíma, where he erected a permanent cantonment, and remained for several years. He now made a movement to Bíjápúr, and at the same time sent orders expressing his total disapprobation of the proceedings of his generals. He directed Cámbakhsh to be sent up to court, and received him with marked kindness:[20] at the same time he recalled Assad Khán, but, with unaccountable inconsistency, left the sole command of the army to Zúlfikár Khán, whom, though the ablest of his officers, he could not *now* expect to find the best affected. The war, when renewed,

Aurangzíb encamps on the Bíma.

Release of Cámbakhsh.

[19] Report of Assad and Zúlfikár to Aurangzíb, quoted by the emperor in the forty-seventh note of the *Rakáim i Karáim*; also Grant Duff, Khafi Khán, and Bondéla Narrative.

[20] Forty-eighth and forty-ninth notes of the *Rakáim i Karáim*.

assumed a desultory character. Zúlfikár levied contributions at Tanjore; and Santají totally destroyed a very strong Mogul detachment, under an officer of rank and reputation, near Chítaldrúg in the Mysore: other conflicts took place, with various success, in different parts of the country; but the general result must have been favourable to the Moguls, as they were able, in the end, to resume the siege of Jinjí. Increased disaffection of Zulfikár. A.D. 1697.

During the operations in the field, Zúlfikár performed the part of a zealous and able officer; but, on recommencing the siege, he renewed his intercourse with the Marattas, and evidently made it his object to protract the fall of the place.[21] He renews the siege, but protracts the operations.

But it was difficult to carry on such practices under a prince of Aurangzíb's penetration; and in the course of the next year, Zúlfikár found that he must either take Jinjí or expect to be recalled in disgrace. He performed a last act of friendship in advising Rája Rám to escape; and then, prosecuting his operations with vigour and in earnest, he before long made himself master of the fortress. Resentment of the emperor. Jinjí taken, A.D. 1698.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 1698 TO THE DEATH OF AURANGZÍB.

THE unexpected recovery of Zúlfikár's strength, which had put it in his power to renew the siege, was probably occasioned by dissensions among the Marattas, which now broke into an open quarrel. Danají Jádu had fallen out with Santají, and had received the support of the rája, who was jealous of the renown of the latter chief; and as Santají was unpopular, in consequence of his attempts to keep up discipline, a party was formed in his own camp, he was compelled to fly, and was at length overtaken and put to death on the spot.* Before this catastrophe, Rája Rám had established his residence at Sattára, and he now Dissensions among the Marattas. Murder of Santají Gorpara. Rája Rám takes the field in person.

[21] All Zúlfikár's intrigues with the enemy appear from Maratta MSS. referred to by Captain Grant Duff, and are asserted (probably on similar authority procured at Mysore) by Colonel Wilks. They are unknown to the writers on the Mogul side; but the Bondéla accuses Zúlfikár of purposely prolonging the war. His object, probably, was to retain his large command and important position until the death of the emperor, which his very advanced age made men expect to be of early occurrence.

* [His grand-nephew was the Morari Ráo of Gúti, often mentioned in the Carnatic wars of the English.—ED.]

assumed the active control of the whole government. He took the field himself, at the head of the largest Maratta army that had ever yet been assembled, and, proceeding to the north of the Godáveri, levied the *chout* and other dues on such places as submitted, and ravaged the rest as far as Jálna in Berár. At this point his progress was checked in consequence of a change in the system of the Moguls. Hitherto Aurangzíb had, for the most part, had his head-quarters at Birmapúri, sometimes sending a detachment under his son, Prince Azam, to reduce a hill-fort or repel an incursion, but generally trusting the defence of the country to detachments stationed at different parts of it. At present his plan was to bring his whole force into efficiency, by leading one part, in person, against the enemy's forts; while another under Zúlfikár Khán, nominally commanded by one of his grandsons, should pursue their field armies wherever they might direct their course. Had this plan been earlier adopted, it might have been attended with success; but disturbances had reached too great a height to be put down by any merely military dispositions. Although Zúlfikár Khán began by driving back Rája Rám, as has been mentioned, and during the succeeding years repeatedly defeated the Marattas, and in some degree restored the courage of the Mussulmans, yet he found himself, at the end of that time, in a worse situation than when he began. A defeat to the Marattas was like a blow given to water, which offers no resistance to the stroke and retains no impression of its effect: their army dispersed at the moment, to unite again on the same day or the next. But a defeat to the Moguls was attended with loss and humiliation; and even their partial success did not stop the waste of their resources and embarrassment of the finances of their government, which every day increased their difficulties and undermined their strength.

New plan of Aurangzíb, —a besieging and pursuing army.

Exhaustion of the Moguls.

Aurangzíb's personal operations gave a promise of more solid advantage. He quitted his cantonment, to the great regret of his officers, who had erected comfortable dwellings, and founded a sort of city; and, after reducing some other forts, he sat down before Sattára. By a dexterous feint he contrived to take that place unprepared; it nevertheless made a desperate defence, and did not surrender till the siege had lasted several months.

Sieges by the emperor in person.

Takes Sattára.

A.D. 1700, April.

Before it fell, Rája Rám had died, and had been succeeded by his son Sivají, under the regency of Tára Bái, the widow of the deceased and mother of the young rája.

Death of Raja Ram.

This event had little effect on the war. Aurangzíb went on with his plan, and in the course of the next four or five years had taken almost all the principal forts possessed by the Marattas. Many of the sieges were long and bloody,[1] and various expedients and stratagems were employed by both parties in the conduct of them; but they were too monotonous to bear description, and the result was as has been stated.

Aurangzíb goes on taking forts.

In reviewing these laborious undertakings, it is impossible not to admire the persevering spirit with which Aurangzíb bore up against the difficulties and misfortunes that overshadowed his declining years. He was near sixty-five when he crossed the Nerbadda to begin on this long war, and had attained his eighty-first year before he quitted his cantonment at Birmapúri. The fatigues of marches and sieges were little suited to such an age; and, in spite of the display of luxury in his camp-equipage, he suffered hardships that would have tried the constitution of a younger man. While he was yet at Birmapúri, a sudden flood of the Bíma overwhelmed his cantonment in the darkness of the night; and during the violence of one of those falls of rain which are only seen in tropical climates, a great portion of the cantonment was swept away, and the rest laid under water: the alarm and confusion increased the evil; 12,000 persons are said to have perished, and horses, camels, and cattle without number. The emperor himself was in danger, the inundation rising over the elevated spot which he occupied, when it was arrested (as his courtiers averred) by the efficacy of his prayers. A similar disaster was produced by the descent of a torrent during the siege of Parli, the fort he took next after Sattára; and, indeed, the storms of that inclement region must have exposed him to many sufferings, during the numerous rainy seasons he spent within it. The impassable streams, the flooded valleys, the miry bottoms, and narrow ways caused still greater difficulties when he was in motion, compelled him to halt where no provisions were to be had, and were so destructive to his cattle as sometimes entirely to cripple his army. The violent heats, in tents and during marches, were distressing at other seasons, and often rendered overpowering by failure of water: general

Spirit and perseverance of Aurangzíb.

Difficulties and hardships to which he was exposed.

[1] Aurangzíb writes thus of one of them to his son, Prince Azam: "You will have received accounts of the calamities of the siege of Kólna, and of the unheard-of condition and intolerable sufferings of the followers of Islám. Praise be to God that the afflictions of this devout band have at length been brought to a conclusion!" He then prays for happy results, and ascribes the past disasters to a judgment on his own wickedness and neglect. (Thirty-eighth note of the *Dastúr ul Aml.*)

famines and pestilences came more than once, in addition to the scarcity and sickness to which his own camp was often liable; and all was aggravated by accounts of the havoc and destruction committed by the enemy in the countries beyond the reach of those visitations. But in all these discouragements Aurangzíb retained his vigour. He alone conducted every branch of his government, in the most minute detail. He planned campaigns, and issued instructions during their progress; drawings of forts were sent for him to fix on the points of attack; his letters embrace measures for keeping open the roads in the Afghán country, for quelling disturbances at Multán and Agra, and even for recovering possession of Candahár; and, at the same time, there is scarcely a detachment marches or a convoy moves in the Deckan without some orders from Aurangzíb's own hand.

His indefatigable industry.

The appointment of the lowest revenue officer of a district, or the selection of a clerk in an office, is not beneath his attention; and the conduct of all these functionaries is watched, by means of spies and of prying inquiries from all comers, and they are constantly kept on the alert by admonitions founded on such information. This attention to particulars is not favourable to the real progress of business, any more than it is indicative of enlarged genius; but combined, as it was in Aurangzíb, with unremitting vigilance in all the greater affairs of the state, it shows an activity of mind that would be wonderful at any age.

His attention to details.

These labours were the penalty he paid for his former offences against his father. The fate of Sháh Jehán seems never for an instant to have been absent from his thoughts. To avoid a similar destiny, he retains all power and all patronage, and by removing his chiefs from place to place, prevents their forming permanent connexions with anybody but himself. His sons are the constant objects of his observation and his management:[1] he surrounds them with spies, gives them colleagues in command, places trustworthy persons in inferior situations about them, exercises an open control over all their proceedings; and at the same time never fails, by familiar and affectionate letters, and by constant presents and attentions, to conciliate their attachment, and

His distrust of all around him.

His management of his sons.

[1] ["Álamgír always pursued the policy of encouraging his grandsons, and employing them in public affairs; for as his sons were ambitious of great power, and at the head of armies, he thus prudently controlled them by opposing to them enemies in their own families, as Bídár Bakht to Azam Sháh, and Azam ush Shán to Sháh Alam." (*Irádat Khán.*)—Ed.]

prevent their feeling the irksomeness of their situation. To similar motives also, though partly to his natural disposition, and courtiers. must be attributed the considerate manner in which he treats his officers, and the sort of court which he appears to pay to all of them: he condoles with their loss of relations, inquires about their illnesses, confers honours in a flattering manner, makes his presents more acceptable by the gracious way in which they are given, and scarcely ever passes a censure without softening it by some obliging expression. His extreme leniency to all offences that do not touch his power or his religious prejudices seems also to have had its source in an unwillingness to make enemies, no less than in the real easiness of his temper. After all, he does not seem to have been successful in winning attachment; and with his sons, he seems at heart to have trusted much more to fear than affection. Though he released Móazzim after seven years' imprisonment (A.D. 1694), he seems always to have regarded him with dislike and apprehension. He sent him to the remote government of Cábul, constantly resisted his wishes to return, even for a time, and endeavoured to engage him in an expedition which might carry him to the most distant part of his province, and might completely absorb his resources. He at first approved of the seizure of Cámbakhsh, though afterwards convinced of his innocence; and his behaviour on one occasion to his favourite, Prince Azam, shows at once his policy in the management of his sons, and his innate love of artifice and dissimulation. Having imbibed a suspicion that this prince was meditating independence, he sent for him to court; and, as the prince made excuses and showed alarm, he offered to meet him slightly attended on a hunting-party. Azam, on this, set out, and Aurangzíb secretly surrounded the place of meeting with chosen troops: as the prince got more and more within his toils, the old emperor found a succession of pretences for requiring him gradually to diminish the number of his attendants, until, when he reached the place where his father was, they were reduced to three persons. As nobody offered to undertake the duty, he was obliged to leave two of his companions to hold his horses; and he and the remaining attendant were disarmed before they were admitted to the royal presence. On this he gave himself up for lost, and had no doubt that he was doomed to a long or perpetual imprisonment. But when he was introduced to his father, he was received with an affectionate embrace. Aurangzíb, who was prepared for shooting, gave his loaded gun to him to hold, and then led him into a retired

tent, where he showed him a curious family sword, and put it naked into his hand that he might examine it; after which he threw open his vest, on pretence of heat, but in reality to show that he had no hidden armour. After this display of confidence, he loaded Azam with presents, and at last said he had better think of retiring, or his people would be alarmed at his detention. This advice was not premature: Azam, on his return, found his whole camp on the point of breaking up, and his women weeping and lamenting his supposed fate. Whether he felt grateful for his easy dismission does not appear; but it is recorded that he never after received a letter from his father without turning pale, or recovered his composure until he had satisfied himself of the contents of it.[3]

Increased disorders of the state.

But all Aurangzíb's arts and all his industry were insufficient to resist the increasing disorders of the state, which now pressed upon him from every quarter. The Rájpúts were still in open hostility: their example had long since been followed by the Játs near Agra: against these last, as at a later period against some insurgents at Multán,[4] it had been necessary to send a force under a prince of the blood. Zúlfikár's force began to be exhausted, and the inefficacy of his former exertions became more and more apparent. The Marattas seemed to multiply as the Mogul armies decayed: after reducing the Deckan to a desert, they had spread over Málwa, and made a powerful inroad into Guzerát, leaving their traces everywhere in pillaged towns, ravaged fields, and smoking villages.

Successes of the Marattas.

The grand army still went on taking forts, but its last success was scarcely less ignominious than a defeat: it was the taking of Wákinkerá, which, though only a fortified village, belonging to a chief of banditti, required the presence of the emperor and a siege of several months to subdue it. These acquisitions began at this time to be balanced by corresponding losses. The Marattas were in a condition to attempt the recovery of their strongholds, and the forts, which it had cost so many labours to gain, were one by one falling into their possession. As the calls on the grand army increased, its power went on to decline. The troops became more timid than ever; the cattle were worn out, and could not be replaced from the wasted state of the country; provisions failed from the same reason, and the means of

They begin to recover their forts.

Exhausted state of the army

[3] Khafi Khán.

[4] Probably the Sikhs, under Guru Govind.

obtaining them from a distance were cut off by the emptiness of the treasury.[5]

Notwithstanding vast remittances from Hindostan, the finances had long since fallen into confusion; and as their state became more painful, Aurangzíb withdrew his attention from them.[6] He was irritated by applications for arrears of pay, and used peevishly to answer such demands by saying that he did not want the troops, and if they were not pleased with the service they might quit it.[7] He even disbanded some bodies of horse, with the intention of easing the finances. But regular pay was indispensable to troops situated like his; and when it had been long withheld, they began to break into open mutinies, which were quieted by temporary expedients.[8]

Disorder of the finances.

All his difficulties were increased as the Marattas drew closer round the army. At times they plundered up to the very skirts of the camp, intercepted the supplies, carried off the cattle, cut up the foragers, insulted the pickets, and made it impossible for any one to show his head out of the lines without a powerful escort. If any ordinary detachment was sent to check them, they repelled or destroyed it. If a great effort was made, they vanished; and perhaps did not again appear till they had plundered some distant town, and left time for their pursuers to weary themselves by forced marches in a wrong direction.[9] They now treated the power of the emperor with derision. Those in his service mixed and feasted with those opposed to him, and on such occasions they used to mimic the pompous manners and devout ejaculations of the Mussulmans, and to pray with mock solemnity for long life to their best patron, Aurangzíb. So low was the emperor reduced, that he was persuaded by Cámbakhsh to authorise overtures to the enemy; and if the negotiations had not been

Grand army hard pressed by the Marattas.

[5] ["Contributions were now levied in lieu of regular revenue, and the parties sent to collect supplies committed great excesses. The collectors of the jizya extorted millions from the farmers, and sent only a small part to the treasury. Whenever the emperor appointed a jágírdár, the Marattas appointed another to the same district, so that every place had two masters. The farmers left off cultivating more ground than would barely subsist them, and in their turn became plunderers for want of employment." (*Bouddla Narrative*, p. 108.)—ED.]

[6] Aurangzíb's letters, and Kháfí Khán.

[7] Kháfí Khán. The army was for a long time very regularly paid. Gemelli Carreri, in 1695, says the troops were paid punctually every two months, and would not bear any irregularity.

[8] He writes on one occasion to Zúlfikár Khán, that he is stunned with the clamour of "these infernal foot-soldiers," who are croaking like crows in an invaded rookery. In another letter he reminds him of the wants of the exchequer, and presses him to search for hidden treasures, and to hunt out any that may have fallen into the hands of individuals. Many of his notes dwell on his pecuniary embarrassments.

[9] Bouddla Narrative, in Scott's *Deckan*, vol. ii.

broken off, by the exorbitance and insolence of the Marattas, he would probably have agreed to release Sáho Rája, and grant (in such forms as might save his dignity) an annual percentage on the revenue of the Deckan.

Retreats to Ahmednagar.

Aurangzíb's last military operation was a retreat to Ahmednagar, the nature of which may be conceived from his exhausted cattle and dispirited troops. All hurried on in disorder and dejection, deafened with the incessant firing kept up by the marksmen, alarmed by the shouts and charges of the lancers, and every moment expecting a general attack to complete their dispersion and destruction. Such, indeed, was the fate of a portion of the army; and it is a subject of pious exultation to the Mussulman historians, that the emperor himself escaped falling into the hands of the enemies whom he had once so much despised.[10]

Ahmednagar, from whence, twenty years before, he had marched in so much power and splendour on his conquests, received the remains of his ruined greatness, and was soon to witness the close of his earthly career.

Declining health of the emperor.

His health had, of late, become gradually impaired; he with difficulty overcame one illness that threatened his life; and although he continued his public appearance and his attention to business, his spirit at length began to sink under the accumulated burden of anxiety and disease. On reaching Ahmednagar, he said he had now come to the end of all his journeys; and from his last letters we perceive, at once, the extent of his bodily sufferings, the failure of his hopes in this world, and his dread of that to come. The remembrance of Sháh Jehán seemed to haunt him more than ever: he nowhere expresses remorse for his share in that monarch's fate, but he shows by all his actions how much he fears that a like measure may be meted out to him.

His fears of encountering the fate of Sháh Jehan.

His suspicions of his sons.

Prince Móazzim having proposed some arrangements which common prudence required at such a crisis, he interprets them into a design to seize on the government while he was yet alive. When a letter from Prince Azam was read to him, entreating permission to come to Ahmednagar, on the ground that the air of Guzerát was ruining his health, he abruptly remarked, "That is exactly the pretext I used to Sháh Jehán in his illness," and added, that "no air was so unwholesome as the fumes of ambition:" and although afterwards

[10] Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 409.

prevailed on by Azam's importunity to allow him to pay him a visit on his way to his new government of Málwa,[11] yet one of the last exertions of his authority was to compel the prince to proceed on his journey, and to prevent his finding any excuse for remaining about the court. He had just before sent off Cámbakhsh to Bíjápúr, but this seems rather to have been done to gratify Azam than from any apprehensions of his own.

His alarms at the approach of death.

These measures had not long been completed before he became sensible that his end was approaching. In this awful moment he wrote, or dictated, a letter to Prince Azam, in which his worldly counsels and his adieus are mixed with broken sentences, giving utterance to the feelings of remorse and terror with which his soul was agitated, and which he closes with a sort of desperate resignation,—"Come what come may, I have launched my vessel on the waves." . . . "Farewell! farewell! farewell!"

He also wrote to his youngest, and latterly his favourite, son Cámbakhsh. His letter, as to a much younger man, is more one of advice and admonition than that to Azam. It shows that he retained his favourite habits to the last. "Your courtiers," he says, "*however deceitful*, must not be ill-treated: it is necessary to gain your views by gentleness and art," etc. Even in this letter, his sense of his own situation breaks out from time to time. "Wherever I look I see nothing but the Divinity." . . . . "I have committed numerous crimes, and I know not with what punishments I may be seized." . . . . "The agonies of death come upon me fast." . . . . "I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done, it was for you."[12] It must have been about the same time that he drew up a sort of will, which was found under his pillow on his death. He there recommends that Móazzim should be recognised as emperor, and that he and Azam should divide the empire: one taking the northern and eastern provinces, with Delhi for his capital; and the other Agra, with all the country to the south and south-west of it, including all the Deckan, except the kingdoms of Golcónda and Bíjápúr. These last were assigned to Cámbakhsh.[13]

[11] ["Guzerát had at the same time been given to his eldest son, Bidár Bakht." (*Irádat Khán.*)- ED.]

[12] I have taken the translation in Scott's *Deckan*, vol. ii. page 8, of the Memoirs, though the original of it must have differed in some slight particulars from the Persian copy at the India House.

[13] He left another will, seemingly prepared when under less agitation. It contains some general maxims of government, and instructions about his funeral; the expense of which was to be defrayed by a sum of four rupees and a half (about ten shillings), saved from the price of caps which he had made and sold. Eight hundred and five rupees, which he had gained by copying Koráns, was to be given to the poor. (See *Asiatic Register* for 1801.)

His death. He expired on the 21st of February, A.D. 1707, in the eighty-ninth year of his life, and fiftieth of his reign.[14]

And character. A native historian, impressed with the courage, wisdom, and ability of Aurangzíb, is at a loss to account for the ill-success of his reign. The real defect was in his heart. Had he been capable of any generous or liberal sentiment, he would have been a great prince; his subjects would not have been alienated by his narrow views in religion, nor would the power of his officers have been cramped, and their zeal chilled, by a constant spirit of suspicion and distrust.[15] In alluding, for the last time, to his narrow views in religion, which contributed so largely to the ruin of his empire, it is well worth while to observe by how little direct persecution that evil result was produced. The Hindús seem rather to have been irritated by systematic discouragement than inflamed by acts of cruelty or oppression. They were excluded from office; they were degraded by a special tax; their fairs and festivals were forbidden; their temples were sometimes insulted and destroyed; and it was sufficient to procure the abolition of any ceremony or practice of the court that it seemed to give a countenance to their superstition: but it does not appear that a single Hindú suffered death, imprisonment, or loss of property for his religion, or, indeed, that any individual was ever questioned for the open exercise of the worship of his fathers. Yet such is the effect of mutual jealousy and animosity, in matters of religion, that the most violent outrages have seldom raised up so obstinate a spirit of resistance as was engendered by the partiality and prejudices of this emperor.

Some hundreds of Aurangzíb's letters have been preserved, from which we may glean some particulars of his character, in addition to the great lines marked by his actions. With all his bigotry he was not superstitious. He cordially detests the Hindús, and has very little more goodwill towards the Shías; but he lays out no money on mosques or endowments, shows no sign of being under the influence of the recognised clergy, and

[14] These are solar years. He was born the 15th Zí Ca'ad, A.H. 1027, about the end of October, A.D. 1618. (*Khafí Khán*, *Gladwin's Jehángír*, p. 45.)

[15] "Of all the house of Timúr, indeed of all the kings of Delhi, none since the time of Secander Lódi ever appeared so distinguished in point of devotion, austerity, and justice; and in courage, patience, and sound judgment, he was without a peer: but as, from reverence to the injunctions of the Divine law, he did not inflict punishment, and as without punishment no country can be kept in order—in consequence, also, of the dissensions arising from rivalry among his nobles—every plan and design which he formed came to little good, and every enterprise drew into delay, and never attained its object. Though he had lived ninety years, none of his five senses were at all impaired, except his hearing in a small degree, but not so that others could perceive it." (*Khafí Khán.*)

often expresses his contempt for the assumed sanctity of fakírs and dervises.

His government is a system of continual mistrust: every man's character is secretly investigated, and colleagues are so selected that each may be a check on his neighbour; yet there never was a prince so much cheated or so ill-served.

The coldness of his heart is conspicuous in the manner in which he receives the accounts of the death of his oldest and most intimate friends. In so long a life such events often occur, and they always draw forth some pious or philosophical reflection, followed up by strict orders to seize on the property of the deceased, to see that none is embezzled, to hunt out all deposits, and to be careful in recovering all outstanding debts.

His letters almost invariably include some poetical quotation, or some verse from the Korán. They are sometimes familiar, and even jocose, especially those to his sons. One, written after he was eighty, ends with some burlesque verses, of two or three words long, each of which gives a ludicrous description of the present occupations of some one of the principal people about his court.[16] His letters.

Gemelli Carreri, who saw Aurangzíb in the seventy-eighth year of his age, describes him as of low stature, slender, and stooping with age, with a long nose and a round beard, the whiteness of which was more visible on his olivé skin. He was dressed in plain white muslin, with one emerald of great size in his turban. He stood amidst his omrahs, leaning on a staff; received petitions, read them without spectacles, endorsed them with his own hand, "and, by his cheerful smiling countenance, seemed to be pleased with the employment."[17]

Of all the kings of India, Aurangzíb is the most admired among the Mussulmans. There are few who are quite blind to the lustre of Akber's character, but fewer still whose deliberate judgment would not give the preference to Aurangzíb.

There are some unconnected events which should not be entirely omitted in an account of this reign. Miscellaneous transactions.

[16] There are three collections of his letters:—First, the "Kalámát i Taibát," published by one of his chief secretaries, Enáyat Ullah; second, the "Rukáim i Kardám," by the son of another secretary; and third, the "Dastúr ul Aml Agáhi," collected from all quarters thirty eight years after his death. The two first collections profess to be merely the rough drafts or notes which he wrote with his own hand for his secretaries. Most of the third collection have the same appearance. They are without dates or order, and are often obscure, from their brevity, and our ignorance of the subjects alluded to.

[17] Gemelli Carreri, in *Churchill*, vol. iv.

The insurrection of the Játs has been mentioned; they are a Hindú people of the Súdra class, who inhabit a tract near Agra, of which the capital is Bhartpúr. Though in an open country, and close to Agra and Mattra, they occasioned much embarrassment to the government even during this reign; and rose to so much greater consequence in those that followed, that at one time they were in possession of Agra, and were the last people in the plains of India that have offered any serious obstacle to the British power.

In the thirty-eighth year of the king's reign, A.D. 1693, a ship bound from Surat to Mecca with pilgrims, which Kháfí Khán describes as carrying 80 guns,[18] and furnished with 400 muskets, was attacked by an English ship of small size. A gun burst on board the king's ship; the English boarded, and, "although the Christians have no courage at the sword, yet by bad management the vessel was taken."

On this Aurangzíb ordered the English factors at his ports to be seized, and directed the Abyssinians to take Bombay.

The English retaliated by seizing the king's officers, and the Abyssinians, who (by Kháfí Khán's account) were on a friendly footing with them, showed no inclination to break it off. At length Kháfí Khán himself was sent on a mission from the viceroy of Guzerát to Bombay. He describes his reception as being conducted with great dignity and good order, and with a considerable display of military power. He negotiated with elderly gentlemen in rich clothes, and, although they sometimes laughed more heartily than became so grave an occasion, yet he seems to have been favourably impressed with their acuteness and intelligence. The English alleged, apparently with truth, that the king's ship had been taken by pirates, for whom they were not answerable; and explained their coining money in their own king's name (which was another complaint against them) by stating that they had to purchase investments at places where the Mogul's money did not pass.

Nothing is stated to have been settled on this occasion, but it appears from other sources that the English compounded for some pecuniary payments.[19]

It is curious that Kháfí Khán (though in this case he relates a transaction of small moment in which he was personally engaged) takes no notice of the war made on Aurangzíb by the

[18] The number is probably not exaggerated, though the guns must have been light. Some of the Company's ships of 600 tons carried seventy guns. (See Macpherson's *Commerce of India*, p. 133.)

[19] Grant Duff.

English on both sides of India, which was of so much consequence in the history of the East India Company.[20] He did not foresee the future importance of those unskilful antagonists.

BOOK XII.

SUCCESSORS OF AURANGZÍB.

CHAPTER I.

TO THE ACCESSION OF MOHAMMED SHÁH.

Bahádur Sháh.

As soon as Prince Azam heard of his father's death, he returned to camp, and within a week was proclaimed sovereign of all India, in perfect disregard of the late emperor's will.

Contest between Prince Azam and his elder brother, Prince Móazzim.

Prince Móazzim, with better reason, assumed the crown at Cábul, with the title of Bahádur Sháh;* and both brothers prepared to assert their pretensions by force of arms. In spite of the exhausted state of the empire, they assembled very large armies, and met at length not far to the south of Agra. A bloody battle ensued, in which Prince Azam and his two grown-up sons were killed, and his youngest son, an infant, was taken prisoner. Prince Azam had disgusted many of his principal officers by his arrogance: among others, Assad Khán and his son, Zúlfikár Khán, had quitted his camp, and remained spectators of the contest. When the event was known, they sent their submission to the victor. Bahádur Sháh received them graciously, and promoted them to the highest honours in the state. He showed like indulgence towards the other adherents of Azam Sháh; but his confidence was chiefly reposed in Moním Khán, who had been his own principal officer at Cábul, and was now appointed vazír. Moním was an equally able and well-intentioned minister; and as the king's only fault was too great facility of temper, his accession was welcomed by the great body of his subjects, who looked to some relief from the religious austerity of Aurangzíb, and the sacrifices entailed on them by his obstinate wars.

Victory of Móazzim, henceforward Bahádur Sháh. A.D. 1707, June; A.H. 1119, Rabí ul awwal.

[20] [See Mill's *History*, book i. ch. 5. —ED.]

* [He is also called Sháh Alam I.—ED.]

Revolt of Prince Cámbakhsh in the Deckan. His defeat and death. A.D. 1708, February; A.H. 1119, Zí Cáad.

Prince Cámbakhsh, though a vain and violent young man, had admitted the sovereignty of Prince Azam, and had been confirmed in his appanage; but he refused to acknowledge Bahádur Sháh, and that king, after attempting in vain to win him over by concessions, marched against him to the Deckan, and defeated him in a battle near Heiderábád, where Cámbakhsh died of his wounds on the same day.

Bahádur's proceedings in the Deckan. State of the Marattas. Factions of Rája Sáho and Tárá Bái.

The emperor's presence in the Deckan made it necessary to consider what course should be adopted towards the Marattas. It was easier at this time to effect an accommodation with them than could have been expected from the state of affairs at Aurangzíb's death. At that period Sáho, the rightful rája, was still a prisoner in the hands of the Moguls, and the government was carried on by Tárá Bái, the widow of his uncle Rájá Rám, in the name of her infant son. But though the necessity of having an efficient chief had induced the Marattas to place Rájá Rám on their throne after the taking of Ráighar, they had not forgotten the hereditary claim of his nephew, and were not pleased to see him again excluded without the same motive as before. With a view to profit by these contending claims, Prince Azam, on his march against Bahádur Sháh, released Sáho, who was now grown up, and promised him peace on favourable terms if he should succeed in establishing his title. This plan was adopted at the suggestion of Zúlfikár Khán, and completely answered its end. The Maratta chiefs took different sides; and, instead of overwhelming their enemies, who seemed incapable of further resistance, they fell into civil war among themselves, and left the Moguls undisturbed at the moment of their greatest weakness. When Bahádur Sháh turned his attention to the Marattas, Sáho seemed likely to prevail in the contest; and Zúlfikár, who was now in great favour, was anxious that peace should be concluded with him, at the price of the concessions formerly offered by Aurangzíb. But Moním Khán, the vazír, though willing to agree with the terms, wished them to be granted to Tárá Bái, and the whole negotiation fell to the ground.

Dáúd Khán Panní left in charge of the Deckan for Zúlfikar Khan.

On Bahádur's departure he gave the viceroyalty of the Deckan to Zúlfikár; and as that chief could not be spared from court, he left the administration of the government to Dáúd Khán Panní, a Pátan officer already distinguished in Aurangzíb's wars, who was to act as his lieutenant.

Dáúd followed up the views of his principal, and concluded a personal agreement with Sáho, consenting that the *chout* (or fourth) should be paid while he remained in office, but stipulating that it should be collected by agents of his own, without the interference of the Marrattas. Makes a truce with the Marattas.

This arrangement kept the Deckan quiet till the end of the present reign, and allowed Bahádur to turn his thoughts to other scenes, where his exertions were scarcely less required. While he was on his march against Cámbakhsh, he had endeavoured to make a settlement of his disputes with the Rájpúts. He had entered into a treaty with the rána of Oudipúr, restoring all conquests, re-establishing religious affairs on the footing on which they stood in Akber's time, releasing the rána from the obligation to furnish a contingent in the Deckan, and, in fact, acknowledging his entire independence in every thing but the name.[1] He had concluded a treaty, apparently on similar terms, with Ajit Sing, the rája of Márwár, except that, in the latter case, the service of the contingent was still retained. On Jei Sing, the rája of Jeipúr (who, though he had never asserted his independence, had joined with Prince Azam in the late civil war), he had imposed more rigorous terms. He had left a garrison in his capital; and, although he allowed him to command the Jeipúr contingent with the army, he seems to have deprived him of all authority in his own principality. By the time the army reached the Nerbadda on its advance, Ajit Sing also had received some cause of offence; and the two rájas went off together, with their troops, and entered into a league to resist the Mogul authority. As soon as the contest in the Deckan was put an end to by the death of Cámbakhsh, Bahádur Sháh turned his attention to breaking up the confederacy; but before he reached the Rájpút country, he received intelligence of the capture of Sirhind by the Sikhs, and of such a state of affairs in the Panjáb as left him no time for his intended operations.[2] Transactions with the Rájpúts.

In these circumstances he became anxious to make peace with the Rájpúts; and as the great obstacle to an accommodation arose from their fears of treachery, he sent his own son, Prince Azím ush Shán, to accompany them to a meeting which took place on the emperor's line of march, and at which the rájas appeared at the head of their own armies. Peace with that power

[1] Colonel Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. i. p. 395.

[2] Scott's *Memoirs of Erddat Khán*, p. 58. Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. ii. p. 77, etc.

A.D. 1709, A.H. 1121. All their demands were agreed to, and they were probably left on the same footing as the rána of Oudipúr.

The Sikhs, against whom the emperor was obliged to march, had originally been a religious sect, were then rising into a nation, and have in our times attained to considerable political influence among the states of India.

Rise of the Sikhs.

Their founder, Nának, flourished about the end of the fifteenth century. He was a disciple of Kabír, and consequently a sort of Hindú deist, but his peculiar tenet was universal toleration. He maintained that devotion was due to God, but that forms were immaterial, and that Hindú and Mahometan worship were the same in the sight of the Deity.[3] The spirit of this religion promised to keep its votaries at peace with all mankind; but such views of comprehensive charity were particularly odious to the bigoted part of the Mahometans; and accordingly, after the sect had silently increased for more than a century, it excited the jealousy of the Mussulman government, and its spiritual chief was put to death in A.D. 1606,[4] within a year after the decease of Akber. This act of tyranny changed the Sikhs from inoffensive quietists into fanatical warriors. They took up arms under Har Govind, the son of their martyred pontiff, who inspired them with his own spirit of revenge and of hatred to their oppressors. Being now open enemies of the government, the Sikhs were expelled from the neighbourhood of Láhór, which had hitherto been their seat, and constrained to take refuge in the northern mountains.[5] Notwithstanding dissensions which broke out among themselves, they continued their animosity to the Mussulmans, and confirmed their martial habits, until the accession (A.D. 1675) of Guru Govind, the grandson of Har Govind, and the tenth spiritual chief from Nának. This leader first conceived the idea of forming the Sikhs into a religious and military commonwealth, and executed his design with the systematic spirit of a Grecian lawgiver.

Peaceful character of their sect.

Persecuted by the Mahometans.

Their revolt.

Guru Govind.

He forms the Sikhs into a religious and military commonwealth

To increase the numbers of his society, he abolished all distinctions of cast among its members, admitting all converts, whether Mahometan or Hindú, Bramin or Chandála, to a perfect equality; while, to preserve its unity, he instituted a peculiar dress and peculiar manners, by which his

Their doctrines and manners.

[3] Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvii. p. 233.

[4] Sir J. Malcolm, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. p. 212.

[5] Sir J. Malcolm, p. 214.

followers were to be distinguished from all the rest of mankind. Each was to be a vowed soldier from his birth or initiation, was always to carry steel in some form about his person, to wear blue clothes, allow his hair and beard to grow, and neither to clip nor remove the hairs on any other part of his body.

Reverence for the Hindú gods and respect for Bramins were maintained, and the slaughter of kine was most positively forbidden; but all other prohibitions relating to food and liquors were abolished; the usual forms of worship were laid aside; new modes of salutation, and new ceremonies on the principal events of life, were introduced;[6] and so effectual was the change operated on the people, that the Sikhs have now (after parting with several of their singularities) as distinct a national character as any of the original races in India. They are tall and thin, dark for so northern a people, active horsemen, and good matchlockmen: they are still all soldiers, but no longer fanatics; though unpolished, they are frank and sociable, and are devoted to pleasure of every description and degree.

Far different was their character under Guru Govind, when they were filled with zeal for their faith and rancour against their enemies, and were prepared to do or suffer anything to promote the success of their cause. But their numbers were inadequate to accomplish their plans of resistance and revenge: after a long struggle, Guru Govind saw his strongholds taken, his mother and his children massacred, and his followers slain, mutilated, or dispersed. His misfortunes impaired his reason, or at least destroyed his energy; for so little formidable had he become, that he was allowed to enter the Mogul dominions unmolested, and was murdered by a private enemy, at Nándér, in the Deckan.[7] But although it is sometimes possible to crush a religion even after it has taken root, it can only be done by long and steady persecution, and *that* the internal disturbances of the Moguls prevented their applying.

They are overpowered at first.

Their severities only exalted the fanaticism of the Sikhs, and inspired a gloomy spirit of vengeance, which soon broke out into fury. Under a new chief named Banda, who had been bred a religious ascetic, and who combined a most sanguinary disposition with bold and daring counsels, they broke from their

Their fanaticism

Their successes, ravages, and cruelties under Banda.

[6] Sir J. Malcolm, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi. pp. 219, 220, 284, 288.

[7] Sir J. Malcolm. Forster's *Travels*, p. 263. The latter author states that Guru Govind had a small command in the Mogul service, which is confirmed by Khafi Khán.

retreat, and overran the east of the Panjáb, committing unheard-of cruelties wherever they directed their steps. The mosques, of course, were destroyed, and the mullahs butchered; but the rage of the Sikhs was not restrained by any considerations of religion, or by any mercy for age or sex; whole towns were massacred with wanton barbarity, and even the bodies of the dead were dug up and thrown out to the birds and beasts of prey.

The principal scene of these atrocities was Sirhind, which the Sikhs occupied, after defeating the governor in a pitched battle; but the same horrors marked their route through the country eastward of the Satlaj and Jumna, into which they penetrated as far as Seháranpúr. They at length received a check from the local authorities, and retired to the country on the upper course of the Satlaj, between Lodiána and the mountains. This seems, at that time,[a] to have been their principal seat; and it was well suited to their condition, as they had a near and easy retreat from it when forced to leave the open country.

Their retirement, on the present occasion, was of no long continuance; and on their next incursions they ravaged the country as far as the neighbourhood of Láhór on the one side, and of Delhi itself on the other.[a]

Bahádur marches against them.

They are driven into the hills.

It was the extent of these depredations that made it necessary for Bahádur to come against them in person. He soon drove them within their own limits, and then obliged them to take refuge in the hills; to subdue them effectually, however, required a considerable exertion; and after Banda had at length been reduced to take refuge in a fort, it was only by means of famine that the emperor could hope to take the place. A long and strict blockade was therefore set on foot; but although the Sikhs endured the utmost extremities of hunger, and died in vast numbers, they still continued the defence. When further resistance became hopeless, a desperate sally was made by the besieged; many of the partakers in this bold enterprise were killed, and the Mussúlmans took possession of the fort without further resistance. A person who seemed to be their chief, and had used every means of making himself conspicuous, was made prisoner and carried off in triumph; when he arrived in camp, it was found that he was a Hindú convert, who had sacrificed himself to save his leader, and that

Escape of Banda.

[a] The proceedings of the Sikhs, till their capture of Seháranpúr, is from Sir J. Malcolm, Forster, and Khafí Khán: the subsequent narrative is from Khafí Khán alone.

Banda himself had escaped during the sally. The emperor, though sufficiently struck by the prisoner's self-devotion to spare his life, was yet so ungenerous as to order him to be shut up in an iron cage and sent to Delhi.

After this success, the emperor returned to Láhór, leaving a detachment to watch the Sikhs, and to check their depredations. This object was not fully attained, and the power of the Sikhs was again on the ascendant, when Bahádur Sháh died at Láhór, in the seventy-first lunar year of his age, and fifth of his reign.

Death of Bahadur Sháh. A.D. 1712, February; A.H. 1124, Moharram.

The death of Bahádur Sháh was followed by the usual struggle among his sons. The incapacity of the eldest (afterwards Jehándár Sháh) had given a great ascendancy to the second, whose name was Azím ush Shán;[9] and as he was supported by most of the nobility and of the army, he appeared to have an irresistible superiority over his competitors.

Contest between his sons.

But his three brothers joined their interests, and were kept together by the persuasions and false promises of Zúlfikár Khán, whose love of intrigue was still as strong as ever. Their concord was of short duration, but lasted until the defeat and death of Azím ush Shán. Two of the surviving brothers soon after came to an open conflict, and the third attacked the victor on the morning after the battle; he was, however, repulsed and slain, and Jehándár Sháh remained undisputed master of the throne.

Artifices of Zulfikár Khan.

He secures the victory to Jehándár Shah.

A.D. 1712, May or June; A.H. 1124, Jamádu'l awwal.

Jehándár Sháh.

Immediately on his accession, Jehándár appointed Zúlfikár Khán to be vazír. This crafty and able chief had supported Jehándár through the whole of the preceding contest, judging, from the low and slothful habits of that prince, that he was best suited for a tool in the hands of an ambitious minister. Accordingly, he assumed the control of the government from the first, and treated the emperor with the utmost arrogance and disdain. He could not have ventured to adopt this course if Jehándár, besides degrading his own dignity by his vices and follies, had not provoked the nobility by his partiality for the

Accession of Jehandár Shah.

His incapacity.

Arrogance of Zulfikár Khán.

[9] [This prince had been governor of Bengal from 1697 to 1703, and again from 1707 to 1712; and in 1698 he had sold to the English the zemindarship of Chuttanutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore. Most of the time Murshid Khán was his deputy.—ED.]

relations of his favourite mistress. This woman had been a public dancer, and her family were of the same discreditable class; yet they were exalted to high stations, to the exclusion of the nobles, whom they were also allowed on several occasions to insult with impunity. But though their disgust at such proceedings prevented the nobility from taking part with the emperor, it did not reconcile them to the pride and tyranny of Zúlfikár,[10] which soon came to be displayed towards all ranks; and it is not improbable that their discontents might have led to open opposition, if the attention of all had not been attracted by a danger from without.

General discontent.

One of Jehándár's first acts had been to put all the princes of the blood within his reach to death: among those whom he could not get into his power was Farokhsír,[11] the son of Azím ush Shán, who was in Bengal at the time of Bahádur Sháh's death. After that event, and the ruin of Azím ush Shán, he threw himself on the compassion and fidelity of Seiad Hosein Alí, the governor of Behár, an old adherent of his father, who warmly espoused his cause, and prevailed on his brother, Seiad Abdullah, governor of Allahábád, to adopt the same course.

Revolt of Prince Farokhsír in Bengal.

He is supported by Abdullah and Hosein Alí, governors of Behár and Allahábad.

By the aid of these noblemen, Farokhsír assembled an army at Allahábád, repelled a force sent to oppose him on his advance, and had marched to the neighbourhood of Agra, when he was met by Jehándár and Zúlfikár with an army of 70,000 men. The battle was fiercely contested; and Hosein Alí, the soul of Farokhsír's enterprise, was left for dead upon the field. But success at length declared for the rebels: the emperor himself fled in disguise to Delhi, whither Zúlfikár retreated at the head of his remaining troops. Jehándár, on reaching Delhi, repaired to the house of Assad Khán, the father of Zúlfikár: this practised traitor immediately committed him to custody; and, on the arrival of Zúlfikár, persuaded him, though at first unwilling, to part with the instrument of his ambition, to endeavour to make his peace with the new emperor by the sacrifice of his rival.

Defeats the imperial army A.D. 1713, Jan. 1: A.H. 1124, Zil Hajj 15.

Accordingly, as Farokhsír approached the capital, both father and son went out to meet him, and delivered their late unfortunate master into his hands.

Zúlfikár betrays Jehándar Shah to the enemy, but is put to

[10] [Irádat Khán calls him "seater, nay creator of emperors." He was, in fact, the "kingmaker" of Muhammadan India.—Ed.]

[11] [Or more properly Farrukhsiyar.—Ed.]

Assad Khán's life was spared;[12] but Zúlfikár paid the penalty of his selfish and perfidious career, and was strangled before he left the imperial tent. Jehándár was put to death at the same time; and these severities were followed by many other executions.

death along with the emperor.

A.D. 1713, Feb. 4; A.H. 1125, Moharram 17.

Farokhsír.

The accession of Farokhsír was naturally accompanied by the elevation of his protectors. Abdullah Khán, the eldest brother, was made vazír; and Hosein received the rank of amír ul omará (or commander-in-chief), which was the second in the state. These brothers were sprung from a numerous and respected family of descendants of the Prophet, who were settled in the town of Bára;[13] and in consequence of this origin, they are best known in India by the name of the Seiads.

Great power of Seiads Abdullah and Hosein Alí.

They had expected from their services, as well as from the grovelling disposition of Farokhsír, and his submissive behaviour while courting their support, that they would be allowed to exercise all the real power of the state, leaving to the emperor only the pageantry, and such a command of wealth and honours as might enable him to gratify his favourites. But neither Farokhsír nor his favourites were so easily contented. His principal confidant was a person who had been cází at Dacca, in Bengal, and on whom he conferred the high title of Mír Jumla. This man, though devoid of capacity, had an obstinate perseverance in his narrow views, which was well suited to gain an ascendancy over a mind like Farokhsír's, incapable of comprehending a great design, and too irresolute to execute even a small one without support.

Jealousy of the emperor.

It was no difficult task to make the emperor jealous of the authority which he was so incompetent to exercise, and the overbearing conduct of the Seiads gave him a reasonable motive for counteracting them.

[12] [As'ad Khán died in 1716; and the *Seir ul Mutákerin* calls him "the last member of that ancient nobility which had conferred so much honour on the empire." Irádat Khán says, "for above 200 years their family had filled the highest offices in the state." ED.]

[13] ["The *bárhah sádát* are a powerful tribe of Seiads in the eastern part of the Muzaffarnagar district. The origin of the name *bárhah* is ascribed to various sources: some say that, scandalised at the debaucheries of the Mina bazar of Delhi, they obtained leave to reside outside of the town (*bahir*); others that it was the chief town of twelve (*bárah*) which belonged to the clan; but the spelling is opposed to both derivations. There are four subdivisions of the tribe.—There appears reason to believe that their occupation dates as far back as the time of Shams ud din Altamish." (Sir H. Elliot's *Suppl. Glossary.*)—ED.]

His intrigues. Hosein Alí sent against Ajit Sing, rája of Márwár.

The first scheme contrived in his secret cabinet was to weaken the brothers by a division of their force. For this purpose Hosein Alí was sent against Ajit Sing of Márwár, while secret messages were transmitted to the Rájpút prince, intimating that he could do nothing more acceptable to the emperor than by offering an obstinate resistance to his lieutenant. But Hosein Alí was too well aware of the danger occasioned by his absence to insist on terms that might protract the war; and Ajit, when his own interests were secured, had no inducement to make sacrifices for those of the emperor.

Makes an honourable peace.

Peace was accordingly concluded, on terms, to appearance, honourable to Farokhsír; the rája engaging to send his son to Delhi, and to give his daughter in marriage to the emperor.

The mutual distrust of the parties at court was increased after

Increased distrust.

Hosein Alí returned; and Farokhsír, as destitute of prudence and steadiness as faith and honour, was exactly the sort of person with whom it was least possible to feel secure.

The Seiads, conceiving (probably with good reason) that their lives were aimed at, assembled their troops about their palaces, and refused to go to court. It was now the king's turn to be alarmed, and the preparations of the contending factions threw the capital into the utmost confusion and distress; and there remained no alternative but an immediate conflict, or the submission of the least determined of the parties. The

Submission of the emperor.

king was therefore prevailed on to allow the gates of the citadel, in which was his palace, to be occupied by the guards of the Seiads, while they waited on him for the purpose of settling the terms of a reconciliation. It was there agreed that Mír Jumla should be made governor of Behár, and removed from court; that Abdullah Khán should continue to exercise the functions of vazír; but that Hosein should undertake the government of the Deckan, and proceed immediately with his army to that distant province.

Harmony being to appearance restored, the emperor's nuptials with the daughter of Ajit Sing were celebrated with unprecedented splendour; and the Ráhtór rája, from his independent territory, saw his importance acknowledged at the capital whence he had in his infancy been conveyed with so much difficulty to escape the tyranny of Aurangzíb.[14]

[14] [Before this marriage Hamilton effects the emperor's cure, and gains for the Company the zemindarship of 37 towns in Bengal, and exemption from dues on their goods. (See Mill, book iv. ch. 1.) —Ed.]

After this ceremony Hosein Alí set off for the Deckan. He was well aware that his continued absence would be the signal for the recall of Mír Jumla; and he told the emperor, at parting, that if he heard of any attempt to disturb his brother's authority, he should be at Delhi with his army within three weeks of the intelligence.

Hosein Alí marches to settle the Deckan. A.D. 1715, December; A.H. 1127, Zí Haj.

But Farokhsír did not trust to the ordinary chances of war for affording employment to his general. He had recourse for this purpose to Dáúd Khán Panní, who was renowned throughout India for his reckless courage, and whose memory still survives in the tales and proverbs of the Deckan. Dáúd Khán had been removed on the accession of Farokhsír to the province of Guzerát, to which that of Khándésh was now added; and, being an old fellow-soldier of Zúlfikár Khán, could be relied on for zeal against the instrument of his ruin. He was secretly instructed to repair immediately to Khándésh, to carry with him all the troops he could collect, to exercise his influence with the Marattas and other chiefs of the Deckan, and, under pretence of co-operating with Hosein Alí, to take the first opportunity of accomplishing his destruction. Dáúd's manner of executing these orders was conformable to his established character. He at once set Hosein Alí at defiance, proceeded to engage him as an open enemy, and soon brought the question to a trial of strength in the field. The impetuosity of his charge on this occasion entirely disconcerted Hosein Alí's army; they began to disperse in all directions, while Dáúd Khán, at the head of 300 chosen men of his tribe, armed with battle-axes, pushed straight at the person of his opponent. At this decisive moment Dáúd received a ball through his head, and his fall immediately turned the fortune of the day. His wife, a Hindú princess, who had accompanied him to Khándésh, stabbed herself on hearing of his death.

Farokhsír instigates Dáúd Khán Panní to resist him.

Defeat and death of Dáúd Khán. A.D. 1716, A.H. 1129.

Hosein Alí, after his victory, proceeded to his operations against the Marattas, without imputing to the emperor any share in the opposition which he had met with.[15]

[15] The above account is from the *Seir ul Mutakherin* and Scott's *Deckan*, who have both borrowed from Khafí Khán. [The *Seir* (or rather *Siyar*) *ul Mutaakhkhirin* was written in 1780 by Mir Ghulám Husain Khán; it contains an abridgment of the early history, and a full narrative from the death of Aurangzib. It was translated into English in 1789 by a Frenchman resident in India, and General Briggs published the first vol. of a revised translation in 1832. General Briggs remarks: "It embraces a period of about 70 years, and affords a complete insight into the events which caused the downfall of the Muhammadan power and the elevation of the Mahrattas; and it brings us to the first steps which led to the

Meanwhile, the long-continued dissensions among the Mus-
Renewed devastations of the Sikhs.
sulmans had afforded an opportunity to the Sikhs to recruit their strength. Banda had issued from his retreat, defeated the imperial troops, and ravaged the level country with greater fury than before. At length an army was sent
They are defeated and nearly extirpated.
against him, under an able chief named Abdussemed Khán. By him the Sikhs were beaten in repeated actions, and Banda was at last made prisoner, with a number of his men and some of his principal followers. Most of these persons were executed on the spot, but 740 were selected and sent with Banda to Delhi. They were paraded through the streets on camels, dressed in black sheepskins with the wool outside (in derision of the shaggy appearance they affected), and were exposed to the maledictions of the populace, which, it must be owned, they had well deserved. Their punishment exceeded the measure of offences even such as theirs. They were all beheaded on seven successive days, and died with the utmost firmness, disdaining every offer to save their lives at the expense of their religion.*

Banda was reserved for greater cruelties. He was exhibited
Cruel execution of Banda.
in an iron cage, clad in a robe of cloth of gold and a scarlet turban; an executioner stood behind him with a drawn sword; around him were the heads of his followers on pikes; and even a dead cat was stuck on a similar weapon, to indicate the extirpation of everything belonging to him. He was then given a dagger, and ordered to stab his infant son; and on his refusing, the child was butchered before his eyes, and its heart thrown in his face. He was at last torn to pieces with hot pincers, and died with unshaken constancy, glorying in having been raised up by God to be a scourge to the iniquities and oppressions of the age. The Sikhs who were still at large were hunted down like wild beasts, and it was not till after a long interval that they again appeared in force, and once more renewed their depredations.

But the Sikhs, when at the strongest, were not numerous, and
Progress of the Marattas.
they were never formidable beyond a certain not very extensive tract.[16] It was with a different sort of enemy

occupation of Bengal, and eventually of all India, by the British Government. The work is written in the style of private memoirs, the most useful and engaging shape which history can assume; nor, excepting in the peculiarities which belong to the Muhammadan character, do we perceive throughout its pages any inferiority to the historical memoirs of Europe. The Duc de Sully, Lord Clarendon, or Bishop Burnet, need not have been ashamed to be the authors of such a production."—Ed.]

[16] The Sikhs have never been so flourishing as they are now (1839), and they are confined to the Panjáb and the neigh-

that the Moguls had to contend in the Deckan. The removal of Dáúd Khán (A.D. 1713) had dissolved his engagements with the Marattas. His successor, Chín Kilich Khán (afterwards so well known under the titles of Nizám ul Mulk and A'saf Jáh), was a man of much ability and more cunning; and as the feud among the Marattas now raged with more bitterness than ever, he contrived, by favouring the weaker party, not only to foment their internal dissensions, but to induce several of their chiefs to espouse the Mogul cause.

Chín Kilich Khán (afterwards A'saf Jáh).

But these measures, though they prevented the increase of the Maratta power, had little effect in restoring the tranquillity of the country; and the removal of Chín Kilich Khán, to make way for Hosein Alí, put an end to the little good they had produced. Bands of Marattas ravaged the Mogul territory as before, and individuals of that nation seized on villages within its limits, and turned them into forts, from whence they plundered the adjoining districts.[17]

Ill-success of Hosein Alí.

The most troublesome of these, at the time of Hosein Alí's arrival, was a chief whose family name was Dábári: he occupied a line of fortified villages in Khándésh, and, by his depredations on caravans and travellers, shut up the great road from Hindostan and the Deckan to Surat.

Soon after the defeat of Dáúd Khán, a very strong detachment was sent to remedy this pressing evil, and was opposed by the usual Maratta tactics. The villages were evacuated as the Moguls advanced, and reoccupied as soon as they had passed by; and Dábári, after affecting to fly till he reached a convenient scene of action, suffered himself to be overtaken, when his men dispersed in small parties among the hills and broken ground with which the place was surrounded. The Moguls, elated with their victory, broke up to pursue the fugitives. The Marattas allowed them to involve themselves in the ravines until they could no longer assemble, and then turned on them at once, cut the general and most of the detachment to pieces, and did not suffer one to escape till he was stripped of his horse, arms, and even clothes.[18] The further progress of the campaign corresponded to this inauspicious commencement; and the Marattas, in addition to the manifest inefficiency of their enemies, were encouraged by the intrigues of Farokhsír himself.

bouring countries; their numbers do not exceed 500,000 souls, and they are supposed to have 3,000,000 subjects by no means well affected to their government. (Burnes' *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 256.) [For more recent information regarding the Sikhs, see Capt. Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, 2nd ed. (1853.)—ED.]

[17] Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 431. Briggs' *Seir ul Mutakherin*, vol. i. p. 141.

[18] *Seir ul Mutakherin*, vol. i. p. 142.

He makes peace with Rája Sáho, and submits to pay the chout. A.D. 1717.[19]

At length Hosein Alí, finding that his presence could no longer be spared at Delhi, made a treaty with Rája Sáho; and agreed to acknowledge his claim to the whole of the territory formerly possessed by Sivají, with the addition of later conquests; to restore all the forts in his possession within that tract; to allow the levy of the *chout*, or fourth, over the whole of the Deckan; and to make a further payment of one-tenth on the remaining revenue, under the name of *sirdésmukhí*. This tenth, with the cession of part of the territory, was all that had been demanded in the last negotiation with Aurangzíb. In return, Sáho was to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees, to furnish 15,000 horse, to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and to be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations from whatever quarter.

Though Sáho had at this time a superiority in the Maratta civil war, a great part of the country thus acknowledged to be his was not in his possession; and he was entirely unable to check the depredations of the hostile party, if he could those of his own adherents. But Hosein Alí's object was obtained by being enabled to withdraw his troops from the Deckan, and by obtaining the assistance of a body of 10,000 Marattas on his march to Delhi.[20] Farokhsír refused to ratify this disgraceful treaty. His refusal only served to hasten the crisis of the dispute between him and the Seiads. The ultimate occurrence of such an event had long become inevitable.

Farokhsír refuses to ratify the treaty.

Abdullah Khán, the elder of the brothers, though a man of talents, was indolent and fond of pleasure. His business of vazír, therefore, was left to his deputy, a Hindú named Ratan Chand,[21] whose strict measures and arbitrary temper made his administration very unpopular. Encouraged by this circumstance, and by Abdullah's want of viligance, Farokhsír began to form schemes for the recovery of his independence; and reports arose of an intention on his part to seize the vazír's person. These rumours seemed confirmed by the proceedings of some large bodies of troops who had been suddenly dismissed from the king's service, and by the unexpected appearance of Mír Jumla, who had made a rapid and secret journey from Behár to Delhi. He represented himself as obliged to fly from the dangers to which he was exposed

State of the court of Delhi—Abdullah Khán.

Plots of Farokhsír.

[19] Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 446.

[20] Ibid. vol. i. p. 144, etc.

[21] ["He was appointed financial minister, and possessed such influence as to be empowered to nominate the Mohammedan Cázis of the provinces." (Sir H. Elliot, *Suppl. Gloss.* p. 448.)—Ed.]

by the disaffection of the troops in his province: he was very coldly received by the emperor; and he ostensibly threw himself on the vazír's protection, professing to have renounced all thoughts of public employment. But these appearances did not satisfy the vazír. He assembled his adherents, and prepared for the worst that might occur. If the emperor had entertained the design imputed to him, he had not the courage to carry it through. Overawed by the vazír's preparations, he hastened to appease his resentment, protested his anxious wish to maintain the administration on its present footing, and dismissed Mír Jumla to his native town of Multán.

But this reconciliation was only superficial: the vazír retained a well-founded conviction of the emperor's insincerity; and the other almost immediately renewed his plots, which he took up with as much levity, and abandoned with as much pusillanimity, as before. His plan now was, to form a combination of the principal persons who were discontented with the vazír. Among these was Jei Sing, rája of Ambér. This chieftain had been previously employed against the Játs, and had, by a long course of operations, reduced them to extremities, when the vazír opened a direct negotiation with an agent whom they had sent to Delhi, and granted them peace in a manner very derogatory to the honour of Jei Sing. Chín Kilich Khán, who had been removed from the viceroyalty of the Deckan to the petty government of Morádábád, was also ready to revenge the injury, and was summoned to Delhi: he was joined by Sirbuland Khán, governor of Behár: Rája Ajit Sing, the emperor's father-in-law, was also sent for, but showed no inclination to embark in an enterprise directed by such unsteady hands, and soon after openly attached himself to the prevailing party. The other conspirators, however, were zealous; and it was determined to assassinate the vazír on the occasion of a great annual solemnity, at which the number of troops well affected to the king would much surpass that of Abdullah's guards. But Farokhsír had now got a new favourite, a Cashmirian of low birth and profligate manners, on whom he conferred the title of Rokn ud Doula. By this man's persuasion, which fell in with his natural timidity, he postponed the execution of the concerted plot; and he afterwards promised to his favourite the succession to the office of prime minister, and conferred on him, as a private jágír, the very district of which Chín Kilich Khán was governor.

Combination of great nobles to support him.

His levity and irresolution.

Disappointed and disgusted with this preference, and convinced that Farokhsír's irresolution must be fatal to any plan in which he was an actor, his confederates, with the exception of Jei Sing, lost no time in making their peace with the vazír. That minister, whose fears had been awakened by the previous appearances, had already called for the assistance of his brother from the Deckan; and Hosein Alí, who kept his army at his devotion, by carefully excluding all persons appointed by the court from command, was now in full march on the capital. Jei Sing endeavoured to excite the emperor to take some decisive step during the short interval that was left, but was unable to animate that feeble prince even with the courage of despair; and Hosein Alí's first demand, on his arrival, was for the dismission of the rája to his own territory. Farokhsír, thus at the mercy of his enemies, had recourse to the most abject submission. Hosein Alí remained encamped without the city; but the vazír's guards were admitted into the palace, and it only remained to the brothers to decide on the fate of its tenant. In this state of affairs, some nobles who remained faithful to the emperor set out with their retainers to his assistance; and a rising of the townspeople, for the purpose of massacring the Marattas, took place at the same time. In consequence of the confusion which followed, Hosein Alí marched into the city, of which he took possession after some opposition. It seemed no longer safe to spare Farokhsír; and that unfortunate shadow of a king was dragged from his hiding-place in the seraglio, and privately put to death.

Disgusts his confederates.

Return of Hosein Alí, accompanied by 10,000 Marattas.

A.D. 1718, December; A.H. 1131, 8 Moharram.

Farokhsír deposed and put to death. A.D. 1719, February; A.H. 1131, Rabí us Sání.

Some of the fruits of Aurangzíb's religious policy appeared during this reign. Enáyat Ullah, who had been secretary to that monarch, being appointed to the head of the finance, endeavoured to enforce the capitation-tax on Hindús with the rigour of his former master; but he was soon forced to desist by the public clamour, and the tax was formally abolished in the next reign.

There was a violent affray between the Shías and Sunnís in the capital, and a still more serious one, in Ahmedábád, between the Hindús and Mussulmans, in which many lives were lost: on

* This is the date of his march from Khándésh, taken from Khafí Khán; Grant Duff also confirms the year. The *Seir ul Mutakherin* (Briggs' translation, vol. i. p. 164) makes the year A.D. 1719, A.H. 1132; and many of its subsequent dates differ, in the same manner, from all other authorities.

this occasion the Mussulman governor (Dáúd Khán Panní) took part with the Hindús.

On the deposition of Farokhsír, the Seiads set up a young prince of the blood, to whom they gave the title of Rafí ud *Daraját*. He died in little more than three months, of a consumption; when another youth of the same description was set up under the name of Rafí ud *Doula*, and came to the same end in a still shorter period.

Nominal emperors set up by the Seiads.

Rafí ud Daraját. A.D. 1719, February; A.H. 1131, Rabíus Sání.

Rafí ud Doula, A.D. 1719, May; A.H. 1131, Rajab.

These princes had been brought up in the recesses of the seraglio, without any prospect of the succession, and had the ideas of women superinduced on those of children. Their deaths must have been inconvenient to the Seiads, and they pitched on a healthier young man as their successor. This was Roshen Akhter: he had no advantages in previous situation over the others; but his mother was a woman of ability, and had perhaps helped to form his character, as she subsequently influenced his conduct.

Mohammed Sháh. A.D. 1719, September; A.H. 1131, Zí Cáda.

He was raised to the throne by the title of Mohammed Sháh.[22]

[22] At Mohammed's accession it was determined that the names of his two predecessors should be left out of the list of kings, and that his reign should commence from the death of Farokhsír. (*Seir ul Mutakherin*, vol. i. p. 197. *Grant Duff*, vol. i. p. 450. Marsden, *Numismata Orientalia*.)

CHAPTER II.

TO THE DEPARTURE OF NÁDIR SHÁH.

Mohammed Sháh.

THE murder of Farokhsír (in spite of his personal character, and the familiarity of such a catastrophe in Asia) produced a general feeling of horror, and led to suspicions regarding the premature deaths of his successors. The frequent change of pageants also drew attention to the moving power, which they were intended to veil.

A.D. 1719, September; A.H. 1131, Zí Cáada.

General indignation against the Seiads.

The authority of the Seiads, thus shaken in the public opinion, was further impaired by their own disagreement, as well as by the discontent of some of their principal adherents, and soon began to show signs of weakness in the inefficiency of the internal government.

Internal dissensions of their party.

The governor of Allahábád (a Hindú) rebelled; and, although Hosein Alí went against him in person, he only gave up his province on condition that he should receive that of Oudh in exchange: the tributary state of Bundí required a strong force to settle some disturbances that broke out there; while the Afghán chief of Kosúr, in the south of the Panjáb, revolted, defeated the royal troops, and was not subdued without an effort. A furious contest between Hindús and Mussulmans also took place in Cashmír, in which the efforts of the government to maintain tranquillity were unavailing, until some thousand persons had fallen on the two sides, and much loss of property had been sustained.

Insurrections.

The most alarming sign of the times was in the proceedings of Chín Kilich Khán. This chief (whom, anticipating the title, I shall henceforth call A'saf Jáh, and whose descendants are known to Europeans as Nizáms of the Deckan) was of a respectable Túrk family, and was the son of Ghází ud dín, a favourite officer of Aurangzíb, under which emperor *he* also distinguished himself. He showed spirit in maintaining his dignity during the depression of the nobility by the mistress of Jehándár Sháh and her relations;[1] and subsequently rose to importance (as has been related) by his services as viceroy of

Proceedings of A'saf Jah.

[1] Being rudely stopped in a narrow street, to make way for a woman who had unbounded influence with the mistress, and through her with the emperor, he ordered his attendants to repel force with force, dispersed the favourite's retinue, and compelled her to quit her elephant, and escape on foot to the palace.

the Deckan. He had quitted the party of Farokhsír because he found he was not to be prime minister; and yet, on the success of his new allies, he was not even restored to his viceroyalty, but made governor of the single province of Málwa.

The disturbed state of that country gave him a pretence for raising troops; and he became so formidable to the Seiads that they made a feeble attempt to remove him, offering him the choice of four other governments. This only showed A'saf Jáh that the time for dissembling was passed; and as he saw the difficulty of establishing a permanent control at the capital, he determined to lay the foundations of his power on a firmer basis, and turned his first attention to the conquest of the Deckan. He had there many old connexions both with the Mussulmans and the Marattas.

Immediately on his revolt he marched to the Nerbadda. By intrigue and money he obtained possession of the fort of Asírghar, and procured the junction of several officers of the province. He was pursued from Hindostan by a force under Diláwer Khán (a Seiad of Bára), and another, under A'lam Alí Khán (the nephew of the usurping brothers), was awaiting him at Aurangábád. Taking advantage of the impetuous character of Diláwer, he drew him into an engagement before he could be supported by his colleague, and totally defeated him in a battle fought near Burhánpúr; Diláwer Khán himself was among the slain. He then turned against A'lam Alí, whose force, though weakened by the desertion of some chiefs, gained by A'saf Jáh, was still very powerful. A battle took place at Bálláp úr in Berár, in which large bodies of Marattas were engaged on both sides, and which terminated in the defeat and death of A'lam Alí.

A.D. 1720, April; A.H. 1132, Jamáda's Sáni. He establishes his power in the Deckan. Defeats the armies of the Seiads. A.D. 1720, June. A.D. 1720, July.

These events threw the Seiads into consternation, and, though secretly agreeable to the emperor and many of the nobility, filled the minds of reflecting men with dismal forebodings of the ruin of the empire. This gloom was rendered deeper among a superstitious people by a violent earthquake which occurred about this time, and seemed to threaten the existence of the capital; and in these depressing circumstances the brothers betrayed those signs of irresolution which are often the forerunners of great calamities.

Alarm at Delhi.

Mohammed Sháh (tutored by his mother) had carefully avoided any opposition to the Seiads, and patiently waited for some change of circumstances favourable to the assertion of his own authority. He now began,

Prudent conduct of Mohammed Sháh.

with the utmost secrecy, to deliberate what could be done to accelerate his deliverance. His counsellor in this dangerous undertaking was Mohammed Amín Khán, one of the noblemen who had deserted Farokhsír, when he proved a traitor to his own cause, and who had since adhered to the Seiads, though full of envy and disgust at their power and arrogance. He was in the habit of conversing in Túrkí with Mohammed, and by means of that language, which was unknown to Indian Seiads, he was able to ascertain the sentiments of the emperor, although closely surrounded by the connexions and creatures of the brothers. Hints interchanged in this manner paved the way to more private communications, and a party was gradually formed, the second place in which was occupied by Sádat Khán, originally a merchant of Khórasán, who had risen to a military command, and was the progenitor of the present kings of Oudh. These combinations, however secret, did not fail to excite obscure apprehensions in the minds of the Seiads, and occasioned much perplexity about the manner of disposing of the emperor during the approaching contest with A'saf Jáh. It was at length decided that Hosein Alí should march to the Deckan, and should carry the emperor and some of the suspected nobles along with him, while Abdullah should remain at Delhi, and watch over the interests of his family at home.

His plans against the Seiads.

Mohammed Amín Khán.

Sádat Khán.

Hosein Alí marches against A'saf Jáh, accompanied by the emperor.

After much hesitation the brothers quitted Agra, and each marched off towards his destined station. The separation was judged by the conspirators to afford an opportunity for executing their designs. It was determined to assassinate Hosein Alí, and Mír Heider, a savage Calmuc—who (though a man of some rank in his own country) was ready for the most desperate enterprise—was pitched on to strike the blow. He waited for his victim as he passed in his palankin, and attracted his attention by holding up a petition. Hosein Alí made a sign to his attendants to allow him to approach, and was about to read the petition, when Mír Heider plunged his dagger into his body. The blow was fatal: Hosein Alí rolled out a corpse from the opposite side of the palankin, and Mír Heider was cut to pieces in an instant by the fury of the attendants. The death of this powerful minister threw the whole camp into commotion. A fierce conflict took place between his adherents, many of whom were Seiads like himself, and the partisans of the conspirators, who were joined by numbers whose only object was to protect the emperor.

Assassination of Hosein Alí A.D. 1720, October; A.H. 1132, Zí Hajj 6.

Mohammed was with some difficulty prevailed on to show himself at the head of his own friends, and his appearance materially contributed to decide the fate of the day. The party of the Seiads was driven from the field, and many of its members, with all the neutral part of the army, made their submission to the emperor.

The emperor assumes the government.

The intelligence of this event reached Abdullah Khán before he entered Delhi. Painful as it was in itself, it was as alarming in its consequences. Abdullah had now to oppose his sovereign without either right or any popular pretext in his favour, and he was made aware of his situation by the immediate breaking out of disturbances in the country around him. But his energy rose with his danger. He proclaimed one of the princes confined at Delhi king, conferred offices and dignities in his name, and applied himself with vigour to strengthening his cause by securing the services of troops and officers.

Difficult situation of Abdullah Khán.

He sets up a new emperor.

Few men of rank adhered to him; but by means of high pay he drew together a large, though ill-disciplined, army. He marched in little more than a fortnight after his brother's death, and was joined as he advanced by Choráman, the rája of the Játs, and by many of his brother's soldiers, who deserted after having submitted to the emperor. On the other hand, Mohammed was reinforced by the arrival of 4,000 horse, hastily sent forward by Rája Jei Sing, and of some chiefs of the Rohilla Afgháns. The armies met between Agra and Delhi. Abdullah was defeated and taken prisoner; his life was spared, probably from respect for his sacred lineage. Mohammed Sháh immediately proceeded to Delhi, which he entered in great pomp, and celebrated his emancipation by an extensive distribution of offices and rewards. Mohammed Amín was made vazír; but he had scarcely entered on his office when he was taken ill, and died in a few hours.

Assembles an army.

A. D. 1720, November; A. H. 1133, Moharram.

Is defeated and taken prisoner.

A. D. 1720, Nov or Dec; A. H. 1133, Safar.

Sudden death of Mohammed Amín, the new vazír.

In most cases, the sudden death of a prime minister would have been attributed to poison; but in this instance there was a manner of accounting for it still more acceptable to the popular love of wonder. An impostor had made his appearance at Delhi some years before, who produced a new scripture, written in a language of his own invention, framed from those spoken in ancient Persia, and had founded a sect in which the teachers were called Békúks and the disciples Ferábúds. He had become so considerable at the

A. D. 1721, January; A. H. 1133, Rabí ul awwal.

accession of Mohammed that the new vazír sent a party of soldiers to apprehend him. Before he was taken into custody, the vazír was seized with a violent illness, and his family, in alarm, endeavoured by presents and entreaties to avert the anger of the holy man. The Békúk boldly avowed the miracle, but said his shaft, once shot, could not be recalled. He was nevertheless left undisturbed, and lived for some years after.

The office of vazír was only filled by a temporary substitute, being ultimately designed for A'saf Jáh.

Meanwhile, every day brought some fresh proof of the decline of the monarchy. The government of Guzerát had been conferred on Rája Ajit Sing, as a reward for his adherence to the Seiads; the addition of that of Ajmír had been secretly promised by Mohammed, as the price of his friendship or neutrality in the contest between himself and those brothers, and a grant for life of both governments had been delivered to him under the royal seal. In spite of these engagements, Ajit was now removed from Guzerát; and although his deputy, a Rájpút, endeavoured to keep possession by force, he was driven out by the Mussulmans of the province, and compelled to take refuge with his master at Jódpúr. Ajit Sing, on this, occupied Ajmír with a large army of Rájpúts, took and plundered Narnól, and advanced his parties to Rewári, within fifty miles of Delhi. All attempts to check his progress had been rendered ineffectual by the dissensions of the generals ordered against him, and their reluctance to undertake the duty; and when, at last, the commander-in-chief moved out to protect the capital, he was glad to agree to the terms originally proposed by Ajit, that he should submit to the loss of Guzerát on condition of being confirmed in Ajmír.[2]

Rapid decline of the monarchy.

A.D. 1721, A.H. 1133.

Soon after this A'saf Jáh arrived at Delhi, and took possession of the office of vazír. Though he had for some time been apprised of his appointment, he thought it of more importance to secure his independence in the Deckan than to seize on the authority held out to him at the capital. He had been engaged in many transactions with the Marattas, who were rapidly assuming the form of a regular government, and it was not till he had settled affairs in that quarter to his satisfaction that he repaired to Delhi. He found the court in a state of the utmost weakness and disorder. The emperor was given up to pleasure; his

A'saf Jáh's vazír. A.D. 1722, January; A.H. 1134, Rabí us Sáni.

Indolence of the emperor.

[2] *Seir ul Mutákherín.* Tod's *Rájasthán.*

favourite advisers were young men of the same pursuits, and his mistress had such an ascendancy over him that she was allowed to keep his private signet, and to use it at her discretion. This state of things gave great disgust to A'saf Jáh, brought up at the austere court of Aurangzíb, and, in spite of his predilection for intrigue, both able and willing to conduct a vigorous administration; but he had neither the boldness nor the power to seize the government by force: and he made no progress in gaining the confidence of the emperor, who felt himself constrained by his grave manners, and importuned by his attempts to draw attention to public business, and who had no greater pleasure than to see his antiquated dress and formal courtesy burlesqued by his own dissolute companions.

His favourites.

His dislike to A'saf Jáh.

After some months of mutual dissatisfaction, the emperor and his favourites thought they had devised a plan to free themselves from their troublesome counsellor. Heider Culí, the governor of Guzerát, though one of the principal actors in the revolution which restored the royal authority, was offensive to the cabal for his proud and inflexible disposition; and they hoped, by embroiling him with A'saf Jáh, that both might be rendered more dependent on the court. They accordingly directed Heider Culí to give up his government to A'saf Jáh; on which the former chief, as they expected, repaired to his station, and made ready to defend his possession of it by force of arms. But this deep-laid scheme ended in sudden disappointment; for their subtle adversary so well employed his talents for intrigue and corruption that his rival's army deserted almost in a body, and he speedily returned to Delhi, strengthened by the addition of a rich province to his former exorbitant command.

A'saf Jáh sent against the refractory governor of Guzerát.

Quells the insurrection, and retains the government of the province.

No event of importance succeeded to A'saf Jáh's return, except the murder of the deputy-governor of Agra by the Játs; on which Rája Jei Sing,[8] the old enemy of that people, was appointed governor of Agra for the purpose of revenging the outrage. Chorámun, the aged rája of the Játs, happened to die during the expedition; and Jei Sing, by dexterously supporting his nephew against his son and successor, brought about a division among the Játs, and at last

Expedition against the Játs of Bhartpúr.

[8] Khafí Khán. Scott's *Deckan*, vol. ii. p. 187. Briggs and Grant Duff make it Ajit Sing, as does the old translation of the *Seir ul Mutákherín*; but probably all on one authority.

placed the nephew in possession, on condition of his paying tribute to Delhi.

The mutual aversion of the emperor and his vazír was not diminished after the return of the minister; and it was, probably, at the moment, a relief to Mohammed when A'saf Jáh, after securing his safety by removing, on some pretence, from the capital, sent in his resignation and marched off for the Deckan. But this measure amounted, in reality, to a declaration of independence, and was viewed in that light by the emperor himself; who, although he graciously accepted A'saf Jáh's resignation, and conferred on him the highest titles that could be held by a subject,[4] did not on that account remit his active hostility. He sent orders to Mobáriz Khán, the local governor of Heiderábád, to endeavour to dispossess the viceroy, and assume the government of the whole Deckan in his stead. Mobáriz entered zealously on the task imposed on him; and by the sanction of the emperor's name, joined to his own influence and the enmity of individuals to his rival, he succeeded in collecting a powerful army. A'saf Jáh, always more inclined to art than force, protracted his negotiations for several months, during which he endeavoured to sow sedition among Mobáriz's adherents. As he made little progress in this mode of hostility, he at last came to open war, and soon gained a decided victory over Mobáriz, who lost his life in the battle. As the emperor had not avowed the attack which he had instigated, A'saf Jáh, not to be outdone in dissimulation, sent the head of Mobáriz to court with his own congratulations on the extinction of the rebellion. He then fixed his residence at Heiderábád; and though he continued to send honorary presents, on fixed occasions, to the emperor, he thenceforth conducted himself, in other respects, as an independent prince.

Disgust of A'saf Jáh.

He resigns his office, and sets off for the Deckan.

A.D. 1723, October; A.H. 1136, Moharram.

The emperor instigates Mobáriz Khán, governor of Heiderábád, to supplant him.

Mobáriz defeated and slain.

A.D. 1724, October; A.H. 1137, Moharram.

But, although he was beyond the reach of attack from his former sovereign, he was by no means equally secure from his neighbours the Marattas. Their power, being now concentrated and in able hands, was too great for any resistance that he could oppose to it, and all the refinements of his artful policy were for a time employed to divert it from himself, and to turn it against his enemies at Delhi.

A'saf Jáh's policy towards the Marattas.

The change in the state of the Maratta government had been

[4] [Vakil i mutlak, or lieutenant of the empire.—Ed.]

gradually brought about during a considerable period, and requires to be taken up from the commencement. Though Sáho had been set up as rája by the Moguls, it suited the policy of A'saf Jáh, during his first government of the Deckan (A.D. 1713 to A.D. 1716), to assist his rival, Samba, at that time the weaker of the competitors. Other circumstances tended, soon after, to depress the party of Sáho, who would never have recovered his superiority but for the abilities of his minister, Bálají Wiswanáth.

Consolidation of the Maratta government.

This person (the founder of the Bramin dynasty of Péshwás) was the hereditary accountant of a village in the Concan. He afterwards entered into the service of a chief of the Jádu family, whence he was transferred to that of the rája. He distinguished himself by many services; the most important of which was his bringing over A'ngria (a powerful chief as well as famous pirate), in the Concan, from the side of Samba to that of Sáho.

Bálají Wiswanáth péshwá.

His merits were at length rewarded with the office of péshwá, at that time the second in the state; the pírti nidhí,[5] or *delegate of the rája*, being the first.

It was through his means that the cession of territory and tribute was obtained from Hosein Alí Khán (A.D. 1717), and he was joint commander of the Maratta force that accompanied that minister to Delhi. At that time Sáho (without in other respects laying aside the titles or the independence assumed by his predecessors) was content, in his intercourse with the Mogul court, to acknowledge himself a vassal of the empire. It was professedly in this quality that his troops accompanied Hosein Alí, and the fall of that chief did not necessarily make any change in their relation to the government. Under this view Bálají remained at Delhi after the death of Farokhsír, and ultimately obtained a ratification of the treaty by Mohammed Sháh (A.D. 1720). This recognition of his authority, together with other advantages, had established the ascendancy of Sáho over his rival; and Bálají, before his death (which happened in October, 1720), had the satisfaction of seeing him placed above the assaults of enemies, either foreign or domestic.

Establishes the government of Sáho.

Dies.

The cessions by the treaty having given legality to what before was mere robbery enabled Bálají to introduce some degree of order into the Maratta mode of

His complicated revenue system.

[5] [Or, more properly, *pratinidhi*.—ED.

collection. It appears extraordinary, at first sight, that he did not prefer a solid territorial possession to assignments on other proprietors, such as the *chout* and *sirdésmukhí*; or that he did not, at least, consolidate those dues, by throwing those on the same territory into one head, and uniting it with the land revenue where that also belonged to the Marattas. But it was by no means his object to simplify the claims of his government. He knew, from the relative power of the parties, that the rája would be a gainer in all disputed points with the Moguls, and was more anxious to obtain a pretext for interference and encroachment over an extensive territory than clearly-defined rights within a small one. In furtherance of this policy, he claimed, as *chout*, one-fourth of the permanent revenue fixed by Tódar Mal and Malik Amber, of which but a small portion was now realised from the exhausted country; and although he did not enforce this principle to its full extent, it still served to keep his claim undefined. It was not in dealing with the Moguls alone that he profited by keeping up this system of confusion: by granting the *chout* and *sirdésmukhí* to different persons, and even inventing new subdivisions, so as to admit of further partition, he parcelled out the revenues of every district among several Maratta chiefs; so that, while each had an interest in increasing the contributions to the general stock, none had a compact property such as might render him independent of the government. The intricacy produced in the affairs of the Maratta chiefs, by these innumerable fractions of revenue, led to another effect that Bálají had quite as much at heart; it threw them entirely into the hands of their Bramin agents, and strengthened the péshwá's power by increasing that of his cast. But, though this system of subdivision was general, it was not universal; some chiefs had already landed possessions in the old territory; and similar grants, more or less extensive, continued to be made from special favour. Every chief required a village or two for his head-quarters, and all were anxious to possess the government claims on those of which they were natives or hereditary officers.

His motives.

Bálají Wiswanáth was succeeded by his son Báji Ráo, the ablest of all the Bramin dynasty, and of all the Maratta nation, except Sivají. Báji Ráo did not at once enjoy the whole authority that had been possessed by his father. He had a powerful rival in the pírti nidhí, and the interests of those politicians were not more opposed than their opinions. The pírti nidhí was sincerely apprehensive of

Báji Ráo péshwá.

His enterprising policy.

the effects of a further diffusion of the Maratta power; and he strenuously contended for the necessity of consolidating the rája's present possessions, suppressing civil discord, and acquiring a firm hold on the countries in the south of the peninsula, before attempting to make any conquests in Hindostan. Bájí Ráo took a wiser as well as bolder view. He saw that the hordes of predatory horse, who were so useful in an enemy's country, would be utterly ungovernable at home; and that it was only by forming an army, and establishing a military command, that an efficient internal government could be brought into existence. He therefore counselled an immediate invasion of the northern provinces, and pointed out the inward weakness of the Mogúl empire, which was nowhere so rotten as at the core: "Let us strike," said he, "the withered trunk, and the branches will fall of themselves." The eloquence and earnestness with which he pressed his advice overcame all the doubts of the rája; and when urged by Bájí Ráo to allow him to carry his standard beyond the Nerbadda, he exclaimed, with enthusiasm, "You shall plant it on Himálaya."[6]

The results of these debates gave Bájí Ráo a preponderance in the counsels of the rája, and his ascendancy daily increased from the necessity for his assistance. Though Sáho was not destitute of abilities, his education in a Mussulman seraglio was alike unfavourable to hardiness of body and activity of mind; while Bájí Ráo, born in a camp, and trained up a statesman and diplomatist, combined the habits of a Maratta horseman with an enlarged judgment and extensive knowledge. Unlike his cold-blooded brethren of the priestly class, his temper was ardent and his manner frank; he never flinched from fatigue or danger, and could make a meal of dry grain rubbed out of the husks between his hands as he rode along on a march.

Character of Sáho.

Of Bájí Ráo.

His designs on the northern provinces were aided by the Moguls themselves. Shortly before the battle with Mobáriz, A'saf Jáh was removed from his governments of Málwa and Guzerát. Rája Gírdhar was appointed to the former province, and found no difficulty in occupying it, while the troops were drawn off to the contest in the Deckan, but was unable to defend it from the incursions of Bájí Ráo; and in Guzerát, Hamíd Kháu, A'saf's uncle, not only offered a strenuous resistance himself but directly called in the aid of the Marattas. In return, he gave up to them the *chout*

Bájí Ráo ravages Malwa.

Obtains a cession by the governor

[6] Grant Duff, and Maratta MSS. quoted by that author, vol. i. pp. 482—486.

Most of the other great Maratta families had also their origin a little before this time. When Bájí Ráo began his incursions into Málwa, he gave commands to U'dají Puár, Malhár Ráo Hólcar, and Ránají Sindia. The first of these was a chief before his connexion with the péshwá: he soon acquired a territory about Dhár, on the borders of Guzerát and Málwa, but never rose to such power as his colleagues or their descendants. Hólcar was a shepherd on the Níra, south of Púna; and Sindia, though of a respectable family near Satára, was in such abject poverty as to be a menial servant of Bájí Ráo. These chiefs, and others of this period, were no longer adventurers warring at the head of their own retainers, but officers of the péshwá, commanding divisions of *his* troops, and acting under *his* commission.

Origin of the families of Puár, Hólcar, and Sindia.

Bájí Ráo had now the means of punishing the machinations of A'saf Jáh, but both parties began to perceive the advantages of a mutual good understanding: Bájí Ráo saw how much his supremacy at home would be endangered, during remote expeditions, by the enmity of so powerful and so insidious a neighbour; and A'saf, besides other grounds of apprehension, felt by no means secure that the emperor might not revenge his defiance of the royal authority by transferring the viceroyalty to the péshwá, in whose hands such a title would not be inoperative. Accordingly, not long after Bájí Ráo's return, the two usurpers entered into a secret compact, by which it was settled that A'saf should support the government of Bájí Ráo, while the other carried his arms into Málwa, and pushed his conquests over the emperor's remaining dominions.

Compromise between Bájí Ráo and A'saf Jáh.

Bájí Ráo had, at this period, strong motives of his own for extending his views in the country beyond the Nerbadda. Immediately after his departure from Guzerát, the court of Delhi refused to ratify the grant of chout, removed Sirbuland Khán from the government, and conferred it on Abhi Sing, rája of Jódpúr.

Rája Abhi Sing of Marwár, viceroy of Guzerát.

The appointment of an independent prince to such a charge would have been objectionable at any time; and the profligate character of Abhi Sing, who had acquired his power by the murder of his father, Ajit,[8] did not promise much fidelity on his part; but he possessed resources not enjoyed by the Mogul government, and seemed able, by his own means, both to expel Sirbuland, and to defend the province against the Marattas.

[8] Tod's *Rájasthán*, vol. ii. p. 91.

The first of these objects was attained in one campaign; the second was not so easy of accomplishment. Pilají Geikwár, though driven out of Baróda, still continued so formidable that the unprincipled Abhi Sing saw no means of overcoming him except by procuring his assassination. This crime only roused the indignation of the Marattas, without weakening their power. The son and brother of Pilají appeared in greater force than ever, and not only ravaged Guzerát themselves, but raised all the surrounding hill-tribes of Bhíls and Cólís, and threw the whole province into revolt and confusion. While the Rájpút prince was completely occupied by these disturbances, the Geikwárs made a sudden irruption into his hereditary territory, and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Jódpúr itself. This attack, and the threatening aspect of the Maratta force in Málwa, compelled Abhi Sing to withdraw to his own principality, and the deputy whom he left in Guzerát could make but a feeble stand against the Marattas.

A.D. 1730.

A.D. 1732. Procures the assassination of Pilají Geikwár.

Retaliation of the Marattas.

Abhi Sing retires to Márwár.

The affairs of that nation were not less prosperous in Málwa. Gírdhar Sing, the governor of that province, had fallen in a battle with Bájí Ráo's officers (in 1729); and his nephew, Deia Rám, who succeeded him, and had opposed a gallant resistance till this time, was defeated by Chimnají, the péshwá's brother, and lost his life in the battle.

A.D. 1732.

When Bájí Ráo entered Málwa in person (1732), the government was in the hands of Mohammed Khán Bangash, an Afghán chief, who was also governor of Allahábád. He was at that period employed against a rája in Bundélcand, which lay between his two provinces; and the rája, reduced to extremities, had recourse to the aid of the Marattas. Bájí Ráo immediately obeyed the summons, came suddenly on Mohammed Khán, and before long compelled him to take refuge in a fort. The government of Delhi was too weak to afford him any relief, and he must have surrendered at discretion, but for the exertions of his own family. His wife sent her veil (the strongest appeal to Afghán honour) to her countrymen in Rohilcand. His son put himself at the head of the volunteers thus assembled, and by these means he was delivered from his difficulties and escorted to Allahábád. But this rescue of his person did nothing for his province. The rája of Bundélcand ceded the territory of Jánsi, on the Jumna, in return for the services of Bájí Ráo; and afterwards, at his death, left

Success of Bají Ráo in Málwa.

Obtains possessions in Bundelcund.

him rights in Bundélcand, which in time led to the occupation of the whole of that country by the Marattas.

Mohammed Khán's ill-success procured his removal from Málwa, and the province was conferred on Rája Jei Sing of Ambér.

Rája Jei Sing II., viceroy of Málwa.

This prince, whose love of science makes him one of the most remarkable persons of his nation, was by no means so distinguished for his firmness or decision. His hereditary connexion with the Marattas, although not sufficient to induce him to betray his trust, facilitated an accommodation after he found resistance desperate; and the result was, that in the succeeding year, he surrendered his province to the péshwá, with the tacit concurrence of the emperor, on whose behalf the territory was still to be held.

A.D. 1734.

His tacit surrender of the province to the Marattas.

But if the Moguls thought to obtain permanent forbearance from Bájí Ráo by concession, they knew little of him or his nation; for though he for a time turned his attention to the internal affairs of the Deckan, he continued to press the formal cession of the chout and sirdésmukhí of Málwa and Guzerát, and directed the chiefs whom he had left behind him to carry their incursions up to Agra. The Moguls on their part made great demonstrations, and sent out unwieldy and feebly-conducted armies, whose operations served only to expose them to the contempt of the enemy.

After some lapse of time Bájí Ráo again took up the negotiation in person; and in proportion as the progress of it disclosed the weakness of his adversaries, he continued to rise in his demands, until at length he insisted on the grant of a jágír, comprising the province of Málwa and all the country south of the Chambal, together with the holy cities of Mattra, Allahábád, and Benáres. The emperor, though all his attempts at open resistance proved futile, was not reduced quite so low as to submit to such terms. He endeavoured to pacify the Marattas by minor sacrifices, and those they accepted without receding from their great object. Among the concessions were a right to levy tribute on the Rájpúts, and to increase that already due from the territories of A'saf Jáh. These were, doubtless, given with a view to embroil the Marattas with the last-named powers, and they did not quite fail of their purpose; for A'saf Jáh began to perceive that he was pushing his present policy too far, and that he had now as much to fear from the weakness of the em-

Bájí Ráo increases his demands. A.D. 1736.

Further concessions by the emperor

Alarm of A'saf Jáh.

peror, as he formerly had from his enmity. At the same time he was assiduously courted by the cabinet of Delhi, who no longer looked on him as a rebellious subject, but as a natural ally, capable of rescuing them from the danger that hung over them.

The result of this state of circumstances was to determine A'saf Jáh to support the emperor; but while he was engaged in these deliberations, Bájí Ráo was advancing towards the capital. By the time he had himself arrived within forty miles of Agra, his light troops were ravaging the country beyond the Jumna, under the command of Malhár Ráo Hólcar; and while so employed they were attacked and driven back on the main body by Sádat Khán, governor of Oudh, who, with a spirit very unlike his contemporaries, issued from his own province to defend that adjoining. This check, which was magnified into a great victory, and accompanied by reports of the retreat to the Deckan of the whole Maratta army, only stimulated Bájí Ráo to wipe off the disgrace, and (as he said himself) to show the emperor that he was still in Hindostan. An army had been sent out to oppose him, under the vazír, Kamar ud dín Khán. While it lay inactive near Mattra, Bájí Ráo suddenly quitted the Jumna, passed off about fourteen miles to the right of the Mogul army, and, advancing by prodigious marches, all at once presented himself before the gates of Delhi.

He is reconciled to the emperor.

Bájí Ráo appears before Delhi. A.D. 1737, A.H. 1149.

The consternation produced by his appearance may easily be imagined; but, as his object was to intimidate and not provoke the emperor, he forbore from further aggression, and endeavoured to prevent the destruction of the suburbs. He was unable entirely to restrain the devastations of his followers, and he made that a pretext for drawing off to some distance from the city. This retrograde movement induced the Moguls to attempt a sally, and they were driven back into the town with heavy loss. By this time, however, the vazír had been joined by Sádat Khán, and was on his march to relieve the capital; and Bájí Ráo deemed it prudent to commence his retreat, a step involving no dishonour, according to the Maratta rules of war. His intention, at the time, was to have crossed the Jumna lower down, and to have plundered the country between that river and the Ganges; but the approach of the rainy season, and the advance of A'saf Jáh, determined him to return at once to the Deckan, where his presence was also required for other objects. After the péshwá's retreat, A'saf Jáh

He retreats.

A.D. 1737, A.H. 1150. Arrival of Asaf Jah at Delhi

pursued his march to Delhi, and was invested with full powers to call out all the resources of the state; while the governments of Málwa and Guzerát were conferred on his eldest son, Ghází ud dín. But to so low a point was the power of the empire reduced, that, with all the means at his disposal, he could only complete the army under his personal command to the number of 34,000 men.

He was, however, furnished with a fine train of artillery, and supported by a reserve under the command of Safdar Jang, the nephew of Sádat Khán of Oudh. With this force he advanced to Serónj, while Bájí Ráo crossed the Nerbadda at the head of an army said by himself to be 80,000 strong, and probably superior in numbers to that of A'saf Jáh.[9] This disparity ought not to have deterred the Mogul general from an engagement, for the Marattas had never been formidable in pitched battles; and with them, more even than with other enemies, it was of importance to assume a superiority at the commencement of a campaign. A'saf Jáh, on the contrary, probably from reliance on his artillery, as well as the caution natural to his disposition and his advanced age, determined to await an attack in a favourable situation, close to the fort of Bópál. The strength of his position availed him nothing against such an enemy: the Marattas laid waste the country round him, intercepted his supplies, attacked every detachment that attempted to show itself beyond its lines, and completely broke off the communication between him and his reserve.

Marches against Baji Ráo.

A.D. 1738, January.

Is attacked by Baji Ráo, near Bópal;

The effects of these operations so straitened A'saf Jáh, that at the end of a month or six weeks he was obliged to attempt a retreat towards the north. He had probably lost many of his cattle, and, although he left his baggage at Bópál, he had still a heavy train to drag along with him. His movements, in such circumstances, were slow, and were further impeded by the Marattas: though deterred by his artillery from attempting a general attack, they harassed him with rockets, and hung on his rear with their cavalry, until, after some marches at the rate of three or four miles a day, he was obliged to submit to his fate, and enter into terms with the péshwá. By this convention, he engaged to cede all the country from the Nerbadda to the Chambal (including all Málwa), and to use his

and constrained to make great

[9] According to the present way of speaking among the Marattas, "lak fouj," which ought to mean 100,000 horse, will seldom be found to imply more than 10,000 or 15,000 fighting men.

best endeavours to procure from the emperor a confirmation of the cession, and a payment of fifty lacs of rupees.[10]

Cessions on the emperor's part.

A.D. 1738, February; A.H. 1150, Ramazán.

A'saf Jáh was then permitted to pursue his retreat to Delhi, and Bájí Ráo took possession of his conquests: but before he could receive the promised confirmation from the emperor, the progress of the transaction was arrested by one of those tremendous visitations which, for a time, render men insensible to all other considerations.

The empire was again reduced to the same state of decay which had on former occasions invited the invasions of Tamerlane and Báber; and a train of events in Persia led to a similar attack from that country.

Invasion of Nádir Sháh.

The family of Safaví, after having reigned for 200 years (about the usual duration of an Asiatic dynasty), fell into a state of corruption and decay, and was at last dethroned by the Afgháns of Candahár.

Previous transactions in Persia.

An account has already been given of the north-eastern portion of the Afghán nation;[11] but the western tribes, who were the actors in the revolution in Persia, differ from those described, in more points than one.

Western Afghans.

Their country is on the high table-land[12] which is supported on the east by the mountains of Sóleimán, and separated by them from the plain on the Indus. On the north, a similar bulwark is formed by the range anciently called Caucasus, which overlooks the low level of the Oxus and of the Caspian Sea.[13] The part of this table-land westward of Herát belongs to the Persians, and that eastward of the same city to the Afgháns.

There are fertile plains in this tract, and on the most extensive of them are the cities of Cábul, Ghazní, Candahár, and Herát;[14] but the greater part consists of high downs, ill-suited to agriculture, and inhabited by pastoral tribes, who live in tents. They have the same government and the same character as the north-eastern Afgháns, except that they are much less turbulent and contentious. In the pastoral tracts, the Afgháns are almost unmixed; but a great part of the population of the plains, including the cities, consists of Tájiks, who speak Persian, and are

[10] 500,000*l.*

[11] Page 515.

[12] The city of Cábul is 6,000 feet above the sea. (Burnes' *Travels*, vol. i. p. 151.)

[13] See an essay by Mr. J. Baillie Fraser, in *Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society.*

[14] Herát is just beyond the ridge which divides the waters that run to the south from those that flow northward to the Oxus; but it is on the same level with the rest of the table-land, and may be regarded as forming a part of it.

the same people that occupy similar situations in Persia and Transoxiana.

The plains alone formed the conquests of the Persian and Indian kings. The Afghán tribes remained independent, though those near the possessions of the two great monarchies must no doubt have been influenced by their power.[15] The greatest of the western tribes were the Ghiljeis, who inhabited the country round Candahár, and the Abdálís,[16] whose original seat was in the mountains of Ghór, but who chiefly resided at the time now spoken of in the country round Herát. These tribes were always rivals, and often at war with each other.

Ghiljeis.

Abdálís (or Durránís).

During the reign of Sháh Hosein (the last of the Safavís), the Ghiljeis had given such offence to Persia as to provoke a formidable expedition against them. Gurgín Khán, the prince of Georgia (a convert from Christianity to the Mahometan religion), was sent to Candahár with an army of upwards of 20,000 men,[17] a force his opponents were unable to withstand. But so galling was the yoke of the Persians, that the Ghiljeis, ere long, resolved to run all risks to throw it off. They were headed by Mír Weis, their hereditary chief, a man of talents and enterprise, and well aware of the feeble condition of the Persian empire. Conducting his operations with equal caution and boldness, Mír Weis surprised Candahár, expelled the Persians from the surrounding country, and formed his acquisitions, with the original possessions of his tribe, into an independent state. This achievement took place in 1708, and was followed by repeated attempts of the Persians to recover Candahár, in which they were at one time assisted by the Abdálís. In A.D. 1716 that tribe joined the Ghiljeis against them, and took Herát, and overran the greater part of Persian Khorásán. The two tribes, however, continued their mutual hostilities: the Persians profited by their disunion, and persevered in operations against both until 1720; when the chief of the Ghiljeis formed the bold resolution of carrying the war into Persia, and striking at once at the existence of the government which had oppressed him and his people.

Revolt of the Ghiljeis.

Mír Weis had died in A.D. 1715, and was at first succeeded by his brother; but his son, whose name was Mahmúd, before long seized on the government, and it was by

Conquest of Persia by the Ghiljeis.

[15] The Abdálís agreed, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, to pay tribute to Persia on condition of protection against the Uzbeks.

[16] Now called Durránís.

[17] Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 601.

him that the invasion of Persia was planned. The Persians had before this been defeated in a great battle with the Abdálís, who now threatened Meshhed, and whose progress was assisted by the incursions of the Uzbeks from the Oxus.

The north-western part of Persia, also, had been invaded by the Lézgís, from Mount Caucasus, and the misconduct of the government itself made it weaker than those foreign attacks.

Mahmúd left Candahár with 25,000 men. He first marched to Kirmán, and thence to Yezd, from which place he moved directly on Isfahán.[18]

He was opposed at Gulnábád, in the neighbourhood of that capital, by an army of very superior numbers, admirably equipped, and furnished with twenty-four pieces of cannon.[19] But the spirit of the Persians was declined and their councils divided: the Afgháns obtained a complete victory, and soon after began operations against the town. Isfahán had at this time attained to its highest pitch of magnificence and population.[20] The last advantage became a calamity on the present occasion; for the Afgháns, finding themselves unable to make an impression on the walls, had recourse to intercepting the supplies. It seemed a wild project to blockade so extensive a city with 20,000 men, to which amount the Afgháns were now reduced; yet so well did Mahmúd supply the want of numbers by vigilance and activity, that the inhabitants before long began to suffer all the horrors of famine. The extent of this calamity, and the miseries endured by the besieged, are described by most writers as surpassing the greatest extremities ever known on such occasions.[21] This disproportioned contest continued for no less than six months, a proof of the prostration of the courage of the Persians as well as of their powers of endurance. At length, after all their sallies had been repulsed, and all the attempts of

[18] He had before been, for a time, in possession of Kirmán, while in a temporary alliance with Persia against the Abdálís. (Jones' *Histoire de Nadir Shah*, introduction, sect. 6.)

[19] "The Persian soldiers looked fresh and showy, and all their equipments, from the tents in which they reposed, and the dresses they wore, to the gold and enamelled furniture of the sleek horses on which they rode, were rich and splendid. The Afgháns had hardly a tent to cover them, their horses were lean from fatigue, the men were clothed in tatters, and tanned by the rays of the sun; and, throughout their whole camp, it was emphatically observed, nothing glittered 'but their swords and lances.'" (Malcolm's *Persia*, vol. i. p. 623.)

[20] Hanway, following Chardin, states the inhabitants at 600,000 souls (vol. ii. p. 164); and although the comparisons drawn by travellers between this city and those of India render so great a population incredible, yet it cannot be unreasonable to admit one-third of it, or 200,000 souls.

[21] The poet Mohammed Alí Hazín, however (who was in Isfahán during the siege), contradicts these statements, and doubts if any man actually died of hunger. (Belfour's *Memoirs of Hazín*, p. 122.)

troops from the provinces to force in convoys had failed, the necessity of submission became apparent. The king went forth with all his principal courtiers in deep mourning, surrendered himself to Mahmúd, and with his own hand placed the diadem on the head of the conqueror (October, 1722).

Their tyrannical government.

Mahmúd's government was, at first, exercised with unexpected leniency; but his garrison in Cazvín having been surprised and massacred by the inhabitants of that city, he became alarmed for his own safety, put several of the Persian chiefs to death, and compelled all the armed part of the population to quit the city, on pain of a similar fate. Though the cruelties of the Ghiljeis have been extravagantly exaggerated,[22] it is easy to imagine the insolence and barbarity of a tribe of shepherds, suddenly raised to uncontrolled power over their former oppressors, and rendered deaf to compassion by a consciousness of numerical insignificance which could find no protection but from terror.

Mahmúd had not reigned two years when the agitation and anxiety he was exposed to, together with the effect of religious austerities and penances which he superstitiously imposed on himself, unsettled his reason. He became raving mad, and either died or was put to death, when he was succeeded by his nephew, Ashref (April, 1724).

Their wars with the Turks and Russians.

The new king was a man of talents and vigour. Before he had completed the conquest of Persia, he was assailed at once by the Russians and Turks, who had entered into a confederacy for dismembering the kingdom. The western provinces were to belong to the Porte, and the

[22] An example may be found in the different accounts of the transaction just mentioned. Hanway, who is by no means given to exaggeration, but who sometimes drew his information from popular rumour or from worse authority, asserts that Mahmúd extirpated the whole of the nobility, and hunted down their children, turning them out one by one, like beasts of chase; and that he afterwards ordered the slaughter of every man, civil or military, who had received pay (in however humble a capacity) from the former government, commencing the massacre by the execution of 3,000 of the late king's guards. On the other hand, the author of the *Nadirnameh*, whose statement may almost be considered as official, and who certainly had no wish to extenuate the atrocities of Mahmúd, relates that "he formed a design to massacre the Persians; and, on the same day on which the Afgháns arrived from Cazvín, he caused *one hundred and fourteen persons* to be put to death, confounding the good with the bad, and the small with the great." (From Sir W. Jones' French translation, vol. v. of his Works, p. 12.) The same author relates that soon afterwards his evil genius led him to massacre all the princes of the blood, and that he put them to death to the number of thirty-nine. These statements are not very consistent with the idea of a massacre by thousands; and it may be observed that, during all this time, Shah Hosein was left alive, and, so far from being cruelly treated, he complained of his condition because he was confined to a small palace, and only attended by five male and five female servants. (Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 644.)

northern, as far as the Araxes, to Russia. Ashref turned his attention in the first instance to the Turks: he defeated them in repeated actions, and compelled them to acknowledge his title; but he was not able to expel them from the conquests they had made. The Russians, though led by the Czar Peter in person, were less dangerous, from the strong country through which they had to advance: they had, however, made their way to Resht, on the south of the Caspian Sea, when their career was interrupted, and afterwards abandoned, in consequence of the death of the Czar.

But Ashref's most formidable enemy was now rising nearer home. Tahmásp, the son of Hosein, had fled from Isfahán, and had remained under the protection of the tribe of Kájár, on the shore of the Caspian, with nothing of the royal dignity but the name. The first sign of a change of fortune was his being joined by Nádir Culí, the greatest warrior Persia has ever produced. Rise of Nádir Sháh.

This chief, who had first collected troops as a freebooter, now appeared as the deliverer of his country. He raised the courage of the Persians by his example and his success, called forth their religious zeal, and revived their national pride; until, by degrees, he elevated them from the abject condition into which they had sunk, to as high a pitch of military glory as they had ever before enjoyed.

His first exploits were the capture of Meshhed and the recovery of Khorásán from the Abdálís and Mohammed Khán of Sístán, who had seized on part of that province: he afterwards engaged the Ghiljeis under Ashref, who advanced to the northern frontier to attack him, drove them, in a succession of battles, to the southern limit of the kingdom, and so effectually wore down their army that they at last dispersed, and gave up the possession of their conquest, which they had retained for seven years. Most of their number were killed in the war, or perished in the desert on their return home. Ashref was murdered by a Belóch chief between Kirmán and Candahár (January, 1729). He drives out the Ghiljeis, and recovers Khorassan from the Abdalis.

Nádir next marched against the Turks, whose treaty with Ashref left them in possession of part of the Persian territories. He had already recovered Tabríz, when he received intelligence of a rising of the Abdálís, and was obliged to return to Khorásán.

On his former successful expedition against that tribe, he had followed up his victory by measures of conciliation. By those means, and from their common enmity to the Ghiljeis, he gained

a strong party among the Abdálís, and to its leader he confided the charge of Herát. The other party had now gained the ascendancy, had overrun Khorásán, and laid siege to Meshhed, then held by Nádir's brother Ibráhím, whom they had just before defeated in the field. They had even formed a connexion with the Ghiljeis; but the new allies had no sooner met than their old enmities broke out, and they separated more estranged than ever. This war was more tedious than the former one, the siege of Herát alone occupying ten months; but the Abdálís were this time completely subdued. Nádir again took measures to attach them to him after his victory, and as he not long after embraced the Sunní religion they became the most devoted of his followers.

Renewed invasion of the Abdálís.

Nádir takes Herát, and gains the attachment of the Abdálís.

The length of time occupied in these operations produced a crisis in the affairs of Persia. While the sole function of the government was the employment of the army, the king naturally remained a mere pageant in the hands of the general; but when restored to the capital, and acknowledged throughout the kingdom, he became a person of more importance, and during the absence of Nádir he took upon him the exercise of all the royal prerogatives.

Nádir was not at all disposed to acquiesce in such a transfer of authority, and, as soon as he had settled the affairs of Khorásán, he repaired to Isfahán, and, taking advantage of the odium created by an unfavourable treaty with the Turks, he deposed Tahmásp, and raised his infant son to the nominal sovereignty. This may almost be considered as the avowed commencement of his own reign; but it was not till he had gained many victories over the Turks, recovered the whole of the territory occupied by that nation and the Russians, and made peace with both powers, that he formally assumed the title of King of Persia. Before he was invested with that dignity, he repaired with his army to the plain of Móghán, to which place he summoned the civil and military officers, the governors of districts, the magistrates, and all the other men of distinction in the empire, to the number of 100,000 persons. By the unanimous voice of this assembly he was offered the crown, which, after some affected reluctance, he accepted, on condition that the Shía religion should be abolished, and that of the Sunnís established throughout Persia (1736).[23]

He deposes Tahmásp Shah.

Is himself elected king

[23] *Nádirnámeh.* Jones' *Works*, vol. v. p. 237. Hanway represents Nádir as only stipulating for a toleration of the Sunní religion, and *subsequently* abolishing that of the Shías.

By this change of religion Nádir hoped to eradicate all attachment to the Safavís, whose claims were founded on their being the champions of the Shía sect; but, as the Persians remained at heart as much devoted as ever to the national faith, the real effect of the measure was to produce an alienation between the new king and his subjects, and led to consequences equally calamitous to both. He suppresses the Shía religion.

Though little aware of this result at the time, Nádir felt that a throne established by a succession of victories must be maintained by similar achievements: he therefore determined to gratify the pride of his countrymen by retaliating on their former conquerors, the Ghiljeis, and restoring Candahár to the Persian monarchy.

He made great preparations for this expedition, and set out on it at the head of an army estimated, by some authorities, at 80,000 men.[24] He had, on this occasion, the hearty co-operation of the Abdálís, while the Ghiljeis were dispirited and disunited. But they had not so far lost their martial character as to yield without a struggle; and it was not till after a close blockade of nearly a twelvemonth that Nádir ventured on an assault of Candahár: even then he was more than once repulsed before the city fell into his hands (March, 1738). While the siege was pending, he settled the greater part of the surrounding country; and, at the same time, his son, Rezá Culí Mírzá, who had marched from Meshhed against the Uzbeks, not only conquered the province of Balkh, but gained a victory on the Oxus, over the king of Bokhárá in person. Invades the Ghiljeis. Takes Candahar.

Nádir's conduct towards the Ghiljeis was moderate and politic: he took no vindictive measures in retaliation for the invasion of Persia; he treated the Ghiljeis like his other subjects, and enrolled many of them in his army; but he removed a portion of the tribe from their lands round Candahár, which he made over to the Abdálís, and particularly to that part of them who had been settled about Nishápúr, in the west of Khorásán.[25] His conciliatory policy

[24] Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 68. Hanway (vol. ii. p. 355) says that this army of 80,000 men was closely followed by another of 30,000; but these great numbers do not seem probable to the west of the Indus, where the vast armies common in India are very seldom seen.

[25] Jones' *Náderndmeh*, Works, vol. v. p. 275. The account of the Ghiljei conquest is almost entirely drawn from Hanway and the *Náderndmeh*; that of Nádir Sháh's proceedings chiefly from the latter work. Hanway is himself a man of judgment and veracity, but his facts seem sometimes to rest on the authority of the *Dernière Révolution de la Perse*, a sort of version, we are told, of

His difference with the government of India.

The acquisition of the Ghiljei territory brought Nádir to the frontier of the Mogul empire. The extreme weakness of that monarchy could not escape his observation; and the prospect of repairing the exhausted resources of Persia from so rich a mine was scarcely a greater temptation than the means of employing the warlike tribes now subject to his authority, and combining their rival energies in an undertaking so acceptable to them all.

While engaged in the siege of Candahár, he had applied to the court of Delhi for the seizure or expulsion of some Afgháns who had fled into the country near Ghazní. The Indian government was probably unable to comply with this demand, and they seem also to have had some hesitation in acknowledging Nádir Sháh's title: for these reasons they allowed a long period to elapse without returning an answer. Nádir Sháh remonstrated in strong terms against this neglect of his application, and without further delay advanced on Ghazní and Cábul. Another messenger, whom he now despatched to Delhi, having been cut off by the Afgháns in the mountains, Nádir thought himself fully justified in an invasion of India. Cábul had fallen into his hands with little difficulty; but he remained in that neighbourhood for some months, for the purpose of settling the country, and did not commence his march to the eastward till near the approach of winter. The court of Delhi had been too much absorbed in the dread of the Marattas and its own internal factions to pay much attention to the proceedings of Nádir. As long as he was engaged in a contest within the old territory of Persia, they looked on with total indifference; and even when he had invaded their own territory and taken Cábul, they still expected that the mountain tribes between that city and Pésháwar would check his further advance. But the money which, in regular times, was paid for the purpose of keeping up an influence with those tribes, had for some years been withheld; and they had no inclination, if they had possessed the power, of interfering in favour of the

A.D. 1738, May; A.H. 1151, Safar.

A.D. 1738, October; A.H. 1151, Shabán.

Supineness of the court of Delhi.

the notes of Father Krusinski, a Polish Jesuit, which, though founded on good information, is too fanciful and highly coloured to be at all depended upon. It bears a considerable semblance, in these respects, to Catrou, formerly mentioned (in the reign of Sháh Jehán). Krusinski's own work has since been published in Germany, but I have never seen it. The *Nádirnámeh* is a Persian history, by Mírzá Mehdí, who is stated by Sir J. Malcolm to have been confidential secretary of Nádir Sháh. Though a minister and a panegyrist, he is a much more faithful historian than Abúl Faal; and his style, in Sir W. Jones' French translation at least, is much clearer and more compact.

Moguls. It was therefore with dismay proportioned to their former supineness that the Moguls learned that Nádir had passed the mountains, had defeated a small force under one of their governors, had thrown a bridge of boats over the Indus, and was advancing into the Panjáb.

Nádir invades India. A.D. 1738, November; A.H. 1151, Ramazán.

Notwithstanding a faint show of opposition, attempted by the governor of Láhór, Nádir met with no real obstruction till he approached the Jumna, within one hundred miles of Delhi, when he found himself in the neighbourhood of the Indian army.

Mohammed Sháh had at length exerted himself to collect his force: he had been joined by A'saf Jáh, and had moved to Carnál, where he occupied a fortified camp. Sádat Khán, the vicéroy of Oudh, arrived in the neighbourhood of this camp about the same time with Nádir Sháh; and an attempt to intercept him by the Persians brought on a partial action, which ended in a general engagement. The Indians would in no circumstances have been a match for the hardy and experienced soldiers opposed to them; and they were now brought up in confusion and without concert, A'saf Jáh having, from some real or pretended misconception, taken no part in the action.[26]

Defeats Mohammed Sháh.

The result was the rout of the Indian army; Kháni Dourán, the commander-in-chief, was killed, and Sádat Khán taken prisoner; and Mohammed had no resource but to send A'saf Jáh to offer his submission, and repair himself, with a few attendants, to the Persian camp. Nádir Sháh received him with great courtesy, and allowed him to return on the same day to his own encampment. He did not, on that account desist from pressing his advantages; for he soon after obliged Mohammed to join his army, and in this manner the two kings marched on towards Delhi. Different accounts are given of the negotiations carried on during the interval, which were embarrassed by the rivalry of A'saf Jáh and Sádat Khán; but such intrigues could have no result of consequence, for Nádir had the power completely in his own hands, and required no prompter to tell him how to exercise it.

A.D. 1739, Feb. 13; A.H. 1151, Zí Caada 15.

Advances to Delhi. A.D. 1739, March;

The army reached Delhi in the beginning of March, when both kings took up their residence in the royal

[26] The journal translated by Fraser (*Life of Nádir*, p. 154) makes Nádir's whole army, with the followers, who were all armed, amount to 160,000; but an enumeration, by a news-writer in his camp, states his whole force, *when at Pésháwar*, at 64,500 fighting men and 4,000 followers. (*Ibid.* pp. 140, 141.)

palace. Nádir distributed a portion of his troops throughout the town; he ordered strict discipline to be observed, and placed safeguards in different places for the protection of the inhabitants.

A.H. 1151, Zí Hajj.

Insurrection of the inhabitants.

These precautions did not succeed in conciliating the Indians, who looked on the ferocity of these strangers with terror, and on their intrusion with disgust.[27] On the second day after the occupation of the city a report was spread that Nádir Sháh was dead, on which the hatred of the Indians broke forth without restraint. They fell on all the Persians within their reach; and, from the manner in which those troops were scattered throughout the city, a considerable number fell sacrifices to the popular fury. The Indian nobles made no effort to protect the Persians; some even gave those up to be murdered who had been furnished for the protection of their palaces.[28]

Nádir Sháh at first applied his whole attention to suppressing the tumult, and though provoked to find that it continued during the whole night, and seemed rather to increase than diminish, he mounted his horse at daybreak, in the hope that his presence would restore quiet. The first objects that met his eyes in the streets were the dead bodies of his countrymen; and he was soon assailed with stones, arrows, and firearms from the houses. At last one of his chiefs was killed at his side, by a shot aimed at himself; when he gave way to his passion, and ordered a general massacre of the Indians.[29] The slaughter raged from sunrise till the day was far advanced, and was attended with all the horrors that could be inspired by rapine, lust, and thirst of vengeance. The city was set on fire in several places, and was soon involved in one scene of destruction, blood, and terror.

General massacre by the Persians.

At length Nádir, satiated with carnage, allowed himself to be prevailed on by the intercession of the emperor or his prime minister, and gave an order to stop the massacre; and, to the infinite credit of his discipline, it was immediately obeyed.[30]

[27] Fraser.

[28] Hazin states the number cut off at 700 (p. 281 of Mr. Belfour's edition of the original; in the translation, p. 299, it is 7,000, but doubtless from an error of the press). Scott (vol. ii. p. 207) makes it 1000.

[29] Fraser, p. 183.

[30] The authentic accounts differ about the suspension of the massacre. It is said that Nádir, during the whole period, sat in gloomy silence in the little mosque of Rokn ud doula, in the Great Bázár, where Mohammed Sháh and his nobles at length took courage to present themselves. They stood before him with downcast eyes, until Nádir commanded them to speak; when Mohammed burst into tears, and entreated Nádir to spare his subjects. I wish there was better authority than Dow for this not improbable anecdote. The best account of the massacre is that of Hazin, who was an eye-witness, and whose narrative is copied, almost verbatim, by

But the sufferings of the people of Delhi did not cease with this tragedy. Nádir's sole object in invading India was to enrich himself by its plunder, and he began to discuss the contributions from the moment of his victory. His first adviser was Sádat Khán: that nobleman died soon after reaching Delhi, when the work of exaction was committed to Sirbuland Khán and a Persian named Tahmásp Khán; and their proceedings, which were sufficiently rigorous of themselves, were urged on by the violence and impatience of Nádir. Nádir's extortions.

They first took possession of the imperial treasures and jewels, including the celebrated peacock throne. They afterwards seized on the whole effects of some great nobles, and compelled the rest to sacrifice the largest part of their property as a ransom for the remainder. They then fell on the inferior officers and on the common inhabitants: guards were stationed to prevent people leaving the city, and every man was constrained to disclose the amount of his fortune, and to pay accordingly. Every species of cruelty was employed to extort these contributions. Even men of consequence were beaten to draw forth confessions. Great numbers of the inhabitants died of the usage they received, and many destroyed themselves to avoid the disgrace and torture. "Sleep and rest forsook the city. In every chamber and house was heard the cry of affliction. It was before a general massacre, but now the murder of individuals."[81] His rapacity and violence.

Contributions were also levied on the governors of provinces; until Nádir was at length convinced that he had exhausted all the sources from which wealth was to be obtained, and prepared himself to return to his own dominions. He made a treaty with Mohammed Sháh, by which all the country west of the Indus was ceded to him. He married his son to a princess of the house of Tímúr, and at last he seated Mohammed on the throne, invested He prepares to return. The country west of the Indus ceded to him. Mohammed Shah restored.

the author of the *Seir ul Mutakherin*; and the journal of a native Indian who was secretary to Sirbuland, given by Fraser in his *History of Nádir Shah*. The succeeding transactions (in some of which the writer must have been an actor) are minutely recorded in the same journal. Hasin informs us the massacre lasted for half the day, and that the numbers slain were beyond calculation. Fraser makes the amount from 120,000 to 150,000; but the author of the *Nádiratnah* seems nearest the truth, and probably below it, in stating that the slaughter continued for almost the whole day, and that about 30,000 persons were put to the sword during the course of it. Scott (vol. ii. p. 207) restricts the number to 8,000, but he does not give his authority; and it is incredible that so small a result should be produced by many hours of unresisted butchery by a detachment of 20,000 men, which was the body employed on it.

[81] The words between inverted commas are drawn from Scott (vol. ii. p. 210); but the substance is the same in all the narratives.

him with his own hand with the ornaments of the diadem, and enjoined all the Indian nobles to obey him implicitly, on pain of his future indignation and vengeance.

Amount of the treasures carried off by Nádir Sháh.

At length he marched from Delhi, after a residence of fifty-eight days, carrying with him a treasure in money, amounting, by the lowest computation, to eight or nine millions sterling, besides several millions in gold and silver plate, valuable furniture, and rich stuffs of every description; and this does not include the jewels, which were inestimable. He also carried off many elephants, horses, and camels, and led away the most skilful workmen and artisans, to the number of some hundreds.[32]

CHAPTER III.

TO THE DEATH OF MOHAMMED SHÁH.

Deplorable condition of the capital,

For some time after Nádir Sháh's departure, the inhabitants of Delhi remained in a sort of stupor. They had not yet recovered the terror of the past, and the destruction of their fortunes: many of their houses were in ruins; much of the city was entirely deserted, and the whole infected by the stench of the bodies which still lay unburied in the streets. It was not till long after Nádir was gone, that the court awoke as if from a lethargy.[1] The view of the empire which presented

and of the empire.

itself was as full of ruin and desolation as the capital. The army was destroyed, the treasury emptied, the finances all but annihilated; the Marattas still threatened on the

[32] The various sums of *money* enumerated by Scott amount to between 8,000,000*l.* and 9,000,000*l.* The *Nadirnámeh* says fifteen crores of rupees; Fraser, thirty crores of rupees; and Hanway, thirty crores, which he estimates at 37,500,000*l.*; and all these sums are the *money* alone. The imperial treasures must have been greatly encroached on since the reign of Sháh Jehán: the peacock throne, which Tavernier estimated at 6,000,000*l.*, is only valued, in the *Nádirnámeh*, at 2,000,000*l.*, and in Scott only at 1,000,000*l.* Many stories which were current at the time, about the causes of this invasion, are preserved in Dow's *Hindostan*. According to those narratives, Nádir was invited to India by A'saf Jáh and Sádat Khán, and the loss of the battle of Carnál was concerted between those chiefs. Nádir Sháh rewarded their treachery by spitting on their beards, and ordering them to be driven from his court. The two nobles, thus disgraced, agreed to end their shame by a voluntary death: but as they were rivals, and each suspected the sincerity of the other, they sent spies to discover whether the resolution was carried into effect. A'saf Jáh, the more crafty of the two, took an innocent draught, and soon after pretended to fall down dead; on which Sádat, deceived by the artifice, swallowed real poison, and forthwith expired. These fictions, like many others which are believed in times of agitation, disappear when full light is thrown on the period.

[1] Fraser. [Cf. *supra*, pp. 416, 417.—Ed.]

south, and the only provinces which had not been laid waste by their ravages had now been destroyed by Nádir's army.

To these unavoidable evils the court added internal dissension. The prevailing faction was formed of a few great families, who, from their Túrk descent, were called the Túráni nobles: the heads were the vazír Kamar ud dín Khán and A'saf Jáh, and they were connected by intermarriages as well as by party. To them were opposed all those desirous of supplanting them, or jealous of their ascendancy, among which number the emperor himself was thought to be included. Internal dissensions.

This divided government would have fallen an easy prey to the Marattas, had not circumstances procured it a respite from the encroachments of those invaders. If the power of Nádir Sháh had been underrated by the Moguls, it was probably quite unknown to Bájí Ráo: and he seems to have been struck with amazement at the appearance of this terrible antagonist, in a field which he expected to have traversed unopposed. His first thought was to suspend all his plans of aggrandizement, and form a general league for the defence of India. "Our domestic quarrels (he writes) are now insignificant; there is but one enemy in Hindostan." . . . "Hindús and Mussulmans, the whole power of the Deckan, must assemble."[2] When he was relieved from the fear of Nádir Sháh, he returned to his old designs. He had a ground of quarrel with the Moguls, as the agreement made by A'saf Jáh had not been formally ratified by the emperor, and the obvious course for him was to have enforced his claim at Delhi: but he was led to choose the Deckan for the theatre of the war, that he might be at hand to watch the proceedings of the Bosla of Berár and the Geikwár of Guzerát, who were plotting to overthrow his power under pretence of emancipating the rája. He disposed of the Bosla by engaging him in a remote expedition into the Carnatic, and then attacked Násir Jang, the second son of A'saf Jáh, who had been left in charge of his father's government, and was encamped with 10,000 men at Burhánpúr. Bájí Ráo at first surrounded him, and probably expected the same success as he had lately met with against A'saf Jáh himself; but the young viceroy showed a vigour unusual to the Moguls of that day; and, being joined by a reinforcement, he attacked the Marattas, broke through their army, and had advanced to Ahmednagar, on his way to Púna, when Bájí Ráo thought it prudent to come to an accommo- Proceedings of the Marattas. Bájí Ráo resumes offensive operations. A.D. 1740, A.H. 1153. Attacks A'saf Jah's possessions. Is repulsed by A'saf Jah's son Násir Jang.

[2] Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 547.

dation with him. The péshwá seems now to have been reduced to perplexity by the variety of embarrassments which he had brought on himself;[3] and was returning to Hindostan (for what purpose is not known), when his plans were arrested by his death, which took place on the Nerbadda.

Perplexed affairs of Báji Ráo.

His death. A.D. 1740, April 28; A.H. 1153, Safar.

He left three sons: Bálají Ráo, who succeeded him as péshwá; Rágonát Ráo, or Ragoba, who was at one time much connected with the English, and was the father of the last péshwá; and Shamshír Bahádur, to whom (though an illegitimate son by a Mahometan woman, and brought up in his mother's religion) he left all his possessions and pretensions in Bundélcand.

His sons.

During the last years of Báji Ráo's administration he had been engaged in wars in the Concan. They were chiefly conducted by his brother, Chimnají; and, from the position of his enemies in forts and islands, protected on one side by the sea, and on the other by hills and jungles, required extraordinary exertions, and were attended with imperfect success.

Wars in the Concan before Báji Ráo's death.

These enemies were A'ngria of Colába, the Abyssinians of Jinjera, and the Portuguese. A'ngria, after his acknowledgment of Sáho Rája, remained in nominal dependence on the Maratta state, but employed his own resources with little or no control. His piracies (which he called "levying *chout* on the sea") rendered him formidable to all his neighbours. The English made repeated attacks on him, with considerable naval forces, and on one occasion with the co-operation of the Portuguese (A.D. 1719), yet failed in all their attempts. The Dutch also sent a strong force against him at a later period, (A.D. 1124), with equal ill-success. The péshwá interposed in a dispute between two brothers of the family, and received from one of the competitors two forts which they possessed in the Ghâts (about A.D. 1734). The contest, however, continued; and the péshwá, though latterly assisted by an English fleet, was unable to bring it to a conclusion till the time of Báji Ráo's death.[4]

With A'ngria.

The war with the Abyssinians was still less successful. Those Mussulmans were as powerful at sea as A'ngria. They were, besides, in the practice of ravaging the Maratta

With the Abyssinians of Jinjera.

[3] He writes thus to his spiritual guide: "*I am involved in difficulty, in debt,* and in disappointments, and like a man ready to swallow poison: near the rája are my enemies, and should I go at this time to Sattára, they will put their feet on my breast. I should be thankful if I could meet death." (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 559.)

[4] Grant Duff. [The two strongest forts of the A'ngrias, Severndrug and Vizidrug, were taken by the combined English and Mahratta force in 1755 and 1756.—Ed.]

territories on the mainland, and had even seized on some of their forts. The utmost result of the péshwá's efforts was to procure forbearance from those aggressions (A.D. 1736).[5]

The war with the Portuguese originated in the contest between the A'ngrias (A.D. 1737). It ended in the loss of the Portuguese possessions in Salsette, Bassein, and the neighbouring parts of the Concan (A.D. 1739). The difficulties encountered by the Marattas in this conquest may be estimated from their loss at the siege of Bassein, which they themselves admit to have amounted to 5,000 killed and wounded.[6] With the Portuguese.

The storms which were gathering round Bájí Ráo at his death might have been expected to overwhelm his successor; but Bálají, however inferior to his father in other respects, was at least his equal in address; and the skill with which he availed himself of some favourable circumstances effected his deliverance from the difficulties with which he was surrounded. Bálají Ráo.

The dangers felt by Bájí Ráo, besides his ill-success against Násir Jang, were caused by his financial embarrassments and his domestic enemies. The chief of his enemies were the pírti nidhi, Raghují Bosla, and Damají Geikwár. The first was the old rival of his family,[7] and, though much depressed, was still formidable. Parsojí, the founder of the Boslas, afterwards rájas of Berár, was a private horseman from the neighbourhood of Sattára: though he bore the same name with the house of Sivají, there is no proof that he was of the same descent. He, however, rose to distinction; and, being one of the first to join Rája Sáho when he returned from Delhi, was farther advanced by that prince, and invested with a right to collect all the Maratta dues in Berár and the forest country farther to the east. Raghují, his cousin, who was a favourite of Sáho, and married to his sister-in-law, was raised to his station on his death, in preference to his son, who ought to have succeeded him. Raghují had given offence to the péshwá by levying contributions to the north of the Nerbadda, in the tract which had been appropriated to the latter chief: he was likewise an object of jealousy, from the apprehension that he might prevail on Sáho to keep up the name of Bosla by adopting him. The Geikwár had been the guardian, and was now the representative, of Dábári, the chief of Guzerát, another of the péshwá's rivals, whose own ignorance and debauchery incapacitated him for business. Domestic enemies of Bájí Ráo. The pírti nidhi. Raghují Bosla. Damají Geikwar.

[5] Grant Duff. [6] Ibid. [7] See p. 700.

The last of Bájí Ráo's difficulties arose from the enormous debts incurred in his military expeditions, which, from the exhausted state of the country and some changes in the mode of war, no longer paid their own expenses.

His principal creditor, Bárámatiker, was himself a man of some consequence, and of immense wealth: his unsatisfied demand had led to quarrels with Bájí Ráo, and Raghují secured his co-operation by promising to support his claims, and even to procure for him an indemnity, in the succession to the high office lately held by his debtor.

Their intrigues to prevent Bálají succeeding to the office of péshwá.

Raghují, as has been mentioned, was on an expedition to the Carnatic, and was besieging Trichinopoly, when he heard of the péshwá's death; and, although he instantly hastened to Sattára to oppose Bálají's succession, he was obliged to leave the greater part of his army behind him; his views, also, were as inconsistent with those of the pírti nidhi as with the péshwá's, and he had therefore no concert with that minister. Damají Geikwár was not ready to take the field; and Násir Jang, who soon after rebelled against his father, was too much occupied to profit by the Maratta dissensions. On the other hand, Bálají was already near the capital: he had been joined by a portion of his father's troops, under his uncle, Chimnají, and the rest were disposable and at hand: the rája was surrounded by his creatures, and, above all, he was the head of the Bramin party; and as all the business, even of his enemies, was in the hands of that class, he had a prodigious advantage in every contest. He was accordingly appointed péshwá in spite of all opposition, and Raghují returned to his army at Trichinopoly, whither Bárámatiker, in this change of circumstances, was glad to accompany him. Bálají, however, did not fail to apply himself to the liquidation of his debts, a task for which he was much better fitted than his father.

A D 1740, August.

Success of Bálají

After more than a year spent on internal arrangements, Bálají turned his attention to his claims on Hindostan, which had been encroached on by Raghují Bosla. For this purpose he procured from the rája a distinct assignment of all the Maratta rights and all tribute that might be collected to the north of the Nerbadda, excepting in the province of Guzerát. To give reality to this grant, Bálají marched towards the point from which he could most easily check the interference of Raghují: he crossed the Nerbadda, took Garra and Mandala, and was about to move on Allahábád, when he was recalled by an

Bálají marches into Malwa.

invasion of Málwa by Damají Geikwár from Guzerát. Damají, who perhaps had no object but to make a diversion in favour of Raghují, retired on his approach; and Bálají took advantage of his position in Málwa to press the court of Delhi for a confirmation of the grant of that province, extorted by Bájí Ráo from A'saf Jáh, which had remained in suspense during the Persian invasion. His views on this subject were facilitated by those very encroachments of Raghují which it had been so much his desire to check.

Revives his father's demands on the court of Delhi.

This chief had, on his return from the Carnatic, sent a force into Bengal, under his Bramin minister, Bhásker Pandit, which had ravaged the province, threatening the viceroy himself when his troops were dispersed, and retiring into the southern and western hills when he was in force. Alí Verdí Khán,[8] then viceroy, maintained a good resistance to Bhásker Pandit; but he was alarmed at the advance of Raghují in person, and besought the emperor to afford him immediate assistance, if he did not wish to lose the province. The emperor, conscious of his own weakness, ordered Safdar Jang (who had succeeded his father, Sádat Khán, as viceroy of Oudh) to undertake the task; at the same time he took the more effectual measure of calling in the aid of Bálají Ráo, and purchased it by a confirmation of the grant of Málwa.[9] Nothing could be more agreeable to Bálají Ráo than this invitation. He immediately marched by Allahábád and Behár, and reached Murshidábád, the capital of the province, in time to protect it from Raghují, who was approaching from the south-west. He here received from Alí Verdí the payment of an assignment granted to him by the court of Delhi on the arrears of the revenue of Bengal; and, being now zealous in the cause which he was so well paid for espousing, he marched against the invader. Raghují retired before him, but was overtaken, and suffered a rout, and the loss of his baggage, before he was completely driven out of the province. After this success Bálají returned to Málwa, whence, after some time, he set out for Sattára.

Invasion of Bengal by Raghují Bosla.

The emperor purchases the aid of Bálají by the formal cession of Malwa.

Bálají defeats and drives out Raghují.

A.D. 1743, A.H. 1156.

His presence was at no time more required; for Raghují, on

[8] Called also Mohábat Jang.

[9] Captain Grant Duff states that the grant was not confirmed until after the expulsion of Raghují, in A.D. 1743, and it may not have been formally delivered over till then; but his own abstract of the grant (vol. ii. p. 15) bears the date of Jamáda'l Awwal, in the twenty-fourth year of Mohammed Sháh's reign, which would be about May 1742. Bálají, on his part, was to furnish 4,000 horse at his own cost, and 8,000 more to be paid by the emperor.

his return from Bengal, determined to profit by Bálají's absence, and was on full march for the capital. Damají Geikwár was also approaching from Guzerát, and the agent of the pírti nidhi (who was himself disabled by sickness) was in active preparation to assist him. Bálají must have formed a high estimate of the power of this combination, since he thought the dissolution of it worth the sacrifice of those exclusive rights beyond the Nerbadda for which he had so successfully contended. He conceded to Raghují the right of levying tribute in all Bengal and Behár, if not also in Allahábád and Oudh.* By this adjustment the other confederates were left without support; but it suited the péshwá's projects to temporise with them, and the storm which threatened so much disturbance was thus quietly dispelled. The concession to Raghují seems to have been dictated by sound policy: his views were henceforth turned towards the east, and his designs on the succession to the rája appear to have been laid aside. Bengal, indeed, soon afforded him sufficient employment.

Fresh combinations against the péshwá.

He buys over Raghují by liberal cessions.

A.D. 1744, A.H. 1157.

Bhásker Pandit was again sent into that province; his operations in the field were successful; but he suffered himself to be inveigled into an interview with Alí Verdí, by whom he was treacherously murdered, and at the same moment his army was attacked and dispersed. Bengal was thus, for a time, delivered from the Marattas. But Alí Verdí's chief support in his wars had been a body of Afgháns, under a celebrated leader named Mustafá Khán; and with them he now quarrelled. A serious revolt ensued, of which Raghují took advantage; and, although the revolt was at last subdued, and many other vicissitudes befell the contending parties, yet Raghují was so far successful in the end, that in A.D. 1751, not long before the death of Alí Verdí, he obtained a cession of Cattac (the southern division of Orissa), and an engagement for the payment of twelve lacs of rupees (120,000*l.*) as the chout or tribute of Bengal.

Raghují again invades Bengal.

His general murdered by the viceroy.

A.D 1745, A.H.1158.

He ultimately obtains the chout of Bengal and a cession of Cattac.

During all this time the Marattas had been entirely free from disturbances on the side of the Moguls in the Deckan. A'saf Jáh had been recalled from Delhi, in A.D. 1741, by a revolt of his second son, Násir Jang; and when it was suppressed, he was involved in disturbances in the subordinate government of Arcot,*

Affairs of Asaf Jah.

Revolt of Nasir Jang

A'saf Jah returns to the Deckan.

* [See Mill's *Hist.* vol. iii. ch. 2.—Ed.]

which occupied him till he died, at the age of seventy-seven. His death. A.D. 1748, June; A.H. 1161, Jamádia's Sani.

His death led to contentions among his sons, which, being unconnected with events in the other parts of India, and chiefly influenced by the French and English, will be best understood when we come to relate the proceedings of those nations.[10]

The death of A'saf Jáh was followed, before the end of the succeeding year, by that of Sáho Rája; and the latter event produced the crisis for which the péshwá had all along been preparing, and which was to decide the future fortunes of himself and his descendants. Death of Sáho Rája. A.D. 1749, (about Dec.)

As Sáho was without issue, it was necessary by the Hindú custom that he should *adopt* a successor; and the same custom restricted the choice to his kindred. The nearest kinsman, in this case, was the rája of Cólápúr; and his claim, in itself so difficult to set aside, was supported by a close alliance with Sáwatrí Bái, the wife of Sáho, and the rival and enemy of the péshwá. Intrigues and contests for the succession.

Though the government was entirely in the hands of Bálají, the personal conduct of the rája was almost as much under the control of his wife, the imbecility into which he had of late years fallen rendering him incompetent to judge for himself. There was, therefore, a continual danger of her prevailing on Sáho to adopt the rája of Cólápúr; and it was impossible for Bálají to anticipate her, as he was unprovided with a claimant, and could not yet venture to seize on the government in his own name. In this perplexity he had recourse to a stratagem well worthy of the subtlety of his class. Boldness and address of Bálají. Tárá Bái, the widow of Rája Rám, who had so long maintained the claims of her son, Sivají II., in opposition to Sáho, was still alive at an advanced age; and although her enmity to the péshwá was not abated, she was tempted, by the prospect of recovering her influence, to enter into the designs of that minister. In furtherance of their project, a secret intimation was conveyed to Sáho, that a posthumous son of Sivají II. had been concealed by Tárá Bái, and was still alive. Sáho made known his supposed discovery to the péshwá, and it was determined to question Tárá Bái. It may be imagined that she readily admitted the fact; but the whole story was treated with ridicule by the other party, and Sáwatrí Bái redoubled her vigilance to prevent the

[10] [See Mill's *History*, vol. iii.—ED.]

rája from acting on the delusion produced by it. She was safe from an adoption, which could not take place without a certain degree of publicity; but she was circumvented by a stroke of audacity for which she could not have been prepared: it was no less than an assertion that the rája had signed an instrument, transferring all the powers of his government to the péshwá, on condition of his maintaining the royal title and dignity in the house of Sivají through the grandson of Tárá Bái. It is said that this important deed was executed at a secret interview between Bálají and the rája: but whether the signature (if genuine) was obtained by persuasion or fraud, *when* the deed was produced, and how far its authenticity was admitted at the time, are left in an obscurity which is rendered more mysterious by the conduct of Bálají and Tárá Bái in circumstances which will appear in the sequel.[11]

Alleged abdication of Sáho in favour of Bálají.

At the moment of the death of Sáho, the péshwá called in a fresh force to Sattára, and seized on the head of the opposite party. He then proclaimed the grandson of Tárá Bái by the title of Rám Rája, and took measures to promote the influence of that princess, with the intention of turning it to his own use. After these preparations, he summoned the great chiefs to court, that the new arrangements might be confirmed by their recognition. Damají Geikwár did not attend, but Raghují Bosla appeared as an ally, and, after some affected inquiries, acknowledged the succession of Rám Rája. The former concessions to him were confirmed, and he received, in addition, a portion of the lands of the pírti nidhi, which were now confiscated. Various other chiefs received advantages calculated to bind them to the new government; and, among others, Sindia and Hólcar received assignments of the whole revenue of Málwa, except a small portion granted to other chiefs.[12]

Bálají takes possession of the government.

A.D. 1750.

The establishment of the péshwá's authority was not effected without some attempts at insurrection, and was endangered by a temporary quarrel between him and his cousin, Sedásheo Bháo; but it was at length so fully completed as to leave Bálají at liberty to engage in the affairs of foreign states. He then undertook the cause of Ghází ud dín

Marches against Salabat Jang, the son of Asaf Jah.

[11] I possess no facts relating to this revolution but what are given by Grant Duff; but I have been led to conclusions somewhat different from that author, both with regard to the reality of Rám Rája's descent, and the *bonâ fide* consent of Sáho to the transfer of the sovereignty.

[12] Of 1,500,000*l.*, which formed the whole revenue, 750,000*l.* was allotted to Hólcar, 650,000*l.* to Sindia, and 100,000*l.* to Púar and other chiefs. (Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 40.)

Khán, the eldest son of A'saf Jáh, against Salábat Jang, his third son, who was in possession of the family inheritance, after the death of two other competitors, cut off during a civil war. He had before transferred his residence to Púna, and he now left Rám Rája at Sattára in perfect freedom, but under the control of Tárá Bái. He then marched into Nizám's territory, and was already in the neighbourhood of Salábat's army, when he received intelligence which obliged him to relinquish his undertaking, and to return by forced marches to his own country. He had no sooner set out on his campaign than Tárá Bái, whose ambition and violence were not tamed by age, secretly invited Damají Geikwár to march with his army to Sattára: at the same time she proposed to Rám Rája to assert his sovereignty; and, finding the rája averse to her design, she took advantage of the approach of Damají to seize his person, and confine him to a dungeon. She had it still in her power to have made use of her prisoner's name: instead of that she proclaimed him an impostor, and carried on the government without any ostensible authority but her own.

He is recalled by the insurrection of Tárá Bái and Damají Geikwár.

Notwithstanding the rapidity of the péshwá's return, his officers had already more than once encountered the Geikwár; and the advantage, after some alternations of success, was on their side, when Bálají arrived. But that wily Bramin trusted to other arms than the sword; he procured a meeting with Damají, at which he treacherously made him prisoner; attacked his army, thus deprived of their leader, and, in the end, completely broke up and dispersed his force. Tárá Bái, though stripped of military force, and founding no title on the rája's pretensions, had still some inexplicable influence which prevented the péshwá from crushing her. She derived aid at the present moment from the advance of Salábat Jang, who invaded the Maratta dominions in his turn, and was more formidable than any of his predecessors since Aurangzíb; being accompanied by a French subsidiary force of 500 Europeans and 5,000 sepoys, under M. Bussy, the most distinguished of the officers of his nation that ever appeared in India. Though Bálají opposed the invasion with all the resources of Maratta war, he soon learned their inefficiency against his new adversary, who repulsed his assaults, beat up his camps, and, before long, established a general impression of his own superiority. By these means the army advanced to within twenty miles of Púna. Bálají probably felt little uneasiness about his infant capital,

Bálají seizes Damají by treachery.

Salábat Jang advances on Púna.

Superiority of the invaders—M. Bussy.

A.D. 1751, Nov.

but was alarmed by the discovery that the invaders were in communication with Tárá Bái and the rája of Cólápúr, and made overtures for peace; which were in the course of negotiation, when he was unexpectedly relieved from the presence of his enemies. However superior to all parties in the field, Bussy was dependent on the civil arrangements of the prince with whom he served; and the mismanagement of Salábat and his ministers had embarrassed his finances, thrown his troops into arrears, and brought on such discontents that the army became nearly ungovernable: at the same time Raghují Bosla, (who had just obtained the cession of Cattac and the tribute of Bengal formerly mentioned) broke into the Nizám's part of Berár, took the forts of Gáweilghar and Nárnála, and threatened further hostilities. Salábat was therefore well satisfied to make up an armistice, and move back to his own dominions; where new troubles, in which the Marattas were again actors, awaited him at no distant one.

Bálají is saved by a mutiny of Salábat's army.

A.D. 1752.

An armistice concluded.

The division of India into several states, and the necessity of pursuing their separate histories, make it difficult, at this stage, to preserve the order of time, and have carried us on in the Maratta transactions for several years beyond the date to which those of Delhi have been brought down. These last, however, were for a long time of little importance. On the departure of A'saf Jáh for the Deckan (A.D. 1741), his place at court was taken by his son, Ghází ud dín, whose political connexion with the vazír, Kamar ud dín Khán, was strengthened by his being married to the daughter of that minister. Their union enabled them to resist many intrigues and combinations, which were stained with treachery and assassinations, on both sides, beyond the worst epoch of former history.

Transactions at Delhi resumed.

The only event of importance within that period was the rise of the Rohillas, an Afghán colony, which acquired possession of the country east of the Ganges from Oudh to the mountains, and made a considerable figure in later times. Their chief was Alí Mohammed, a Hindú convert, adopted by an Afghán officer; and they were themselves mostly composed of Yúsufzeis and other tribes of the north-east. Though no long period had elapsed since their appearance as a state, they had already attained to considerable importance; and it required an expedition headed by the emperor to bring them into temporary submission.

Rise of the Rohillas.

The emperor marches against them.

A.D. 1745, A.H. 1158.

But a far more formidable combination of the same

people was forming within their native limits; and fresh invasions were prepared for India, by the death of her most dreaded enemy.

Fresh invasions from the side of Persia.

Though Nádir Sháh had not attained to sovereignty without incurring all the varieties of guilt by which that prize must be purchased in the East, and although he had more than once given instances of barbarous severity in his treatment of some offending towns, yet on the whole, up to the taking of Delhi, he was, perhaps, less sanguinary than the generality of Asiatic monarchs, especially those of Persia. But the scenes of spoil and slaughter to which he was habituated, together with the intoxication of uninterrupted success, appear to have commenced an alteration in his character, which gradually changed him from a rigorous but not unjust master, into a cruel and capricious tyrant. These qualities did not at once disclose themselves to their full extent. The first years after his return from India were occupied in the conquest of the kingdoms of Bokhárá and Khárizm (which he subdued and evacuated as he had done India), in an attempt to reduce the hill-tribe of Lézgí, and in three campaigns against the Turks: but when this war was terminated by a treaty, and the mind of Nádir remained without a vent for its natural energy, it turned its powers against itself, and became the abode of dark suspicions and ungoverned passions. His chief uneasiness arose from the religious prejudices of his countrymen. Though he had endeavoured to render the Sunní religion more acceptable, and to give it something of a national character, by placing its establishment under the special protection of the Imám Jáfir, who was a descendant of Alí, and a favourite saint in Persia, yet he was aware that the people were still zealous Shías, and that the feelings of the sect were turned against him by the priests, whose lands and stipends he had confiscated immediately after his accession. He therefore looked on every Persian as his enemy, but was especially jealous of his eldest son, Rezá Culí, who, he thought, was the fittest instrument for the purposes of the disaffected. He had been wounded in a forest, on one of his campaigns, by a shot from a secret hand; and although there was no reason to think that the assassin was not one of the enemy, yet he could not divest himself of the belief that he was an emissary of the prince. The working of these feelings at last led him to put out the eyes of Rezá Culí; and his remorse, instead of softening his heart, exasperated his fury. He now taunted all who entreated

Revolutions in that country. Tyranny of Nadir Sháh.

His fears of the Shías.

He puts out the eyes of his son.

him for mercy with their failure to intercede when his own son was in danger. His conduct became that of an open enemy of his species. His cruelties were equalled by his extortions, and both were accompanied by threats and expressions of hatred against his subjects. These oppressions led to revolts, which drew on fresh enormities: whole cities were depopulated, and towers of heads raised to commemorate their ruin: eyes were torn out, tortures inflicted, and no man could count for a moment on his exemption from death in torments. During the two last years of his life his rage was increased by bodily sickness, until it partook of frenzy, and until his subjects were compelled to lay plots for ridding themselves of a tyrant whose existence was incompatible with their own. In his distrust of his countrymen, he had entertained a body of Uzbek mercenaries, and he had thrown himself, without reserve, on the Afgháns, taking a pleasure in mortifying his old soldiers by a marked preference of their former enemies and his own. He now began to harbour a design for employing these new allies in hostility to his own nation, of whom he lived in constant dread. On the day before his death, while labouring under some presentiment of evil, he leaped on his horse in the midst of his camp, and was on the point of flying from his own army to take refuge in a fortress. When his mind was somewhat calmed, after this act of madness, he sent for the Afghán chiefs, appealed to their fidelity for the preservation of his life, and concluded by instructing them to disperse his Persian guards, and to seize on his principal nobles. These orders were not given so secretly but they came to the ears of those so nearly concerned; and as the night was to pass before their destruction was accomplished, they had time to anticipate it by the assassination of their enemy.

His intolerable cruelties.

His favour to the Afgháns.

A number of the conspirators, among whom were the captain of his guard and the chief of his own tribe of Afshár, entered his tent after midnight; and, although they involuntarily drew back when challenged by that deep voice at which they had so often trembled, yet they soon recovered their courage. One of them made a blow at the king with a sabre, and brought him to the ground; he endeavoured to raise himself, and attempted to beg his life; but the conspirators only redoubled their blows until he expired—"the boast, the terror, and the execration of his country."[18]

He is assassinated by the Persians.

A.D. 1747, June; A.H. 1160, Jamada's Sani.

[18] Père Bazin (*Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. iv.). This Jesuit, who accompanied Nádir Sháh as his physician in the last years of his life, gives the best account of that

On the next morning an attack was made on the Persians by the Afgháns, under the command of Ahmed Khán Abdálí, who was joined by the Uzbeks. It was made in the hope of being still in time to rescue the Sháh; but, considering the inferiority of the numbers of the Afgháns, they may be reckoned fortunate in making good their retreat to their own country, near the frontier of which the death of Nádir took place.[14] Retreat of the Afgháns.

Ahmed Khán was the son of Zemán Khán, the hereditary chief of the Abdálís, who headed them on their first conquest of Khorásán. He was descended of the family of Sadduzei, which was looked on with a sort of religious veneration by their tribe; and, although only twenty-three years of age, he had been distinguished by the particular notice of Nádir Sháh.[15] Ahmed Khán Abdálí.

He had, therefore, already the command of his own tribe, which he hastened to confirm; and, extending his influence over the neighbouring tribes and countries, before the end of the year he was formally declared king at Candahár. From some superstitious motive, he changed the name of his tribe from Abdálí to Durráni, by which it has been since known.[16] He modelled his court on that of Nádir Sháh, and assumed all the pretensions of that monarch, but exercised them with the moderation that was required by his circumstances. He was absolute in the Ahmed crowned king at Candahár. Oct. 1747. Changes the name of Abdalis to Durranis.

period. The other authorities for his history are Sir John Malcolm's *Persia*, the *Nádirnámeh* (translated by Sir W. Jones), and Hanway. Hanway gives a different view of the transactions relating to Rezá Culi, but Bazin's is confirmed by the *Nádirnámeh*, which, likewise, gives a lively picture of the tyranny and atrocities of Nádir Sháh. (Livre vi. chap. xix. p. 398. Jones's *Works*, vol. v.)

[14] An animated description of this unequal contest, and of the valour and good order with which the 4,000 Afgháns conducted their retreat, is given by Bazin, who was a spectator of the action, "au milieu des balles et des sabres."

[15] The person of a Sadduzei was inviolable, and no officer, of whatever rank, could put an Abdálí to death without the authority of a Sadduzei. I have been led to think that the common story of Ahmed having been a mace-bearer of Nádir Sháh originated in the circumstance that the word "chóbdár," which on the west of the Indus belongs to a few of the greatest officers of state (who carry wands or gold sticks), is in India applied to a common mace-bearer; yet it is not probable that one of those high offices would be conferred on the chief of a foreign tribe. Ahmed's early history is well known. He was a prisoner with the Ghiljeis when Candahár was taken by Nadir Sháh. That conqueror received him with favour, assigned him an honourable maintenance, and sent him to reside in Mázandarán (*Nádirnámeh*, vol. v. of Jones, p. 374). His object probably was to keep him at a distance from his tribe as long as the country was unsettled; for it appears, from a contemporary writer, who accompanied the Persian camp, that "Nádir Sháh always kept a watchful eye over him; but the officers of all ranks treated him, in private, with great respect." (*Memoirs of Abdoolkereem*, p. 176.)

[16] By an unaccountable confusion, the Indians sometimes call the Durránis, Ghiljeis; in the north they are also called Khorásánis, but Durráni is the usual as well as the correct appellation.

His skilful management of his unruly subjects.

plains and cities, as well as in Balkh, Sind, Cashmír, and other conquered provinces; he left the Afghán tribes to their internal government, retaining only power enough to secure their contingents of troops or money, and to preserve tranquillity. Belóchistán, Sístán, and some other places remained under their native chiefs, and owed allegiance and military service. The dissensions of Persia prevented his being disturbed on that side, and enabled him to take possession of most of Khorásán; but he saw the difficulties of further progress in that direction, and contented himself with protecting Sháh Rókh, the son of Nádir Sháh, in Meshhed, while his own immediate dependencies were confined to the east of that city.

His views on India.

It was to India that he looked for conquest, as well as for pecuniary resources and employment for his army; and his first operations in that kingdom took precedence, in point of time, of the settlement of several of the other countries just mentioned.

He occupies the Panjáb.

His coronation, indeed, was scarcely over, when he began his march for the east, and soon brought all the country up to the Indus under his authority. The circumstances of the Panjáb invited his further advance. The viceroy was in revolt, and had no aid from Delhi, so that he offered but a feeble opposition; and Ahmed, after taking possession of Láhór and other towns on the road, pursued his march to the Satlaj. When he reached that river, he found the fords occupied by the Mogul army, which had been sent from Delhi to oppose him, under Prince Ahmed, the heir-apparent, and the vazír, Kamar ud dín Khán. Though his force did not exceed 12,000 men,[17] he saw that his best chance lay in a vigorous use of it: he crossed the river where there was no ford, left the Indians in his rear, and took Sirhind, where their baggage and stores had been deposited. Among other advantages of this success, he got possession of some guns, with which he was before entirely unprovided. His boldness intimidated the enemy, who halted when they approached him, and intrenched their camp. A small body of horse could do little in such circumstances; and although the Mogul vazír was killed by a cannon-ball, while at prayers in his tent, yet his

He is repulsed by an Indian army under Prince Ahmed, the heir apparent.

[17] He marched with this number from Candahár; and although it was probably increased before he crossed the Indus, it would necessarily be again reduced by the garrisons in the Panjáb. The *Seir ul Mutakherin* says he had "*not more than* 67,000 horse," which would be a greater army than that of Nádir Sháh: but the *Life of Hafiz Rehmet*, translated by Mr. Elliot, gives the more reasonable number of 15,000 men (p. 25).

army continued to repel the Durránís till the tenth day, when, after a general and desperate attack on the intrenchments, during which a party of them made its way into the midst of the camp, the assailants were totally repulsed and defeated, and compelled to march off homewards during the ensuing night. A.D. 1748, March; A.H. 1161, Rabí ul Awwal 26.

The Mogul prince forthwith sent a viceroy to the Panjáb; but, as he was immediately afterwards recalled to Delhi by the illness of his father, Ahmed Sháh turned back before he had reached the Indus, and did not quit the Panjáb until the new viceroy had engaged to pay a permanent tribute.

Death of Mohammed Sháh. A.D. 1748, April; A.H. 1161, Rabí us Sání 26.

Mohammed Sháh expired within a month after the battle of Sirhind, and was succeeded by his son, who bore the same name as his Durráni neighbour.

CHAPTER IV.

TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

Ahmed Sháh.

THE return of the Afghán monarch to the Panjáb, combined with his well-known power and activity, kept the new sovereign in a state of continued anxiety, and obliged him to sacrifice a portion of his independence for the sake of such allies as might secure him from foreign conquest. He therefore offered the appointment of vazír to A'saf Jáh; and on his declining it (which was soon followed by his death), he invited Násir Jang (who succeeded A'saf in the Deckan) to move to his assistance with all the troops he could assemble. But it was not long before he learned that the Durráni king was occupied in the western part of his dominions; in consequence of which intelligence he was enabled to dispense with the aid he had solicited, and was left to make his internal arrangements in the way best suited to his own views. He appointed Safder Jang, the son of Súdat Khán, to be vazír; and as that nobleman retained his viceroyalty of Oudh, the first efforts of the imperial government were directed to the suppression of the Rohillas, who had again become formidable in the northern part of that province. A.D. 1748, A.H. 1161. Internal arrangements of the new king.

Safder Jang's prospect was favourable, for Alí Mohammed

was dead; and he engaged Cáiam Khán Bangash, the Afghán jágírdár of Farokhábád, to conduct the war against his countrymen: but Cáiam Khán, though at first successful, lost his life in battle; and Safder Jang, disappointed in his main object, turned his misfortune to account, by dispossessing the widow of his ally of the greater part of her territory. His ungenerous conduct brought him no advantage: the people of Cáiam Khán's country rose upon his agent, and called in the Rohillas, against whom the vazír was obliged to march in person. He was accompanied by a very numerous army, but so ill-disciplined, that they sacked their own town of Bára (so famous as being peopled by descendants of the prophet), and massacred many of the inhabitants who resisted the outrage. It is not surprising that such an army was routed by a very inferior force. The vazír himself was wounded; the Rohillas proceeded to carry their arms into his country; and, though beaten off from Lucknow and Bélgrám, they penetrated to Allahábád, and set the power of the vazír and the emperor alike at defiance.

Attempt to subdue the Rohillas by Safder Jang, the vazir. A.D. 1748, December; A.H. 1161, Zí Haj.

The vazír marches against them in person, and is defeated. A.D. 1750, A.H. 1163.

Safder Jang saw his embarrassments increasing, while his own power of resisting them was exhausted, and had recourse to the humiliating expedient of calling in the Marattas. He applied to Malhár Ráo Hólcar and Jeiapa Sindia (whom the péshwá had recently sent back into Málwa), and induced them, by the promise of a large subsidy, to join him with the greater part of their forces. By the same means he obtained a renewal of the services of Súraj Mal, rája of the Játs, who had been his confederate on the former expedition. With these auxiliaries, he defeated the Rohillas in a pitched battle, overran their country, and drove them into the lower branches of the Himálaya, which form their boundary on the north-east. To satisfy the claims of the Marattas, he authorised them to levy their subsidy from the conquered territory, and their ravages reduced it to a state from which it did not recover for years.

He calls in the Marattas.

A.D. 1751, A.H. 1164.

By the activity of these plunderers, the Rohillas were reduced to such difficulties for subsistence, that they submitted to Safder Jang, and were content with the assignment of a few villages for the maintenance of their chiefs.[1]

Who compel the Rohillas to submit.

The little advantage which the Mogul government gained by

[1] The *Life of Hafiz Rehmet* gives an account more favourable to the success of the Rohillas.

this success was more than compensated by the defeat of the governor of Ajmír, who had interfered in a civil war between two claimants to the principality of Jódpúr. Defeat of the imperial troops in Márwár.

While the weakness of the Mogul government was thus daily more displayed, intelligence arrived that Ahmed Sháh Durráni had again invaded the Panjáb; and it was soon followed up by accounts of his having obtained complete possession, and by an ambassador demanding a formal cession of the province. The visit of Nádir Sháh was still sufficiently remembered to produce a ready compliance with the demand; and when the vazír arrived at Delhi with his Maratta allies, he found the arrangement concluded. There is no reason to doubt that he would himself have agreed to it if he had been on the spot, or that he would have disregarded it, after it was made, if he had thought that he could gain by infringing it; but he had other grounds of dissatisfaction with the court, and he made this cession, which he represented as degrading, the pretext of his complaints. During his absence in Róhilcand, his influence at court had been supplanted by a eunuch named Jawíd, who was favoured both by the emperor and his mother. Safder Jang, finding that his presence did not restore his authority, took a course which had become familiar at Delhi: he invited Jawíd to an entertainment, and had him murdered during the banquet. The emperor was naturally exasperated at this outrage, and he soon got a suitable instrument to avenge him on the vazír. Ghází ud dín, the eldest son of A'saf Jáh, had remained at Delhi during the first part of the contest between his younger brothers; but seeing an opening afterwards, he entered into a connexion with the péshwá, and set off for the Deckan, accompanied by Holcar and Sindia. He died soon after his arrival at Aurangábád; and his son, a mere youth, whom he had left at Delhi, was promoted by the vazír's favour to the title of Ghází ud dín, and the high office of commander-in-chief. It was this young man that now guided the operations designed against his benefactor. He was a specimen of such of the Mogul courtiers as were not quite sunk in sloth. Restless and ambitious, as skilful in dissembling his passions as incapable of controlling them, he looked on perfidy and murder as the natural means of attaining his ends, and was as reckless of consequences as regardless of principle.

Second invasion of Ahmed Sháh Durráni.

Cession of the Panjab.

Discontent of Safder Jang, the vazír.

He assassinates the emperor's favourite.

Ghází ud dín the younger

The result of his measures was a civil war; not determined, as usual, by a battle in the field, but carried Resists the vazír.

on for six months in daily combats in the streets of Delhi. The factious hostility of the parties was embittered by religious fury: the vazír was a Shía, and the test-word of his sect, and that of the Sunnís, became the war-cries of the combatants on each side. At length, the vazír, finding his position becoming weaker, and alarmed at the approach of the Marattás under Malhár Ráo, whom Ghází un dín had called in as an auxiliary, consented to make peace, retaining possession of the provinces of Oudh and Allahábád. Ghází ud dín, thus relieved, and anxious to employ his Maratta friends, while he revenged himself on a partisan of the vazír, marched against Súraj Mal, the rája of the Játs, in the siege of whose strong forts, especially Díg and Bhartpúr, he found ample occupation for his army. But the emperor was by this time more disgusted with his arrogant and overbearing temper than he had ever been with Safder Jang; and moved out with what troops he could assemble, on pretence of hunting, but really to profit by the difficulties in which Ghází ud dín was entangled. So little judgment was shown in his ill-concerted operations that no step had been taken to secure the co-operation of Safder Jang; and it did not require the acuteness and activity of Ghází ud dín to turn the whole scheme against his enemy. Without discontinuing the siege on which he was employed, he sent his Maratta confederate against Ahmed; but when he heard that the emperor was taken prisoner in the battle which followed, he repaired in person to the camp, deposed the captive king, and put out his eyes, as well as those of the queen, his mother. He then fixed on one of the princes of the blood for successor to the throne, and proclaimed him by the title of A'lamgír II.[1]

Calls in the Marattas, and expels the vazír.

The emperor plots against Ghází ud dín.

Is defeated and deposed.

A.D. 1754, July; A.H. 1167, Shábán.

A'lamgír II.

Safder Jang died soon after this revolution, and Ghází ud dín took the office of vazír to himself, leaving Shújá ud doula, the son of Safder Jang, in possession of his father's provinces, of which he was unable to dispossess him. A longer period of tranquillity now elapsed than might have been expected from the restless ambition of the new vazír; but his internal government was still as arbitrary as ever. At length he provoked a numerous body of troops to mutiny, and made himself personally so odious, that he was seized by the insurgents and

A.D. 1754, September; A.H. 1167, Zí Hajj

Ghází ud dín, vazír

His violent government.

His life in danger in a mutiny.

[1] The above account is from the *Seir ul Mutakherin*, and Grant Duff's *History of the Marattas*. [He was a son of Jehándár Sháh, named Azíz ud dín.—Ed.]

dragged through the streets without his slippers or his turban. Though threatened with instant death, he continued to revile his captors, and to say that they should pay for their insolence with their heads. At length he was rescued by the interposition of the officers; when he instantly ordered a massacre of the whole body, giving up their tents, horses, and property to plunder, so as not to leave a vestige remaining of the corps.

His suspicions of the emperor.

A'lamgír, on pretence of saving the life of Ghází ud dín, had offered, while the disturbance was at its height, to pay the mutineers a considerable sum of arrears, if they would deliver their prisoner into his hands; but the proposal served only to awaken the suspicions of the vazír, who took additional measures to guard against the possible intrigues of his nominal sovereign.

A.D. 1756, A.H. 1170-71. His treacherous seizure of Ahmed Sháh Durráni's governor of the Panjáb.

When interrupted by this adventure, Ghází ud dín was on his march towards Láhór, and he now continued his progress. Mír Manu, the Mogul governor of the Panjáb, whom Ahmed Sháh had continued in his office after the cession, had died. His son had been appointed his successor by the Durráni monarch, but was an infant under the tutelage of his mother. This state of things presented an irresistible temptation to the young vazír: he immediately entered into a most amicable correspondence with the widow, claiming the hand of her daughter, to whom he had really been affianced, and advancing towards Láhór as if to celebrate the marriage; when he had completely lulled all suspicion, he surprised the town and made the governess prisoner in her bed. While they were conveying her to the camp she broke into invectives against the treachery of her son-in-law, and prophesied the ruin of India, and the slaughter of its inhabitants, as the certain consequence of the vengeance of Ahmed Sháh. Her prediction was but too early accomplished; for Ahmed no sooner heard of the outrage offered to him than he flew to revenge it; and speedily effecting his march from Candahár, passed through the Panjáb without opposition, and soon presented himself within twenty miles of Delhi. Ghází ud dín, having contrived to pacify the widow of Mír Manu and to procure her intercession, repaired at once to the Durráni camp, and received pardon as far as his own person. Ahmed Sháh, however, insisted on pecuniary compensation and marched on to Delhi to enforce his demand. Nearly all the horrors of Nádir Sháh's invasion were repeated on his arrival; for though not himself cruel like that monarch, he had much less command

Third invasion of Ahmed Sháh.

He takes Delhi.

over his troops; and the city again became a scene of rapine, violence, and murder.

Massacres and exactions.

Nor were these sufferings confined to the capital; Ahmed Sháh sent a detachment of his army, with Ghází ud dín, to levy a contribution from Shujá ud doula, and marched, himself, with a similar intention against the Játs. He took a fort called Balamghar after an obstinate resistance, and put the garrison to the sword; but the action which leaves the deepest stain on his character, or rather on that of his nation, was the massacre at Mattra. This city (one of the most holy among the Hindús) was surprised by a light detachment during the height of a religious festival, and the unoffending votaries were slaughtered with all the indifference that might be expected from a barbarous people, accustomed to serve under Nádir, and equally filled with contempt for Indians and hatred for idolatry. Meanwhile Ahmed himself was advancing towards Agra, to which city as well as to one of the Ját forts, he laid siege. But by this time the summer was far advanced, and a mortality broke out among the Durránís, who are incapable of bearing heat; he was therefore obliged to be content with the money he had levied, and to direct his course towards his own dominions. Before he went he married a princess of the house of Delhi, and contracted another to his son, afterwards Tímúr Sháh; and having been entreated by the emperor not to leave him at the mercy of the vazír, he appointed Najíb ud doula, a Rohilla chief of abilities and of excellent character,* to be commander-in-chief at Delhi; in the hope that his own influence, even when at a distance, would render that nobleman a counterpoise to Ghází ud dín.[a]

His return to his own dominions. A.D. 1757, about June; A.H. 1171, Shawwál

His arrangements for the protection of Alamgir II against Ghází ud dín, Najíb ud doula, minister

But no sooner had he quitted India, than Ghází ud dín once more set him at defiance. He was at Farokhábád when the Afghán king departed, and he immediately gave the appointment of commander-in-chief to Ahmed Khán Bangash, the chief of that place, in supersession of Najíb ud doula. But as he was not sufficiently strong to effect another revolution by himself, he called in the aid of the Marattas, who were now in greater power than ever.

Ghází ud dín applies for the assistance of the Marattas

Although Bálají made peace with Salábat Jang (as has been

* [See Mill, iii. p. 551, note.—Ed.]

[a] The above account is chiefly from the *Seir ul Mutákherin*: it agrees, in most respects, with the Afghán accounts; but the latter state that Ahmed Sháh did not leave Delhi, and that the whole expedition to Agra, as well as that to Mattra, was commanded by Sirdár Jehán Khán.

stated) in the beginning of A.D. 1752, it was no obstacle to his entering into fresh intrigues with Ghází ud dín *the elder*, the brother and competitor of Salábat. On the arrival of that prince from Delhi, Bálají joined him at Aurangábád with all his forces; and so numerous was the combined army, that even the aid of Bussy might have been insufficient to have saved Salábat Jang, if the danger had not been averted by the sudden death of Ghází ud dín. After this Bálají became involved in affairs to the southward, and transactions with the French and English, which will be best related with the history of those nations. But as his government got settled at home, he ventured to release Damají Geikwár, and to avail himself of his assistance in settling the province of Guzerát. He made severe terms, involving payments and reservations which led to many disputes in the end: but at first all went prosperously. Damají set out in company with the péshwá's brother, Ragoba, (A.D. 1755), and they soon reduced the whole province to complete subjection and obedience. Ragoba next levied contributions on the Rájpút states, and returned through Málwa to the Deckan. In the end of A.D. 1756 he was again sent into Málwa; and it was to him that the present application was made by young Ghází ud dín. Supported by this ally, the vazír advanced on Delhi, occupied the city, and laid siege to the fortified palace, which held out more than a month.

Previous transactions of that nation.

Ragoba, the peshwa's brother, marches to support Gházi ud dín the younger.

It was, nevertheless, evident that Najíb ud doula could no longer withstand his enemies; and the emperor had already taken the precaution of sending his son, afterwards Sháh A'lam, to a place of safety; the escape of Najíb himself was the principal difficulty remaining, and it was accomplished by means of a bribe to Malhár Ráo Holcar. The emperor then opened his gates and received Ghází ud dín as his vazír. Najíb ud doula retired to his own country, which was about Seháranpúr to the north of Delhi, and divided from Róhilcand by the Ganges.

Takes Delhi.

Escape of the heir-apparent, and of Najíb ud doula.

After the taking of Delhi, Ragoba remained encamped near that city, until he was called away to an important and easy conquest. When Ahmed Sháh withdrew from India in the preceding year (A.D. 1757), he left his son Tímúr in charge of the Panjáb, under the guidance of Sirdár Jehán Khán. Their most dangerous opponent was Adína Bég, a man of a turbulent and artful character, who had been deputy to Mír Manu, and whose intrigues had mainly con-

A.D. 1758, A.H. 1171 Ragoba takes possession of the Panjáb.

tributed to the various disturbances and revolutions in the Panjáb. He had fled from the province when it was occupied by Ahmed Sháh, and now returned for the purpose of continuing his factious designs. He first employed his influence with the Sikhs, who had recovered their strength during the past disorders; but not finding their power sufficient for his purpose, he applied to Ragoba, and pointed out the ease with which he might gain a rich prize for his countrymen. Ragoba marched accordingly, took possession of Láhór in May, 1758, and occupied the whole of the Panjáb, the Durránís retiring across the Indus without attempting a battle. The government was conferred on Adína Bég; and on his death, which happened soon after, a native Maratta was appointed his successor. Before this change, Ragoba had set off for the Deckan, leaving the Panjáb in temporary security, and the Maratta affairs prosperous in other parts of Hindostan. A force had marched from Delhi under Datají Sindia, for the purpose of pursuing Najíb ud doula into his retreat; and Najíb, unable to resist, left his country to be plundered, and took post at Sakertál, a defensible ford of the Ganges. He maintained himself with difficulty in this position through the whole of the rainy season; and during this period there was time to mature a combination, to which all the neighbouring princes were called by a common and urgent danger.

A.D. 1758, May; A.H. 1171, Shábán.

A.D. 1759, June to September; A.H. 1172.

The Marattas were already masters of the Panjáb: they had concerted with Ghází ud dín a plan for taking possession of Oudh; and they talked without the least reserve of their intended conquest of the whole of Hindostan. The apprehensions excited by this state of things induced Shujá ud doula to forget his old enmities, and to enter into a league with Najíb ud doula and his former opponents the Rohillas, the most considerable of whom was Hátiz Rehmet Khán. As soon as Datají Sindia was apprised of this confederacy he detached Góvind Ráo Bondéla[4] to invade Róhilcand. So effectually was the order performed that 1,300 villages were destroyed in little more than a month, while the Rohillas were obliged to retreat for safety into the mountains. They were relieved from this distress by Shujá ud doula. He marched from Lucknow immediately on the invasion, surprised the Marattas, and drove them with heavy loss across the Ganges.

Plans of the Marattas for the conquest of Hindostan.

General combination of the Mahometan princes.

The Marattas invade Rohilcand.

A.D. 1759, November; A.H. 1173, Jamada'l Awwal.

[4] A Maratta Bramin, so called from his employment in "Bundelcand," and ancestor of the late chief of Sagar and Calpi.

Datají Sindia's force was weakened by the losses of his detachment; but he had a stronger motive for desiring peace, in the reported approach of Ahmed Sháh from Cábul: terms were therefore proposed to Shujá ud doula and the confederates, and a peace was concluded, which was of no long continuance.[5]

Fourth invasion of Ahmed Shah.

The Afghán king was occupied in the north-western part of his dominions, when his son was expelled from the Panjáb (A.D. 1758); and, when about to march to recover that country, he was arrested by the revolt of Nasír Khán, the ruler of the Belóches, who made an attempt to establish his entire independence. The operations necessary to place the affairs[6] of that country on a satisfactory footing delayed Ahmed Sháh for a considerable time; after which he moved by the southern road of Shikárpúr to the Indus; and, marching up that river to Pésháwer, he crossed it in the month of September, and advanced into the Panjáb. The Marattas offered no opposition, and he avoided the swollen rivers and exhausted country by keeping near the northern hills, until he crossed the Jumna opposite Seháranpúr. During the Sháh's advance, Ghází ud dín, mindful of A'lamgír's connexion with that monarch and with Najíb ud doula, took alarm at the thoughts of his intrigues and his vengeance. He therefore at once gave orders for his assassination, and raised another member of the royal family to the throne.[6] This prince's title was never acknowledged: Sháh A'lam, the heir-apparent, was absent on a scheme for getting a footing in Bengal; and the confederate princes carried on their operations without any ostensible head.[7]

A.D. 1759, September; A.H. 1173, Muharram.

Murder of Alamgir II. by Ghazi ud din.

A.D. 1759, November; A.H. 1173, Rabi us Sani 8.

At this time the Marattas, though not supported by their allies the Játs, had 30,000 horse of their own in the field; but they were in two bodies at some distance from each other; and the hatred of the country people, who were exasperated by their depredations, kept them in ignorance of the movements of the enemy. Ahmed Sháh came suddenly on the body under Datají Sindia, and so effectually surprised it that the chief and two thirds of the force were cut to pieces on the spot. The other division under Malhár Ráo Holcar was still at a distance, and commenced its flight towards the country south of the Chambal: it was drawn from the direct

The Maratta troops in Hindustan dispersed by Ahmed Shah.

[5] Seir ul Mutákherin, and Grant Duff.

[6] [Muhyí's sunnat, the son or grandson of Cámbakhsh.—ED.]

[7] Seir ul Mutákherin. Ahmed Sháh's proceedings are from Afghán accounts.

line by the temptation of plundering a convoy, and was overtaken and almost destroyed by a Durráni detachment which had made a prodigious march for the purpose.[8] Long before these reverses, Ragoba had arrived in the Deckan. The glory of his conquests did not reconcile the Maratta court to the financial results which they produced: instead of an ample harvest of plunder, as used to be customary, he had brought home near a million sterling of debt. This unproductive campaign appeared to more disadvantage when contrasted with that in which the péshwá's cousin, Sedásheo Ráo Bháo[9] (best known in India as "the Bháo"), was engaged: he had remained, as home minister and commander-in-chief in the Deckan, had just obtained possession of Ahmednagar, and was on the eve of a settlement, afterwards concluded at U'dgír, by which territorial and pecuniary cessions of great extent were obtained from Salábat Jang, and such a burden imposed on the Mogul government in the Deckan as it was never able to recover. This contrast led to jealousy on the part of Ragoba, who, to Sedásheo's remonstrances on the profusion of his expenditure, replied that the Bháo had better undertake the next expedition himself, when he would find the difference between that and serving in the Deckan. Sedásheo took him at his word, and an exchange of duties was forthwith agreed on.

Power of the Marattas at its zenith.

The Maratta power was at this time at its zenith. Their frontier extended on the north to the Indus and Himálaya, and on the south nearly to the extremity of the peninsula: all the territory within those limits that was not their own paid tribute. The whole of this great power was wielded by one hand; a settlement had been made with Tárá Bái, by which the person of the rája was consigned to his nominal minister, and all pretensions of every description were concentrated in the péshwá.[10]

Their army.

The establishments of the Maratta government had increased with its power. Its force was no longer composed of predatory bands alone; it included an army of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry in the direct service of the state, and 10,000 disciplined infantry, who, though a very imperfect copy of that commanded by Europeans, were far superior to any infantry previously known in India.

[8] Seir ul Mutákherin. Grant Duff.

[9] [The son of Chimnaji.—Ed.]

[10] Chiefly Grant Duff. [Grant Duff states that, though the Péshwás really held all the power, they always made out all their accounts as generals in command of the Rája's troops, and continued to submit all their receipts and disbursements to the Sattára rája to the very last. See vol. ii. p. 16.—Ed.]

The Marattas had now also a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls, which they had so long regarded with awe and envy. They even endeavoured to assume the pomp which was characteristic of their rivals. Rich dresses, spacious tents, and splendid caparisons became common among them, and their courts and retinues were formed on the Mogul model.

This show of greatness did not seem misplaced in the péshwá and his ministers, who were Concan Bramins, a comely race, prepared by the mildness and gravity of their manners to take up dignity without any appearance of incongruity; but it sat very ill on the little active Marattas, whose sturdy figures and vulgar manners gave a ludicrous effect to their attempts at a stately demeanour.

Great preparations for the contest in Hindostan.

Whatever the nation possessed either of power or magnificence was brought forth to give weight to Sedásheo Bháo. The news of the misfortunes of Sindia and Holcar were only a fresh stimulus to exertion; and it seemed to be resolved, by one great and decisive effort, to put the finishing stroke to the conquest of Hindostan.[10]

Arrogance of the commander Sedásheo Bháo.

The prince thus elevated was naturally haughty and overbearing, proud of the new greatness of his family, and puffed up by recent success into an overweening confidence in his own abilities both as a statesman and a soldier. He was accompanied by Wiswás Ráo, the péshwá's youthful son and heir-apparent, and by all the great Bramin and Maratta chiefs without exception. Many Rájpút detachments were sent to join him as he advanced, and Súraj Mal is said to have reinforced him with a body of 30,000 Játs.

This experienced old chief, who had long been accustomed to act with the Marattas, took occasion to advise the Bháo to leave his infantry and guns, and all his heavy baggage, in the Ját territory, where it would be protected by strong forts, to advance with his horse alone, to harass his enemies in the Maratta manner, and protract the war until the Durránís, who had already been many months in India, should be constrained by the climate to withdraw to their native mountains. This prudent counsel, though seconded by the Maratta chiefs, was at once rejected by their commander, who looked down on a victory obtained by such means, and who also attached an undue importance to his regular infantry and guns. This was not the only occasion on which he slighted Súraj Mal, whom he treated as a petty zemíndár, incapable of judging of politics on a large scale.

[10] Seir ul Mutákherin. Grant Duff.

He also offended his Maratta chiefs by his Bramin pride, as well as by his imperious manner of exercising his command, and the absence of the freedom and familiarity to which they were accustomed in their leaders. In this manner he advanced to Delhi, which was held by a small garrison of Durránís and their partisans, Ghází ud dín having taken refuge in the Ját country.* The great extent of the city walls enabled a party of Marattas to climb up a neglected bastion, and the citadel yielded to the artillery after attempting a short defence. The Bháo made an injudicious as well as ungenerous use of this conquest. He defaced the palaces, tombs, and shrines, for the sake of the rich ornaments which had been spared by the Persians and Afgháns. He tore down the silver ceiling of the hall of audience, which was coined into seventeen lacs of rupees,[11] and seized on the throne (no longer so precious as of old), and on all other royal ornaments. He even proposed to proclaim Wiswás Ráo emperor of India, and was only prevailed on to postpone the measure until he should have driven the Durránís across the Indus. All these proceedings alarmed and disgusted Súraj Mal, who was unwilling to go to extremities with his own near neighbours. He soon after entered on a secret consultation with Shujá ud doula, and withdrew to his own territory without openly renouncing his alliance with the Marattas. The Bháo affected to treat this defection as a matter beneath his notice.

He takes Delhi.

During this time the Sháh was cantoned for the rains at Anúpshehr, on the frontier of Oudh, whither he had been drawn by an important negotiation. He was sure of cordial assistance from Najíb and the Rohillas, but the co-operation of Shujá ud doula was by no means equally certain. Though that ruler could not declare against the Mahometans, his interests counselled neutrality, and he had an hereditary disinclination to joining Ahmed Sháh, to whom his father, Safdar Jang, had been openly opposed. It was to influence him that the Sháh advanced to Anúpshehr; and this movement, with the persuasion of Najíb ud doula, who paid him a visit for the purpose, succeeded in procuring his accession to the Mussulman cause.

Ahmed Shah's negotiations with Shuja ud doula.

Who joins the Mahometan confederacy. A.D. 1760, July; A.H. 1173 Zi Haj.

* [Ghází ud dín joined the Vazír of Oudh, after the battle of Buxar in 1765, "with a handful of followers, the miserable remains of his former power;" and in 1779 he was discovered at Surat in the disguise of a pilgrim, and forbidden to appear within the Company's territories. (Mill, iii. 405; iv. 51.)—Ed.]

[11] 170,000*l.* Cási Ráj's Narrative (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 97). [He was a Hindú of the Deckan, who was a mutasaddi in the service of Shujá ud doula.—Ed.] Grant Duff makes the 170,000*l.* include all the plate in the palace.

He nevertheless kept up a constant communication with the Marattas, which might serve to secure an accommodation, if expedient, and was in the mean time a useful channel for overtures between that people and the Sháh.[12]

After this arrangement was concluded, Ahmed was still prevented moving by the violence of the periodical rains: but before that season was well over, he broke up his cantonment, and marched towards Delhi. His movement was accelerated by hearing that the Bháo had set out with a picked force to attack Cúnjpúra, on the Jumna, sixty miles above Delhi, where there was a Durráni garrison, under an officer of distinction. On reaching that river near the capital, he found it still swollen and rapid: he proceeded up the banks in search of a ford, until he got near Cúnjpúra, where he had the mortification to hear that the place had been taken, and the whole garrison put to the sword. Enraged at this disgrace inflicted almost before his eyes, the Sháh passed the river, between fording and swimming; and though he lost many men in this bold undertaking, it made so great an impression on the enemy, that they hastened to remove out of his reach, and soon retired to Pánípat, where they threw up works round their camp, encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, and protected by their numerous artillery. The Bháo's force consisted of 55,000 cavalry in regular pay, with at least 15,000 predatory Maratta horse, and 15,000 infantry, of whom 9,000 were disciplined Sepoys, under Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, a Mussulman deserter from the French service. He had 200 guns, with numerous wall pieces, and a great supply of rockets, which is a favourite weapon with the Marattas. These troops, with their numerous followers, made the numbers within his lines amount to 300,000 men.[13]

Ahmed Sháh marches against Sedasheo Bháo.

His bold passage of the Jumna. A.D. 1760, Oct. 25.

Marattas retire to Panipat, and intrench their camp.

Their numbers.

Ahmed Sháh had about 40,000 Afgháns and Persians, 13,000 Indian horse, and a force of Indian infantry estimated at 38,000, of which the part consisting of Rohilla Afgháns would be very efficient, but the great majority the usual rabble of Indian foot soldiers.[14] He had, also, about thirty pieces

Force under Ahmed Sháh.

[12] Cási Ráí, the author of the Narrative, was one of the agents in this intercourse.

[13] Grant Duff agrees with Cási Rai in making the paid horse and infantry 70,000, as above, and estimates the predatory horse and followers at 200,000. Cási Ráí states the whole number at 500,000. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 123.)

[14] The accounts of the Durránis themselves make the number of the army that crossed the Indus 63,000; but, from a comparison with Náhir Sháh's force, and that of Sháh Zemán, in later times, as well as from the incorrectness of Asiatic muster-rolls, I conceive the amount to be much exaggerated. There must also have been a great reduction from garrisons in the Panjab and other places, casualties in

of cannon of different calibres, chiefly belonging to the Indian allies, and a number of wall pieces.

Protracted operations.

The inferiority of the Sháh's force making an attack on the enemy's camp impossible, he was obliged to encamp also, and to throw up lines round his army. The occurrence of a general action being thus suspended, the Bháo's prospects were by no means unfavourable. He had ordered Góvind Ráo Bondéla to collect what troops he could on the lower course of the Jumna, and that chief now appeared with 10,000 or 12,000 horse in the rear of the Durráni camp. He kept at a safe distance from the army, but spread over the country in the Maratta manner, so as to intercept all supplies. It is probable that the Bháo employed his own light cavalry in the same manner; for, before much time had elapsed, the Mussulman camp began to suffer severely from the scarcity of provisions.

Failure of the Maratta supplies.

But although the Durránís were not accustomed to the desultory warfare used by the Marattas, they made up for their deficiency by the bold and rapid movements of their detachments; and on this occasion, a body of their horse under Attái Khán, the grand vazír's nephew, made a march of upwards of sixty miles, surprised Góvind Ráo's camp about daybreak, and completely destroyed his party, Góvind Ráo himself falling in the action. When the Durránís had got the command of the open country, the Bháo soon felt the difficulty of his situation, enclosed in a fortified camp with such a multitude as he commanded.

The Marattas are excellent foragers. Every morning at daybreak, long lines of men on small horses and ponies are seen issuing from their camps in all directions, who return before night loaded with fodder for the cattle, with firewood torn down from houses, and grain dug up from the pits where it had been concealed by the villagers; detachments go to a distance for some days, and collect proportionately larger supplies of the same kind; and convoys, each of many thousands of oxen, are also brought in from remote countries by banjáras, a sort of camp grain dealers, who partake of the character of the soldiery more than of the mercantile body. All these resources were now cut off; and after the Marattas had entirely eaten up and consumed the town of Pánípat, which was within their lines, they began to feel the severest pressure of want.

action, and deaths from the climate during the hot season and rains; so that I think 40,000 a sufficient allowance for the Afghans. The Indian numbers are from Cási Ráí: Shujá ud doula had only 2000 horse and the same number of foot. Cási Ráí's statement, that the Durránís had forty guns of their own, is quite contrary to their own account and to all probability.

While things were tending to this conclusion, neither party was inactive in its efforts to hasten the crisis. Continual skirmishes went on between the armies: the Marattas made three vigorous attacks on the Durráni lines; convoys were always attempting to make their way into the camp; and though one charged with treasure from Delhi fell into the hands of the Afgháns, others were secretly forwarded by Súraj Mal and the Rájpút chiefs; and as the Bháo bore his difficulties with dignity and resolution, their extent and daily increase were unknown to his enemies. In these circumstances, the Indian allies lost all patience, and wearied Ahmed Sháh with their importunities that he would put an end to their fatigues by a decisive action: but his constant answer was, "This is a matter of war with which you are not acquainted. In other affairs do as you please, but leave this to me." He had a small red tent pitched in front of his intrenchment, to which he repaired every morning in time for prayers at daybreak, and where he generally returned to dine in the evening. He was on horseback for the whole day, visiting his posts, and reconnoitring the enemy; and never rode less than fifty or sixty miles a day. At night he placed a picket of 5000 horse as near as he could to the enemy, while other parties went the rounds of the whole encampment. "He used to say to the Hindostani chiefs, 'Do you sleep; I will take care that no harm befalls you;' and to say the truth, his orders were obeyed like destiny, no man daring to hesitate or delay one moment in executing them." [15]

During this time the Bháo's embarrassments became daily more urgent; and he made frequent applications to Shujá ud doula through Cási Rái (the author of our Narrative) to mediate a peace between him and the Mussulmans. When his proposals were made known to the Sháh, he replied that he was only an auxiliary, and had no views of his own; that he claimed the entire control of the war, but left the Hindostani chiefs to carry on their negotiations as they pleased. The majority of those chiefs were well disposed to an accommodation, which would have been particularly acceptable to Shujá ud doula; but Najíb always steadily opposed the overtures, and succeeded in impressing on the rest the ruin to which they would be exposed if the Sháh left India while the Maratta power was still entire.

It is not difficult to conceive what must now have been the

[15] Cási Rái.

state of the Maratta host, cooped up amidst the stench of a blockaded camp, among dead and dying animals, surrounded by famished followers, and threatened with the terrible consummation of the evils which they already suffered. Among their last efforts they sent out a foraging party, with innumerable camp followers, to endeavour to bring in some relief; but the helpless crowd was discovered by the enemy, and slaughtered in prodigious numbers. On this the chiefs and soldiers surrounded the Bháo's tent in a body; they said that they had entirely exhausted the last remains of their provisions, and that it was better to run any risk in the field than to perish in misery. The Bháo agreed to their wish: they all partook of bítel leaf, and swore to fight to the last; and orders were given to make the attack on the next morning before daybreak.

In this extremity the Bháo wrote to Cási Rái a short note with his own hand: "The cup is now full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop. If anything can be done, do it, or else answer me plainly at once; hereafter there will be no time for writing or speaking."

Battle of Panipat.

Cási Rái was communicating this note to Shujá ud doula about three in the morning, when his spies came to report that the Marattas were getting under arms. Shujá immediately repaired to the Sháh's tent, and desired he might be awakened without delay. The Sháh soon made his appearance, ready dressed; and, mounting a horse which always stood saddled by his door, he rode towards the enemy, ordering his own troops out as he advanced.

A.D. 1761, January 6; A.H. 1174, Jumáda's Sani.

One of his first steps was to send for Cási Rái, and interrogate him about the source of the intelligence he had communicated. This he did as he was moving forward, until, about a mile from the camp, he met some Durráni horsemen, loaded with plunder, who reported that the Marattas had deserted their camp and fled. On hearing this, Ahmed turned to Cási Rái and asked him what he said to that? but while he was yet speaking, the Marattas announced their presence by a general discharge of their artillery along the whole of their line. "On this the Sháh, who was sitting upon his horse smoking a Persian kalyán, gave it to his servant, and with great calmness said to the nabob (Shujá), 'Your servant's news is very true, I see.'" He then sent orders to hasten the advance of his own army. When objects became discernible, the columns of the Marattas were seen advancing slowly and regularly with their artillery in front. The Sháh

drew up his army opposite, and, himself, took post at his little red tent, which was now in the rear of the line.

The Mussulmans did not make much use of their guns; and as those of the Marattas approached, the shot went over the heads of their adversaries. The actual engagement was begun by Ibráhím Khán Gárdí, who rode up to the Bháo, respectfully saluted him, and said, "You have often been offended with me for insisting on regular pay to my men; you shall now see that they have not earned it in vain." He then seized a colour with his own hand, and ordered his battalions to cease firing and charge bayonets. Their attack fell on the Rohillas, whose undisciplined valour only increased their loss, and who were broken after a prodigious slaughter. Their defeat laid open the right of the grand vazír,[16] who commanded the centre of the Durráni line, and who was now charged by the Bháo and Wiswás Ráo with the flower of the Maratta army. In this charge, Attái Khán, the vazír's nephew, was killed by his side, and his Durránís were forced to give ground; but he himself dismounted, and, with the few that were near him, determined to die at his post. Shujá ud doula was next to the grand vazír's division, but could not see what was passing for the dust: finding the sound of men and horses in that quarter suddenly diminish, he sent Cási Rái to inquire the cause. He found the grand vazír on foot in full armour, in an agony of rage and despair, reproaching his men for quitting him, and endeavouring to bring them back to their ranks. "Ride to Shujá ud doula," said he, "and tell him that if he does not support me immediately, I must perish." But Shujá, though he kept his ground, did not venture to take part in the action.

Meanwhile these transactions had not escaped Ahmed Sháh; and the reserve which he had ordered up arrived at the critical moment to prevent the destruction of the grand vazír. The battle now became stationary, but the advantage still inclined to the Marattas; until Ahmed, after rallying the fugitives and ordering all who refused to return to be cut down, gave orders for an advance of his own line, and at the same time directed a division on his left to wheel up and take the enemy in flank. This manœuvre was decisive; for though the closest combat was raging in the centre, where the Bháo and Wiswás were engaged on horseback, and where they fought on both sides with spears, swords, battle-axes, and even daggers, yet, "all at once, as if

[16] [The Durráni Sháh Wali Khán.—ED.]

by enchantment, the whole Maratta army turned their backs and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead." The victors pursued them with the utmost fury; and as they gave no quarter, the slaughter is scarcely to be conceived; the pursuit continuing in every direction for fifteen or twenty miles. A large proportion of those who escaped from the enemy were cut off by the peasants; and great numbers who fell alive into the hands of the Durránís were cruelly massacred in cold blood. The Sháh himself was not exempt from a share in these barbarities: for he not only took no means to prevent them, but, at the instigation of Najíb, he made a strict search for Jancojí Sindia, who was concealed by a Durráni chief, and who was made away with to prevent detection. He also compelled Shujá ud doula to give up the gallant Ibráhím Khán, who had been made prisoner; sent for him into his presence to reproach him; and then gave him over to the grand vazír to be placed in confinement, where he died of his wounds within a week.[17]

Destruction of the Maratta army.

The body of Wiswás Ráo was found, and a headless trunk which was believed to be the Bháo's; but the fate of the latter was so far from certain, that, many years after, an impostor obtained credit for a time by assuming his character. The whole number of the slain is said to have amounted to near 200,000.[18] Almost all the great Maratta chiefs were killed or wounded, except those who had been left with a force at Delhi; and Malhár Ráo Holcar, who was accused of too early a retreat. Mahájí Sindia, afterwards the founder of a great state, was lamed for life; and Náná Farnavís, who long kept off the downfall of the péshwá's government, narrowly escaped by flight.[19]

Never was a defeat more complete, and never was there a calamity that diffused so much consternation. Grief and despondency spread over the whole Maratta people; most had to mourn relations, and all felt the destruction of the army as a death-blow to their national greatness. The péshwá never recovered the shock. He slowly retreated from his frontier towards Púna, and died in a temple which

Despondency of the Maratta nation.

Death of the péshwá.

[17] Cási Rái says he was treated with the greatest cruelty, and that it was reported that poison was put into his wounds; but that was not a moment when vengeance (if there had been any motive for it) would have taken so indirect a course.

[18] Grant Duff, vol. ii. p. 156.

[19] The account of Sedasheo Ráo Bháo's campaign is compiled from Grant Duff, the Seir ul Mutákherin, and Cási Rái's account of the battle of Pánipat (in vol. iii. of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 91, etc.). This last is, perhaps, the best specimen to be found of narrative by an Indian. The Afghán accounts of Ahmed Sháh's proceedings also furnish some information.

he had himself erected near that city.[20] The wreck of the army retired beyond the Nerbadda, evacuating almost all their acquisitions in Hindostan.[21] Dissensions soon broke out after the death of Bálají, and the government of the péshwá never regained its vigour. Most of the Maratta conquests were recovered at a subsequent period; but it was by independent chiefs, with the aid of European officers and disciplined sepoys. The confederacy of the Mahometan princes dissolved on the cessation of their common danger. Ahmed Sháh returned home without attempting to profit by his victory, and never afterwards took any share in the affairs of India.[22]

Dissolution of the Mahometan confederacy.

The actors in the last transactions having now all left the stage, the history of the Mogul empire here closes of itself. Its territory is broken into separate states; the capital is deserted; the claimant to the name of emperor is an exile and a dependent; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the empire under better auspices than before.[23]

Extinction of the Mogul empire.

[20] Grant Duff.

[21] Sir J. Malcolm's *Málwa*, vol. i. pp. 120, 121.

[22] [He recognised Alí Gohar, the eldest son of Álamgír II., as emperor, under the title of Sháh Álam II. Najíb ud Doula, however, remained the imperial deputy at Delhi until his death in 1770. Sháh Álam returned to his capital, by the aid of the Mahrattas, in Dec. 1771.—ED.]

[23] [It may be interesting to notice a few of the contemporary events which were now passing in different parts of India. In Oct. 1760, Mír Ja'far was deposed in Bengal, and Mír Kásim set up in his place; Lally surrendered Pondicherry to the English, Jan. 14, 1761; and in the following May, Haidar Alí finally established himself in Mysore.—ED.]

APPENDIX,

(See page 475.)

ON THE STATES FORMED ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE OF DELHI.

Bahmaní Kings of the Deckan.[1]

BAHMANÍ KINGS OF THE DECKAN.	A.D.	A.H.
Hasan Gángú (or Alá ud din	1347	748
Mohammed I.	1358	759
Mujáhid	1375	776
Dáúd	1378	780
Mahmúd I.	1378	780
Ghiyás ud dín	1397	799
Shams ud dín	1397	799
Firuz	1397	800
Ahmed I.	1422	825
Alá ud dín	1435	838
Humáyun	1457	862
Nizam	1461	865
Mohammed II.	1463	867
Mahmúd II.	1482	887
NOMINAL KINGS.		
Ahmed II.	1518	924
Alá ud dín II.	1520	927
Walí	1522	
Kalím	1526	

HASAN GÁNGÚ,[2] the first king of the Deckan, was an Afghán of the lowest rank, and a native of Delhi. He farmed a small spot of land belonging to a Bramin astrologer, named Gángú, who was in favour with the king; and having accidentally found a treasure in his field, he had the honesty to give notice of it to his landlord. The astrologer was so much struck with his integrity that he exerted all his influence at court to advance his fortunes. Hasan thus rose to a great station in the Deckan, where his merit marked him out among his equals to be their leader in their revolt. He had before assumed the name of Gángú, in gratitude to his benefactor; and now, from a similar motive, added that of Bahmaní (Bramin), by which his dynasty was afterwards distinguished. He fixed his capital at Culbarga. Founded by Hasan Gángú, an Afghán of Delhi.

The revolt of the rája of Warangal, and the foundation of the new government of Bijayanagar, were favourable to the insurgents at first, as they increased the embarrassments of Mohammed Tughlak; the rája of Warangal also sent a body of horse to assist Hasan Gángú in his final struggle; but their establishment cut off a large portion of the Mussulman dominions towards the south, and soon led to boundary disputes, which involved them in an unceasing war with the new monarchy.

After the death of Hasan Gángú, these wars, especially that with Bijayanagar, continued, almost without intermission, until the end of his dynasty. They did not for a long time make much alteration in the Hindú and Mahometan limits: the rájas of Orissa and Telingána, at one time, made their way to the gates of Bidar, which was then the capital: but the Mahometans were gainers on the whole; they occupied most of the country between the Kishna and Tumbadra; and in A.D. 1421, the Bahmaní king, Ahmed Sháh, took permanent possession of Warangal, and compelled the rája of Telingána to relinquish his ancient capital. Wars with the Hindús. A.D. 1461, A.H. 865

[1] The accounts of the inferior Mahometan dynasties, where not otherwise specified, are taken from Ferishta, who has written a separate history of each (vols. ii., iii., and iv of Col. Briggs' translations).

[2] The royal title assumed by Hasan was *Alá ud dín*, but, to distinguish him from other kings of the same name, I have retained his original appellation.

At length, in the reign of Mohammed II., the last of the Bahmaní kings who exercised the functions of sovereignty, Amber Rái, a relation of the rája of Orissa, applied to the Mussulman prince to assist him in asserting his right to that government; promising, in the event of success, to become his tributary, and to cede to him the districts of Rájamandri and Cóndapilli, at the mouths of the Kishna and Godáverí. Mohammed accepted the offer, and sent an army to support the pretender. Amber Rái was put in possession of Orissa, and the two districts were made over to the Mussulmans, and occupied by their troops. Amber Rái subsequently endeavoured to regain possession of the districts he had ceded; when Mohammed moved against him in person, invaded his country, reduced him to submission; and, after settling Rájamandri and Cóndapilli, carried his arms to the southward along the coast, annexed Masulipatam to his dominions, and pushed his incursions to the celebrated temple of Cánchí, or Conjeveram, near Madras, which he plundered.

A.D. 1471, A.H. 876.

A.D. 1477, A.H. 882.

Conquest of Rájamandri and Masulipatam.

Partial conquest of the Concan. From A.D. 1469 to A.D. 1471, A.H. 874 to A.H. 876.

The same king met with equal success on the opposite coast of India, his minister having acquired possession of the Cóncan, the tract between the Western Ghâts and the sea from Bombay to Goa. The Bahmaní kings had been occupied in this conquest for more than forty years, and had suffered severe losses in that rugged and wooded country, and, after all, were never able perfectly to subdue it.

The Bahmaní kings were several times engaged in wars with those of Khándésh and Málwa, generally on the frontiers of Berár: on one occasion (A.D. 1461-2), the king of Málwa advanced to Bídar, then the capital, and might have taken it, but for the timely aid of the king of Guzerát.

Dynasty of A'dil Sháh at Bíjápúr.

FOUNDED BY YÚSUF A'DILSHÁH, A TURKISH SLAVE.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Yúsuf A'dil Sháh .	1489	895	Ibráhím A'dil Sháh	1535	914	Ibráhím A'dil Sháh II. . . .	1579	987
Ismail A'dil Shah .	1510	915	Alí A dil Shah .	1557	965			
Malló A'dil Shah .	1534	941						

YÚSUF A'DIL SHÁH claimed an illustrious descent, supported by a plausible history. The Indian historians represent him as son of the Ottoman sultan Amurath, and brother to Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople. They relate that he was an infant at the accession of Mohammed, that he escaped being put to death with the rest of his brothers by the contrivance of his mother, and was by her means conveyed to Persia.

Being obliged to fly from Persia at the age of sixteen, on account of some suspicion of his birth, he was inveigled to the Bahmaní court, and there sold as a slave.

He rose, according to the course of Mamlúk adventurers, until he assumed the crown, as has been related.

From that time he was occupied in resisting Kásim Barid, the usurper of the Bahmaní government, and in seizing the possessions of other chiefs around, who, like him, were endeavouring to assert their independence. He was also engaged in wars with the rája of Bijayanagar, in which, on the whole, he was successful. His conquests acquired solidity, from a sort of partition-treaty with the other two new kings (of Ahmednagar and Berár), by which the title of each to his possessions was recognised.

A notion of the extent of his kingdom may be gained by assuming the Bíma and Kishna rivers for his boundary on the east, the river Tumbadra on the south, the sea from near Goa to near Bombay on the west, and perhaps the Níra river on the north. Extent of the kingdom.

He afterwards involved himself in fresh troubles by his zeal for the Shía religion, which he had imbibed in Persia from some of the immediate followers of Shékh Sáfí. He declared that faith to be the established religion of the state; and by a proceeding so unexampled in India, he caused much disaffection among his own subjects, and produced a combination of all the other Mahometan kings against him. He showed great resolution in supporting himself against this confederacy, and great skill in disuniting its members; but it was only by renouncing his innovations in religion that he was able, at last, to reconcile himself to all his opponents. Attempt to introduce the Shía religion.

His son Ismaíl was a minor at his death. The minister who acted as regent planned the usurpation of the government; and with this view put himself at the head of the Sunní or native faction, and depressed and discharged the foreigners. His plan having failed, the young king became as violent a Shía, formed his army entirely of foreigners, and would enlist no Indian, unless he were the son of a foreigner, a Pitán,[3] or a Rájpút. He affected foreign manners, and always used the Persian and Túrkí languages in preference to that of the Deckan.[4] Religious factions.

Ibráhím, the fourth king (the third having only reigned six months), was a zealous Sunní, and discharged all the foreign troops. They were recalled by his son Alí, an enthusiastic Shía. During the minority of Alí's son, Ibráhím II., there was a struggle between the factions, in which, at length, the Sunnís prevailed.

A change of more importance than these revolutions of sects was the rise of the Marattas. These Hindús having fallen completely under the kings of Ahmednagar and Bíjápúr, in consequence of the extinction of their own rája of Deógirí, were treated as subjects, and employed without distrust. Yúsuf, the first A'dil Sháh, is said to have given a command of 12,000 infantry to a Maratta chief;[5] and in the subsequent reigns they shared the fortunes of the natives, being entertained in great numbers whenever that party prevailed. They were known under the name of Bérgís, were often horse, and by their light and predatory operations contributed to introduce the system of defence to which the Bíjapúr government always had recourse when attacked. Rise of the Marattas.

A remarkable innovation was introduced by Ibráhím (the fourth king). He directed the public accounts to be kept in the Maratta language, instead of the Persian. Considering that this was the language of all the village accountants, and that the body of the officers of revenue and finance were also generally Hindús, it is surprising that the improvement was not introduced sooner, and more extensively copied.

There were constant wars and shifting confederacies among the Mussulman kings; in both of which the rájas of Bijayanagar often took a part, as did the kings of Khándésh and Guzerát, the latter with much weight. In all these wars the constant enemy of the A'dil Sháh was the Nizám Sháh of Ahmednagar, their hostility being caused by rival claims to the possession of Sólápúr and some other districts on the left bank of the Bíma. Wars with the other Mahometan kings.

At length, the four great Mahometan governments, A'dil Sháh, Nizám Sháh,

[3] Pitán (or rather Pathán) is a name often applied by the Indians to the Afghána, but more generally to the Indian descendants of that people.

[4] Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 72. The remark shows that Deckani (a dialect of Hindostani) was the usual language of the Mussulmans in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

[5] Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 84.

League against Bijayanagar.

Barid, and Kutb Sháh, formed a league against Rám Rája, then ruling at Bijayanagar, the result of which has been related in the text (page 477).

Among the other wars of the A'dil Sháhí kings, those with the Portuguese are mentioned by the native historians with affected negligence. They state that Goa was lost under Yúsuf, retaken by that king in person, and lost again under his son Ismail;[6] but as the kings of Bijápúr and Ahmednagar afterwards made a simultaneous attack on the Portuguese at Goa and Choul (A.D. 1570), and were both repulsed, it is evident that they could not have been insensible to the formidable character of their antagonists.[7]

Wars with the Portuguese.

This confederacy, as well as the battle of Tálicóta, was subsequent to the accession of Akber. When that emperor first interfered effectually in the affairs of the Deckan, the last-mentioned king, Ibráhím II., had emerged from a long minority, and was taking an active part in the internal disputes of Ahmednagar.

A.D. 1595, A.H. 1004.

Dynasty of Nizám Sháh at Ahmednagar.

FOUNDED BY AHMED, A HINDÚ CONVERT.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Ahmed	1490	896	Mirán Hussein	1588	996	Ibráhim	1594	1003
Burhán	1508	914	Ismail	1588	997	Ahmed II.	1594	1004
Hussein	1553	961	Burhán II	1590	999	Bahadur	1595	1004
Murtezá	1565	972						

THE father of Ahmed, the founder of the Nizám Sháhí dynasty, was a Bramin of Bijápúr. Having been taken prisoner and sold for a slave to the Bahman king, he was converted, and rose to the first dignity in the state, and his son declared himself king (as has been related) on the dissolution of the Bahmani government. So far were his descendants from being ashamed of their origin, that they had frequent wars with the kings of Berár for the possession of Pátrí, a village in the latter country, to which their Bramin ancestors had been hereditary accountants. In the same spirit Burhán (who was the second king) appointed a Bramin, named Káwar Sein, to be his péshwá, or prime minister, and derived great advantage from the confidence he reposed on him. This dynasty imitated that of Bijápúr in employing Marattas, but not to the same extent. Those in their service were chiefly infantry, and much employed as garrisons in hill-forts.

Religious factions A.D. 1537, A.H. 944

Their liberality to other religions did not save the Nizám Sháhs from the influence of the sects in their own. The second king openly professed the Shía religion; and, although assailed by tumults within, and a combination of the orthodox kings around, was more successful than his neighbour at Bijápúr, and made good the establishment of his own sect.

A.D. 1588, A.H. 996

A change took place in consequence of the murder of Mirán Husein, the fifth king, the foreigners by whom that act was effected being massacred, and the Sunní religion introduced.

A feud, however, broke out among the Sunnís themselves under the sixth king, Ismail, in consequence of a powerful prime minister declaring for a new

[6] This was the second capture by Albuquerque, in A.D. 1510.

[7] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 134. Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 77.

sect called Mehdeví, or Gheir Mehdí, which is very odious to the other Mussulmans. It may have been owing to this division that we find the native Deckanís and the Abyssinians on different sides in the dissensions which ultimately destroyed the monarchy; but those dissensions had not much of a religious character. A.D. 1588, A.H. 997.

The share of the Ahmednagar governments in the wars and confederacies of the other kings has been noticed. It had also wars of its own with Khándésh and Berár, the last of which kingdoms it subverted, in A.D. 1572, and annexed the territory to its own. Previous to this success, the Nizám Sháhí king was subjected to a great humiliation, having been besieged in his capital by Bahádur Sháh, king of Guzerát, and compelled to acknowledge his superiority, and to do homage to him in very submissive forms.[8] Wars with the other kings of the Deckan.

A still greater degradation awaited his successor, who was besieged in Ahmednagar by Rám Rája of Bijayanagar, then combined with Bijápúr, and reduced to accept an interview with him on terms of marked inferiority. A.D. 1530, A.H. 937.

It was the pride displayed by Rám Rája on this and some other occasions, that led to the general combination against him, the result of which has been already mentioned. A.D. 1565, A.H. 972.

It gives a great idea of the power of Ahmednagar, although on an unfortunate occasion, that in one campaign against the A'dil Sháh, the king lost upwards of 600 guns. Many of these may have been mere swivels; but one was the famous cannon now at Bijápúr, which is one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.[9] Miscellaneous facts.

Ferishta mentions the great prevalence of duels (an uncommon practice in Asia) under this dynasty. They were occasioned by the most trifling disputes; it was reckoned dishonourable to decline them, and no blame was attached to the death of the parties, provided the combat was a fair one. Ferishta himself witnessed a meeting of this sort, in which there were three on each side, and five of the combatants greybearded men, and in considerable estimation at court. Three were killed on the spot, and the survivors died of their wounds.[10] These duels were always fought with sabres.

At its greatest extent the kingdom of Ahmednagar comprehended all that is now called the Súbah of Aurangábád, and all the west of that of Berár. It also possessed a portion of the seacoast in the Cóncan, between the tracts belonging to Guzerát and Bijápúr. Extent of the kingdom.

Dynasty of Kutb Sháh at Golcónda.

FOUNDED BY KULÍ KUTB, A TÚRKMAN SOLDIER.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Sultán Kulí . .	1512	918	Subhán Kulí .	1550	957	Mohammed Kulí .	1580	988
Jamshid . .	1543	940	Ibráhim . .	1550	957			

SULTÁN KULÍ KUTB SHÁH, the founder of the dynasty, was a Túrkman of Hamadán in Persia. He claimed descent from the head of his clan, and he

[8] On this occasion Bahádur Sháh showed his superiority by speaking Guzerátí, his own language, and the Nizam Shah replied in Persian, which might be considered as common to both.

[9] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 243. This gun is four feet eight inches in diameter at the muzzle; the calibre is two feet four inches (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 112), it is only fifteen feet long (Colonel Sykes, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 62), and weighs forty tons (Colonel Briggs, above quoted)

[10] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iii. p. 206.

certainly came to India a free man in quest of military service. He entered the guards of the Bahmaní king, distinguished himself on many occasions, and was governor of Télingána when the monarchy broke up. It is not certain when he assumed the royal title, but he was king in substance from A.D. 1512, A.H. 918.

Kulí professes the Shía religion.

He openly professed the Shía religion from his accession, and met with no opposition in introducing it into his dominions.

Extent of his kingdom.

At the end of a long reign he left a territory extending from the Godáverí to beyond the Kishna, and from the sea to a line drawn west of Heiderábád about the seventy-eighth degree of east longitude. The north-western districts of this territory were fragments of the Bahmaní kingdom, and those on the south-west were gained from Bijayanagar; but by far the greater

Conquests from the Hindús.

part of Sultán Kulí's conquests were from the remains of the Warangal family and other chiefs of Télingána. He gained a great victory at Cóndapilli over all those chiefs united, with the addition of the rája of Orissa; and although the rája of Bijayanagar afterwards endeavoured to support the cause of his religion, the government of Warangal was never restored, nor the Mahometan power disturbed, within the limits above mentioned.

Wars with the other Mahometan kings.

Sultán Kulí was sometimes interrupted in his operations against the Hindús by attacks from his Mussulman neighbours, especially Ismaíl A'dil Sháh. He, however, took a much less active share than the rest in the wars among the kings of the Deckan.

He was murdered at the age of ninety, by his son Jamshíd, who succeeded him, and reigned for seven years. The third king was a minor, and only reigned a few months; but Ibráhím, the fourth of the line, reigned thirty years, and his time was marked by most of the few important transactions of the dynasty.

Ibráhím, the fourth king.

He had a Hindú minister named Jagdeó, and most of his infantry and all his garrisons were composed of Télingas of the same religion. Jagdeó quarrelled with his master, fled to Berár, and was there appointed to a great command. He afterwards went over to Rám Rája of Bijayanagar, and

His wars.

by his influence a combination, formed between the rája, Alí A'dil Sháh, and Alí Barid Sháh, was enabled to overrun a great part of Ibráhím's country, and shut him up in his capital: peace was however restored, and Ibráhím afterwards joined in the general confederacy against Rám Rája.

The Kutb Sháhí kings took part in the wars and alliances of the other Mahometan monarchs, in which they are generally connected with the kings of Ahmednagar; but these occasioned no permanent change in their condition: their aggrandisement was always at the expense of the Hindús. Ibráhím took advantage of the disturbances in Orissa, and the invasion of that country from Bengal, to recover Rájamandrí and the country north of the Godáverí up to Chicacól, which had been seized by the Hindús on the dissolution of the Bahmaní kingdom; and his successor, Mohammed Kulí, carried on his conquests to the south of the Kishna, and added Gandicóta, Cadapa, and the rest of the country up to the river Penár, to his dominions.

Conquests on the coast of Coromandel.

It was this last king who built Heiderábád. He at first gave it the name of Bhágnagar (by which the Hindús call it still), and to it he transferred his capital from the neighbouring site of Golcónda.

Mohammed Kulí reigned for many years after Akber's capture of Ahmednagar, but his situation was little affected by those remote transactions.

Dynasty of Imád Sháh in Berár.

FOUNDED BY FATH ULLAH, DESCENDED FROM A CONVERTED HINDÚ.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Fath Ullah . .	1484	890	Deryá (about) .	1529	936	Tufál		
Alá ud dín . .	1504	910	Burhán (perhaps).	1560	968			

THE little that is known of this small kingdom has found a place in the history of the neighbouring states. It extended from the Injádri hills to the Godáverí: on the west it bordered on Ahmednagar and Khándésh, about the middle of the seventy-sixth degree of east longitude. On the east its limits are uncertain, but probably did not take in Nágpúr.

Though Fath Ullah exercised sovereign authority, yet Alá ud dín seems first to have taken the title of king.[11]

During the minority of Burhán Imád Sháh, who probably succeeded about 1560, his prime minister, Tufál, usurped the government, and the state merged in that of Ahmednagar in A.D. 1572, A.H. 980.

Dynasty of Barid Sháh at Bídar.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Kásim . . .	1498	904	Ibráhím . .	1562	990	Mírzá Alí . .	1572	1000
Amír . . .	1504	910	Kásim II. . .	1569	997	Amír II.		
Alí	1549	945						

THE Barids derived some importance at first from appearing as the ministers and representatives of the Bahmaní kings; but the illusion was not kept up beyond the life of Kásim: neither he nor Amír took the title of king.

Their territories were small and ill-defined, and the period of their extinction is uncertain.

Amír II. was reigning in A.D. 1609, A.H. 1018, when Ferishta closed that part of his history.

Guzerát.

KINGS OF GUZERÁT.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Mozaffer Sháh .	1396	799	Mahmúd Sháh Bégarí	1459	863	Mírán Mohammed Shah Farukí .	1536	943
Ahmed Sháh . .	1412	815	Mozaffer Sháh II. .	1511	917	Mahmúd Shah III.	1553	961
Mohammed Sháh .	1443	847	Secundar Shah .	1526	932	Ahmed Shah II .	1561	969
Kutb Sháh . .	1451	855	Mahmúd Sháh II. .	1526	932	Mozaffer Shah III. .	1561	969
Dáúd Sháh reigned one week.			Bahádur Shah .	1526	932			

GUZERÁT is bounded on the north-east and east by a hilly tract which connects the Aravalli mountains with the Vindhya chain; on the south it has the sea, which nearly surrounds a part of it, and forms a peninsula equal in extent to all the rest of the province; on the west it has the desert, including that portion called the Rin. The only open part of the frontier is on

Description of Guzerát.

[11] This is variously related in different places of *Ferishta*; but see vol. iii. pp. 350, 351.

the north-west, where a plain between the hills and the desert connects it with Márwár.

The northern hills are steep and rugged; and the branches which they send out towards the south are covered with thick woods, as are the numerous ravines which run from their base to the principal rivers. The country gradually gets more open as it recedes from the mountains, and the lower part, stretching for about sixty miles in depth along the sea, is a plain of extraordinary fertility.

The peninsula is sometimes distinguished from the rest of Guzerát, and was formerly called Sóreth (or Surashtra), now Kátiwár.

It is for the most part composed of low hills, and is, in general, naked and unfertile: but there are separate plains on the sea, which extend to a great distance inland, and are rich and open.

Nearly in the south is a hilly district, called Bábriawár, which is covered with woods.

When Guzerát separated from Delhi, the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the north-west were the independent rájas of Jhálór and Siróhi, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. The rája of I'dar, another Rájpút prince, was in possession of the western part of the hills; and though he was often obliged to pay contributions, and sometimes regular tribute, yet those advantages were seldom gained without a struggle; and he was a constant source of disturbance to the king of Guzerát, by joining his enemies and harbouring fugitives from his country.

Original extent of the kingdom.

The rest of the hilly and forest tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhíls and Cúlís, among whom some Rájpút princes, mostly connected with Méwár, had also founded petty states.[12]

The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindú tribes, who had mostly come from Cach and Sind, at different periods, some centuries before. They were probably tributary, but by no means obedient. All these petty states preserved their existence during the ascendancy of the Moguls, and were, within these few years, almost as independent as under the kings of Guzerát. The real possessions of those kings, therefore, only included the plain between the hills and the sea; and even of that the eastern part belonged to an independent rája, who resided in the hill-fort of Chámpánir. On the other hand, the Guzerát territory stretched along the sea to the south-east, so as to include the city of Surat and some of the country beyond it.

With these small means, the kings of Guzerát made, at least, as considerable a figure as any of the minor kings, except the Bahmaní family, in the Deckan.

Mozaffer Sháh.

FARHAT UL MULK was appointed governor of Guzerát in the reign of Firúz Tughlak. Having given great offence to the Musulmans of the provinces, and even excited the suspicions of the court of Delhi, by the means he took to court the Hindús, he was displaced by Násir ud dín, and Mozaffer Khán was appointed in his room. Farhat opposed the entrance of the new governor, with an army chiefly composed of Hindús; he was defeated, and Mozaffer took possession.[13] Mozaffer was the son of a

Promoted by Mozaffer, the son of a Rájpút convert.

A.D. 1391, A.H. 791-2.

[12] Dúngarpúr, Bhánawárah, etc.; these subsist to the present day.

[13] Mr. Bird's *History of Guzerát*, p. 181, and notes.

Rájpút convert, who had risen from a low station about the court to the highest offices. He had himself been brought up a Mussulman and a nobleman, and appears to have been rather desirous of making his origin be forgotten by hostility to the Hindús.

It is uncertain when he took the title of king. His reign commenced in reality from the time when he became governor. He was successful in his wars. He occupied I'dar, and brought the rája to submission. He fought a great battle in the peninsula, after which he took and retained Diú, on the seacoast: he went to war with the king of Khándésh, about the district of Sultánpúr; and although hostilities were often renewed in after reigns, yet, for his time, the question was favourably settled. A.D. 1391, A.H. 793. His wars.

He once besieged Mandalghar, in Méwár, and extorted a contribution: he proceeded from that place to Ajmír, on a pilgrimage; and on his way back plundered Jhálór, and destroyed the temples.

His greatest war was with Málwa. Húshang Sháh, the second king, was suspected of poisoning his father; and as Mozaffer had been on very friendly terms with the deceased, he made the revenge of his murder a pretext for invading Málwa. He was successful beyond his hopes: he defeated Húshang, made him prisoner, and got possession of the whole of his kingdom. He soon found, however, that he could not retain his conquest; and, perceiving that the inhabitants were about to set up another king, he thought it prudent to get what he could from his prisoner, and to restore him to the throne. During Mozaffer's government, Mahmúd Tughlak came to Guzerát, on his flight from Delhi: he was ill-received, and obliged to repair to Málwa. His occupation and subsequent evacuation of Málwa. A.D. 1407, A.H. 810. A.D. 1408, A.H. 811.

Húshang Sháh did not feel his restoration as a favour, for on the death of Mozaffer he took part with a faction opposed to the accession of that king's grandson, Ahmed Sháh, and began a series of wars between the two countries, that lasted for many years. Ahmed Sháh thrice invaded Málwa, and once penetrated to Sáranpúr, in the east of the kingdom, where he gained a victory. On the other hand, the king of Málwa assisted Ahmed's enemies, Hindú as well as Mahometan, combined with the refractory rájas within the territory of Guzerát, and twice made his way to the capital, but without any important result. Ahmed Sháh. A.D 1411, A.H. 814. His wars with Malwa and his Hindu neighbours. A.D. 1422, A.H. 825.

Ahmed Sháh made, also, the usual expeditions against I'dar, Jhálór, and the peninsula, and had two wars with Khándésh. On one occasion, he marched as far as Nágór, in the north of Márwár, where his uncle was in revolt against Seiad Khizr, of Delhi. He was obliged to retreat on the advance of that prince, and was pursued as far as Jhálór.[14] And with other Mahometan kings. A.D. 1416, A.H. 819.

He was also engaged with a new enemy, in consequence of the capture of the islands of Bombay and Salsette by the Bahmaní king of the Deckan, during an attempt to subdue the Cóncan.[15] A.D. 1429, A.H. 833.

It does not appear how those places came into the hands of the king of Guzerát. It may be inferred that they were detached possessions, as the expedition to recover them was made by sea. The Bahmaní king was driven out, but remained hostile, and more than once joined the king of Khándesh in his wars with Ahmed Sháh. Notwithstanding all these disturbances, Ahmed Sháh brought the interior of Guzerát into good order. He established forts in different places, to bridle the disaffected; and built the town of Ahmednagar (the solid and extensive walls of which still remain), as a check on the rája of I'dar. He also founded Ahmedábád,

[14] *Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 509, vol. iv. p. 18; and Bird's *Guzerát*, p. 189.

[15] Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 413. A somewhat different order is given to the same events in vol. iv. p. 27.

thenceforth his capital, and still one of the greatest cities in India, both from the number of the inhabitants and the magnificence of the buildings.[16]

Ahmed Sháh was a zealous Mussulman. He destroyed temples and built mosques; and is said to have greatly contributed to extend his religion among his subjects.

The usual contests with Málwa and I'dar continued under the two next kings, Mohammed Sháh and Kutb Sháh. The second of them (Kutb Sháh) commenced a more serious war with Kúmbho, the rána of Méwár, whose capital was Chitór. Méwár had been invaded by Ahmed Sháh in the time of Mókal, the predecessor of Kúmbho; but the present war originated in the support given by Kutb Sháh to his relation in Nágór against the Rájpút prince, who was laying the foundation of that great power, afterwards employed by his grandson Sanga against Báber.

Mohammed Sháh. A.D. 1449, A.H. 853. Kutb Sháh. A.D. 1451, A.H. 855. His wars with Méwár.

In these wars the king of Guzerát had almost invariably the advantage. He gained two victories, besieged Chitór, took A'bu (a mountain celebrated for its sanctity), and subdued the rája of Siróhi, one of Kúmbho's allies.

A.D. 1457, A.H. 861.

On the death of Kutb Sháh, his uncle, Dáúd Khán, was placed on the throne. He was deposed within a few days for incapacity, and became an eminent dervise. He was succeeded by Mahmúd, surnamed Bégará, a brother of Kutb Sháh. Mahmúd was fourteen years old at his accession; he reigned for fifty-two years, and was one of the greatest of the kings of Guzerát.[17] He soon showed his vigour in repressing the turbulence of his nobles; and at an early period of his reign he made a diversion in favour of the former enemy of his house, the Bahmaní king of the Deckan, when besieged in his capital, and reduced to extremities by the king of Málwa.

Dáúd Khán. A.D. 1459, A.H. 863. Mahmúd Bégará. A.D. 1459 to A.D. 1511. His vigorous government. He rescues the Bahmaní king of the Deckan. A.D. 1462, A.H. 866.

His territory having been harassed by depredations from Cach, he crossed the Rin, overran that country, carried his arms to the Indus, and defeated a considerable body of Belóches on its banks.

Marches to the Indus.

His greatest exploits were the reduction of Girnár, or Júnaghar, and of Chámpánír. The first of these places (Girnár) is in the south of the peninsula, and stands on a hill equally remarkable for its strength and sanctity.

Takes Girnár and Chámpánír.

These enterprises occupied several years,[18] and afforded examples of the usual desperation of the Rájpúts, and of more than ordinary bigotry among the Mussulmans. The rája of Girnár was compelled to embrace the religion of Mahomet, and the rája of Chámpánír was put to death for a firm adherence to his own.

Mahmúd also quelled insurrections at home, and levied tribute on I'dar. In one of his wars with Khándésh, he marched as far as Asírghar; and on a previous occasion, he had obliged the Nizám Sháhí king of Ahmednagar, in the Deckan, to raise the siege of Doulatábád.

His wars with Mahometan kings. A.D. 1507, A.H. 913. A.D. 1499, A.H. 905.

[16] Ahmed Sháh is said to have introduced the practice of giving to each soldier land to the yearly value of half his pay, the whole having previously been issued in money. The measure is spoken of by the Guzerát historian with applause, although it appears calculated to injure both the discipline and the comfort of the soldier. (Hirl's *History*.)

[17] The European travellers of his day seem to have formed a tremendous idea of this monarch. Barbosa (in *Ramusio*, vol. i. p. 147) and Barbosa are both full of him. One of them gives (*Ramusio*, vol. i. p. 286) a formidable account of his personal appearance, and both agree that a principal part of his food consisted of mortal poisons; and so impregnated was his system with his diet, that if a fly settled on him it instantly dropped down dead. His usual way of putting men of consequence to death was to blow on them after he had been chewing bitel. He is the original of Butler's *Prince of Cumbay*, whose

> "daily food
> Is asp, and basilisk, and toad."

The fate of his wives is related with perfect seriousness by the above authors.

[18] Girnár was annually attacked from A.D. 1468 to 1470, A.H. 873 to 875, and Chámpánír was not taken till A.D. 1483, A.H. 888.

But what chiefly distinguishes him from former Mussulman princes is the number of his maritime expeditions. He took the islands of Jígat and Bét, then, as in recent times, nests of pirates; and sent out vessels mounting guns from Cambay, which defeated the pirates of Balsár in an action at sea. His maritime power. A.D. 1482, A.H. 887.

He also sent a sea and land force against Bombay, then occupied by a revolted officer of the Bahmaní king. On this occasion, this fleet was destroyed in a storm, and he owed his recovery of Bombay to the co-operation of the king of the Deckan. A.D. 1494, A.H. 900.

He had afterwards a more conspicuous opportunity for signalizing his naval enterprise. The Mamlúk Sultan of Egypt had equipped twelve ships in the Red Sea, for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese in India, and Mahmúd entered zealously into his views. He sailed, himself, to Damán, and afterwards to Bombay; and at length sent a large fleet from Diú, under the command of Aiáz Sultání, an officer who had distinguished himself at Champánir. The Guzerát vessels, though much inferior in size to those of the Mamlúks, were numerous; and the combined fleets were strong enough to attack the Portuguese squadron in the harbour of Choul, south of Bombay. He co-operates with the Mamlúks of Egypt in a naval war with the Portuguese.

The particulars of the operations that followed belong to the history of the Portuguese. It may be sufficient to say, here, that the Mussulmans were successful in this first action, and that Aiáz is mentioned with applause by the Portuguese writers for his humanity and courtesy on the occasion. The combined fleet was afterwards defeated, and the Mamlúk part of it annihilated, in a great battle close to Diú.[10] A.D. 1508, A.H. 913.

The Mamlúks, however, continued to send squadrons to the Indian seas, a practice which was imitated by the Turks after their conquest of Egypt. Their object was to open the navigation of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and for this purpose they assisted the native powers of India in their wars with the Portuguese; but they never entertained any views towards obtaining possessions for themselves in that country.

The reign of Mozaffer II. opened with a splendid embassy from Sháh Ismaíl, king of Persia. The same compliment was paid to most of the Indian princes, and was probably designed to conciliate their favour to the Shía religion, which Ismaíl was so eager to introduce. Mozaffer II. A.D. 1511, A.H. 917.

The next six years were spent in inglorious wars with I'dar. A more honourable enterprise presented itself at the end of that time. Mahmúd, king of Málwa, having been almost entirely deprived of his authority by Médní Rái, a Hindú chief to whom he had confided the management of his affairs, fled to Guzerát, and solicited the aid of Mozaffer, who went in person into Málwa, took the capital, compelled Rána Sanga, who was coming to the aid of the Hindú cause, to retreat; and, after restoring Mahmúd to his authority, withdrew to Guzerát without exacting any sacrifice in return. He had not long quitted Málwa before Sanga returned, defeated Mahmúd, and made him prisoner; but generously released him, and made an honourable peace. Sanga was now able to revenge himself on Mozaffer II., by marching to the assistance of the rája of I'dar, and plundering Guzerát as far as Ahmedábád. Generosity to the King of Malwa. A.D. 1519, A.H. 926. War with Sanga, rána of Mewar

Next year, Mozaffer II. retaliated by sending an army, under Aiáz Sultání,

[10] The Mahometan histor ans suppress this defeat, and say very little of their wars with the Portuguese, even when their own party was successful. Three or four years after this battle, an interview took place between Albuquerque and Aiáz; and the character of the latter, given by the Portuguese viceroy, is related in Faria (vol. i. p. 193). "He said he had not seen a more perfect courtier, or fitter to deceive, and at the same time please, an understanding man."

against Sanga. Aiáz besieged the rána in Mandesór, and had granted him terms, when the king of Málwa arrived to co-operate with his army. The king earnestly pressed Aiáz to profit by this advantage; but Aiáz was steady to his engagement, and withdrew his troops in spite of the king's remonstrances.

A.H. 932. Mozaffer II. died in A.D. 1526, after a reign of fourteen years.

The rapid disappearance of two sons and successors of Mozaffer (whose names were Secander and Mahmúd II.) left the throne open to Bahádur. This prince, though only the third of Mozaffer's sons, seems always to have been looked on as the probable heir of his father: on some discontent, however, he had left the court and gone to Delhi, where he remained with Sultán Ibráhím Lódí until Báber's invasion. His absence occasioned his temporary exclusion; but the assassination of one brother and the deposal of the other replaced him in his station. He had still to encounter opposition from a third brother, who was assisted by Sanga and some other Hindú chiefs. This last pretender being killed in action, Bahádur remained the only claimant to the throne.

Bahádur.

His first measure was to reduce the Rájpút princes of I'dar and the neighbouring mountains. He was soon after solicited by his nephew, the king of Khándésh, to come to his assistance, and that of the king of Berár, who had confederated against Burhán Nizám Sháh of Ahmednagar.

Takes part in the wars of the Deckan.

The whole conduct of the war was conceded to Bahádur, and his permanent supremacy was formally acknowledged by the other kings. So successful were his operations, that Nizám Sháh, though joined by Barid Sháh, king of Bídar, was obliged to yield the points in contest with Khándésh and Berár, and to gratify the vanity of Bahádur Sháh by an act of personal homage, as has been mentioned in another place.

His supremacy acknowledged by the kings of Khándésh, Berár, and Ahmednagar.

Bahádur's next enterprise was attended with a still more splendid result. Mahmúd, king of Málwa, who had been restored to his throne by Mozaffer II., was not restrained by that obligation from intriguing against the son of his benefactor; and with equal ingratitude he seized the opportunity of Rána Sanga's death to attack his successor, Rána Rattan Sing. The rána was before in close alliance with Bahádur Sháh, and they now united to revenge their common injuries. Mahmúd was made prisoner in Mandú, his capital, and was sent to Guzerát. He was afterwards put to death; and his dominions were taken possession of by Bahádur Sháh, and annexed to his hereditary kingdom.

Conquest of Málwa, and its annexation to Guzerát.

A.D. 1531, February; A.H. 937, Shábán.

Bahádur had not sufficient moderation long to enjoy so much good fortune. One of the principal instruments of the revolution in Málwa was Silhadi, a Rájpút, who had risen under Mahmúd to the government of Ráisín, Bhilsa, and the other places in the east of Málwa, to which he had since added the possession of Ujein.

Troubles in Malwa.

Bahádur Sháh appears to have thought his conquest incomplete, while so powerful a chief remained, especially as Silhadi was in some measure under the protection of the rána of Mewár. He therefore made him prisoner while on a visit to the royal camp; and, taking advantage of the surprise occasioned by this act of treachery, got possession of the city of Ujein: Bápat Rái, the son of Silhadi, fled to Chitor; and Ráisín, a strong hill-fort belonging to that chief, held out under his brother.

It was long before Bahádur could overcome the opposition thus raised; and he might have entirely failed in doing so, if Rattan Sing, the rána of Chitór, had not died, and been succeeded by his son Vicramajit, under whom that government lost much of its energy.

During Bahádur's absence on this expedition, a serious attack had been made on

Diú by a great armament of the Portuguese, but had been repulsed by the valour of the garrison (Feb. 1531).

Having taken whatever measures were necessary against this enemy, Bahádur Sháh again turned his attention to Chitór. So much was the power of Méwár diminished, that he commenced his operations with the siege of the capital; and at the end of three months constrained the rája to purchase peace by the payment of a heavy contribution.[20] It was about this time that Bahádur Sháh provoked the war with Humáyún, the result of which has already been related.[21] During Bahádur's abode at Diú, he entered into negotiations with the Portuguese. Among other concessions he gave them leave to build a factory; and they furnished him, in return, with a body of 500 Europeans, to assist him in recovering his kingdom. As soon as Guzerát was settled after the retreat of the Moguls, Bahádur Sháh again turned his attention to Diú, where the Portuguese were surrounding their new factory with a wall, and, as he conceived, converting it into a fortification. He there found Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, who had come with a fleet to secure his new acquisition. Remonstrances and explanations took place, to appearance on a friendly footing; but both the Mussulman and Portuguese historians justify the belief that treachery was meditated by both parties, and that each was watching an opportunity to execute his design. Nuno de Cunha, when invited to visit the king, feigned sickness; and Bahádur, to lull his suspicions, went on board his ship with a few attendants. When on board, Bahádur Sháh was alarmed at some whispering and signs which passed between the viceroy and his attendants, and, taking a hasty leave, got into his boat to go ashore. An affray took place, which the Portuguese represent as accidental, and the Mussulmans as designed; and the result was, that several lives were lost on each side, and that Bahádur Sháh threw himself into the sea, and, after being stunned by a blow of an oar, was despatched with a halbert.

War with Méwár. A.D. 1532, A.H. 938.

A.D. 1533, A.H. 940. War with Humáyún, and expulsion of Bahádur.

Bahádur recovers his kingdom.

Disputes with the Portuguese at Diú.

Interview with the Portuguese viceroy.

Death of Bahádur.

As both parties equally held that faith was not to be kept with infidels, neither has the slightest claim to a favourable construction; but Bahádur could have had no immediate act of perfidy in view when he came on board unattended; and as the object of the Portuguese must have been to seize and not to murder the king, it is unlikely that they would, if prepared for such a step, have allowed him to leave the ship. The affray, therefore, probably arose unintentionally, from the mutual alarm of the parties: if either was guilty of premeditated treachery, the greatest weight of suspicion rests on the Portuguese.[22]

A.D. 1537, A.H. 943.

Bahádur Sháh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmúd, the son of Latíf Khán, who had formerly been his rival; but that prince was a prisoner in the hands of his cousin by the mother's side, Mirán Sháh, king of Khándésh; and the latter availed himself of the circumstance to claim the crown for himself. He, however, died a natural death within six weeks; and as his brother, who succeeded in Khándésh, though in possession of the same advantages, was not so fortunate in profiting by them, Mahmúd was at length set at liberty, and allowed to take possession of his right.

Mirán Mohammed Shah.

He took the title of Mahmúd III., and had a reign of sixteen years, remark-

[20] Among the property given up on this occasion was a girdle of jewels, which had been taken from a former king of Guzerat, and which was afterwards sent with Bahadur Shah's family to Medina, and found its way at last into the treasury of the Grand Signor. (Colonel Briggs' note on *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 141.) For the date of this first siege, see Bird's *History of Guzerát*, p. 216, note.

[21] Pages 442, 443.

[22] See a full and judicious examination of the accounts of both parties in a note on Colonel Briggs' *Ferishta*, vol. iv. p. 132.

Mahmúd III. A.D. 1538, A.H. 944. able for nothing but the intrigues and factions of his chiefs. His death was attended with circumstances sufficiently out of the ordinary course; he was assassinated by his domestic chaplain, whom he had at one time ordered to be built up to the neck in a wall and left to starve, and had released when nearly dead, on his attempting, even in that extremity, to bend his head to the king as he passed. The chaplain, after the murder, sent for the principal nobles, and put each privately to death as he appeared. He then assumed the crown; but, as might have been expected, was put to death by the remaining officers, the moment he presented himself in public.

A.D. 1553-4, A.H. 961.

Mahmúd III. built the castle of Surat, which still remains; and likewise enclosed a park of fourteen miles in circumference with a wall, an unusual work in a country where deer and game of all sorts are so abundant.

Ahmed II. A.D. 1561, A.H. 969. A suppositious child was now set up by a party under the name of Ahmed II. He lived to grow up, and probably to have a will of his own, for he was assassinated after a reign of eight years.

A similar pageant was next set up under the title of Mozaffer III.; and the kingdom was partitioned among the leading conspirators. Dissensions broke out among them, and the country became a scene of continual war, confusion, and tumult, until finally settled by Akber, as will appear in his reign.

Mozaffer III.

Gujerát conquered by Akber. A.D. 1572, A.H. 980.

Málwa.

FOUNDED BY DILÁWAR, OF A FAMILY FROM GHÓR.

KINGS OF MÁLWA.	A.D.	A.H.
Diláwar Ghórí	1401	804
Hóshang Ghórí	1405	808
Mohammed Ghórí	1432	835
Mahmúd Khiljí	1435	839
Ghiyás ud dín Khiljí	1482	887
Násir ud dín Khiljí	1500	906
Mahmúd II. Khiljí	1512	916

IT has been mentioned that Málwa became independent at the end of the reign of Sultán Firúz Tughlak. The first king was Diláwar Ghórí, whose ancestors were natives of Ghór, and who claimed through his mother a connexion with the royal family of that country.

His successor founded the capital, Mandú, remarkable for its situation on a rich table-land of thirty-seven miles' circumference, surrounded by rocky precipices, as well as for the magnificence of its buildings.[28]

He was engaged in those constant wars with Guzerát, which have already been related in the account of that kingdom. His successors were generally at peace with Guzerát; but they had frontier wars with the king of Jounpúr on the Jumna, and with the king of Khándésh on the Tapti. They had also wars with the Bahmaní kings in Berár; and they once laid siege to Bídar, the capital of the last-named monarch (A.D. 1461). One king, Mahmúd I., besieged Delhi, and was defeated by Behlúl Lódí, as has been related. The same prince began a series of wars with Kúmbho Sing, the rája of Chitór, or Mewár; but although they lasted upwards of fifteen years, involved other Hindú princes, and led to many battles and sieges, they made no material changes in the extent of the Mahometan territory.

Wars in Hindostan and the Deckan. From A.D. 1407, A.H. 810, to A.D. 1432, A.H. 835. A.D. 1440, A.H. 844.

From A.D. 1443, A.H. 846, to A.D. 14-8, A.H. 803.

[28] Sir J. Malcolm's *Central India*, vol. i. pp. 29, 40.

The reign of Mahmúd II. was more fertile in events than all that preceded it, and deserves to be particularly noticed. Mahmúd II.

Immediately on the accession of this prince he was engaged in a civil war with his brother, Sáhib Khán, in which his success was principally owing to the support of a Rájpút chief named Médní Rái, who joined him at the commencement with a considerable body of his tribe. The struggle was long and arduous, and was renewed, after an interval, with assistance to the pretender from the king of Delhi; but the courage and talents of Médní Rái again prevailed. A.D. 1512, A.H. 916. Ascendancy of Médní Rái, a Hindú chief.

These long-continued services gave the Rájpút chief a complete ascendancy over his master, and threw the whole administration of the government into his hands. The superiority thus conferred on a Hindú excited universal discontent among the Mahometans, and led to the rebellion of several governors of provinces, who were crushed in succession by Médní Rái.

By the results of these contests Médní Rái became all-powerful, removed every Mahometan from about the king's person, and filled the court and army with Rájpúts. Mahmúd at length became alarmed; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to recover his authority, he felt that he was a prisoner in his own capital, and seized an opportunity of escaping to Guzerát. Mozaffer Sháh, king of that country, came to his assistance. The war lasted for more than a year: Mandú, the capital, was taken after a desperate defence by the Rájpúts; and the king of Guzerát, having restored Mahmúd to his authority, returned to his own dominions. Médní Rái had retired to Chandérí, of which place he was perhaps the hereditary chief. Mahmúd marched against him, and found him strengthened by the alliance of Rája Sanga, who had come with the whole of his army to defend Chandérí. A.D. 1517, A.H. 923. Mahmúd flies to Guzerát. A.D. 1519, A.H. 924. Is restored by Bahádur Sháh.

A battle ensued, in which Mahmúd was defeated; and as, although weak in other points, he was distinguished for his courage, he endeavoured to maintain the combat until he was covered with wounds, unhorsed, and made prisoner. The Rájpút prince treated him with courtesy, and after a short interval released him. Is defeated, taken prisoner and released by Sanga, rána of Mewár.

The mean spirit of Mahmúd was incapable of imitating the magnanimity of his enemy. On the death of Sanga he thought to avail himself of the difficulties of a new reign by attacking Rattan Sing, the son of the late rája. Rattan Sing applied to Bahádur Sháh, who had succeeded Mozaffer on the throne of Guzerát, and who had likewise reason to complain of the ingratitude of the king of Málwa. Mahmúd, unable to withstand so powerful a confederacy, saw his capital taken by Bahádur Sháh, and was afterwards himself made prisoner; when the kingdom of Málwa was permanently annexed to Guzerát. His ingratitude. A.D. 1525, A.H. 932. He is defeated, and his kingdom annexed to Guzerát. A.D. 1531, A.H. 937

Khándésh.

FOUNDED BY MALIK RÁJA, A PERSON OF ARAB DESCENT.

FARÚKHI KINGS OF KHÁNDÉSH.	A.D.	A.H.
Malik Rája		
Nasír Khán (first king)	1399	801
Mirán A'dil Khán	1437	841
Mirán Mobárik	1441	844
A'dil Khán I.	1457	861
Dáúd Khán	1503	909
A'dil Khán II.	1510	916
Mirán Mohammed Sháh	1520	926
Mirán Mobárik	1535	942
Mirán Mohammed Khán	1566	974
Rája Alí Khán	1576	984
Bahádur Sháh	1596	1005

THE kingdom of Khándésh was merely the lower part of the valley of the Tapti (the upper part being included in Berár); on the south it had the hills which support the table-land of the Deckan, and on the north the Injádri range. It was only separated from Guzerát by forests. It was a rich country, watered by innumerable streams. Its history is almost entirely comprised in the small portion which its wars and alliances contributed to that of the neighbouring countries.

The first prince who threw off his dependence on Delhi claimed a descent from the Calif O'mar. He was married to the daughter of the king of Guzerát, from whom his son received the title of king, and to whom both he and his successors acknowledged a sort of subordination.

There is nothing to mention in their domestic history, except the taking of the strong hill-fort of Asírghar by treachery from a Hindú chief, and the founding of the city of Burhánpúr near that fortress. Burhánpúr was made the capital. It is still a large city; and the ruins of public edifices around it show it to have been formerly much more considerable. The whole of Khándésh, indeed, seems to have been in a high state of prosperity under its own kings: the numerous stone embankments by which the streams were rendered applicable to irrigation, are equal to anything in India as works of industry and utility; and, whether they were made by the Hindús or the kings of Khándésh, they must have been in use under the latter, though now in ruins and buried in woods.

Prosperity of Khándésh.

Conquered by Akber A.D. 1599, A.H. 1008

Khándésh was reannexed to Delhi by Akber, in A.D. 1599.

Bengal.

	A.D.	A.H.
Fakhr ud dín[a]	1336	739
Alá ud dín	1340	741
Háji Elias (or Shams ud dín)	1342	743
Secander	1357	759
Ghiyás ud dín	1367	769
Sultán us Saládín	1374	775
Shams ud dín II.	1383	785
Raja Kans	1386	788
Jit Mal (or Jelál ud dín)	1392	795
Ahmed	1409	812
Nasir ud dín	1426	830
Násir	1426	830
Bárbik	1428	832
Yusuf	1445	849
Path	1461	866
Shahzádeh	1461	866
Firúz	1481	886
Mahmúd	1493	899
Muzaffer	1496	900
Alá ud dín II.	1497	904
Nasrat	1521	927
Mahmúd	1534	940
Shír Sháh	1537	945
Selim	1545	952
Adalí	1548	955
Bahádur	1553	961
Jelál ud dín	1560	968
Soleimán Kirání	1563	971
Báyazíd	1573	981
Daúd	1573	981

THE kingdom of Bengal went on for upwards of two centuries after its revolt from Mohammed Tughlak, with frequent changes of dynasty, but without events

[a] The early dates in this dynasty are uncertain. Ibn Batúta left Delhi in A.D. 1342, and found Fakhr ud dín alive in Bengal at least a year or two after.

worth recording. Among the usurpers was Rája Káns, a Hindú zemíndár. His son embraced the Mahometan religion.[35]

This kingdom seems at one time to have comprehended North Behár. It included Sundergong (Dacca): Jájnager (Tipera) was tributary: Assám was occasionally plundered: Cattak and the adjoining parts of Orissa were not acquired till just before the extinction of the state.

It was conquered by Shír Sháh, as has been related, and was in the hands of a revolted officer of one of his successors at the time of Akber's accession.

Jounpúr.

	A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.		A.D.	A.H.
Khája Jehán . .	1394	796	Ibráhím . .	1401	804	Mohammed . .	1457	862
Mobárik . . .	1399	802	Mahmúd . .	1440	844	Hussein . . .	1457	862

KHÁJA JEHÁN, vazír at the time of Mahmúd Tughlak's accession, seems to have been unable to retain his ascendancy during the minority, and to have retired to his government of Jounpúr, and made himself independent. Four of his family followed him in succession, and carried on wars with the kings of Málwa and Delhi. They twice besieged the latter capital; but, at length, their government was subverted, and their territory restored to Delhi by Behlúl Lódí, in A.D. 1476.

It was soon occupied by Báber after his conquest, and was taken by Shír Sháh; and, after the fall of his dynasty, passed through different hands till conquered by Akber early in his reign.

It stretched along the Ganges from Canouj, on the north-west, to the frontier between Bengal and South Behár on the south-east.

Sind.

AFTER the expulsion of the Arabs[36] (A.D. 750), Sind, from Bakkar to the sea, remained in the hands of the Sumera Rájpúts, until the end of the twelfth century; when the reigning family became extinct, and the government, after some changes, fell into the hands of another Rájpút tribe, called Sama.

It is uncertain when the Sumeras first paid tribute to the Mahometans; probably about the beginning of the twelfth century, under Shaháb ud dín Ghórí, or his immediate successors.

The early Samas seem to have been refractory, for one was invaded by Fíruz Tughlak, as has been related (about A.D. 1361). The Samas were soon after converted to the Mahometan religion; and kept the country till expelled by the Arghúns, who held it at Akber's accession.

Multán.

MULTÁN revolted during the confusion which followed the invasion of Tamerlane. It fell into the hands of an Afghán family of the name of Langa, who held it for about a century.

[35] [In the *Journal R. A. S.*, 1866, there is a very full account, by Mr Thomas, of the Kings of Bengal, as far as their reigns can be illustrated from their coins. ED.]

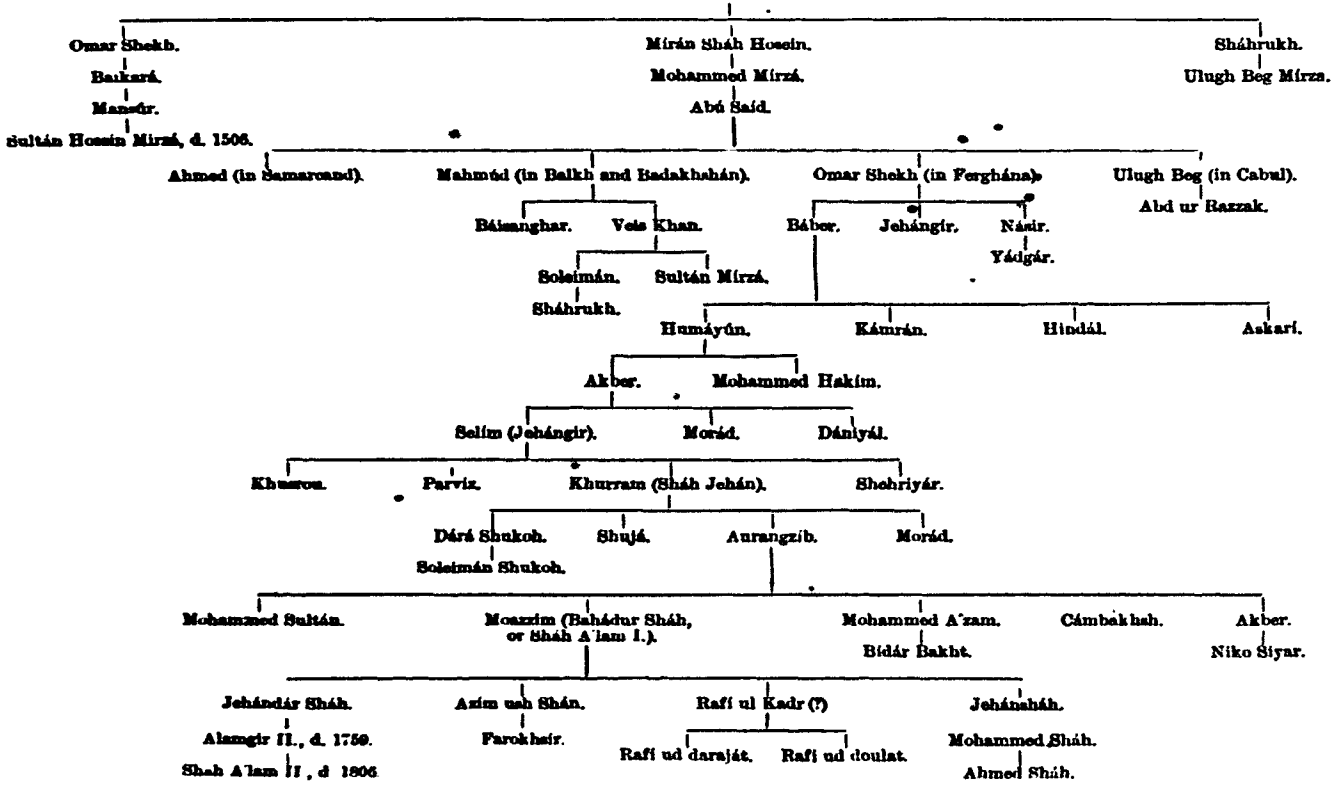
[36] [In p. 512, it has been shown that the Arabs held Sind and Multán until towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijra. Sir H. Elliot (*Arabs in Sind*) thinks that the Súmras embraced the Karmathian heresy when they established their power. The Samas appear to have expelled the Súmras about A.D. 1350; and they were conquered by the Arghúns in A.D. 1520.—ED.]

Early in the sixteenth century, they were dispossessed by the Arghúns of Sind, who were, in their turn, expelled by Prince Cámrán, and Multán fell under the house of Timúr.

State of the other parts of India.

Of the other provinces once belonging to Delhi, it need only be said, that they all became independent after the invasion of Tamerlane; and although Behlúl Lódí, Baber, Humáyún, and Shír Sháh had recovered many of them, yet at Akber's accession (with the exception of the Panjáb, the possession of which was contested by Secander Súr) they were all in the hands of adherents of the Afghán government.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF TÍMÚR. [Ed.]



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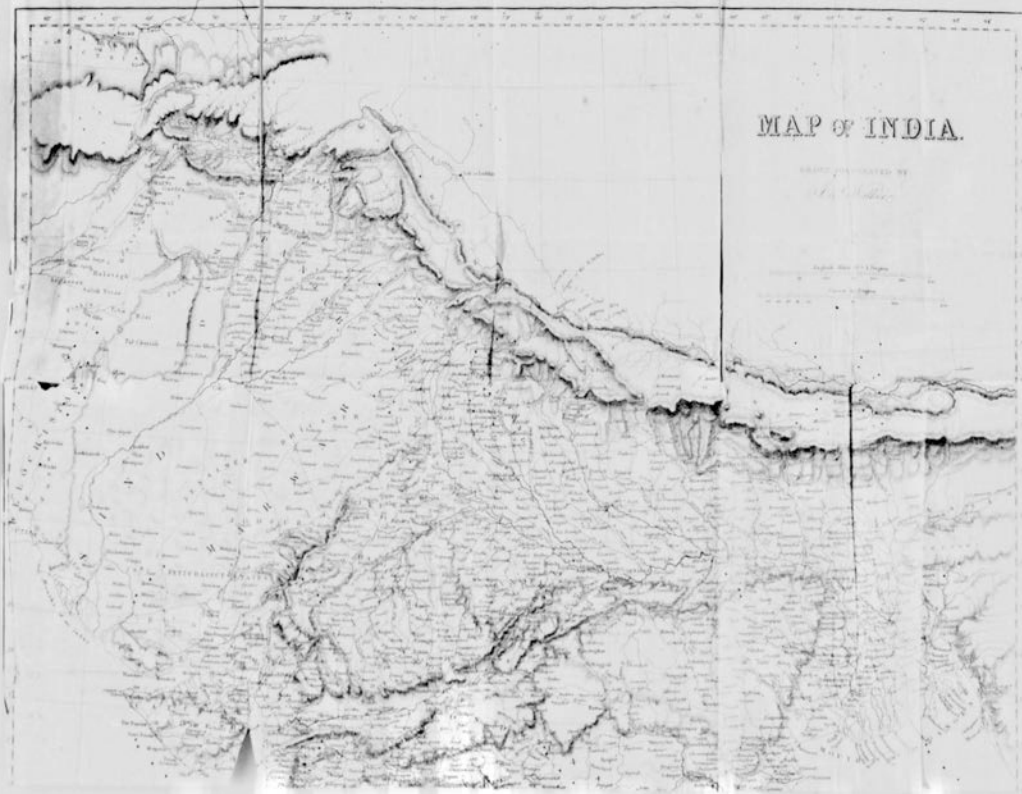
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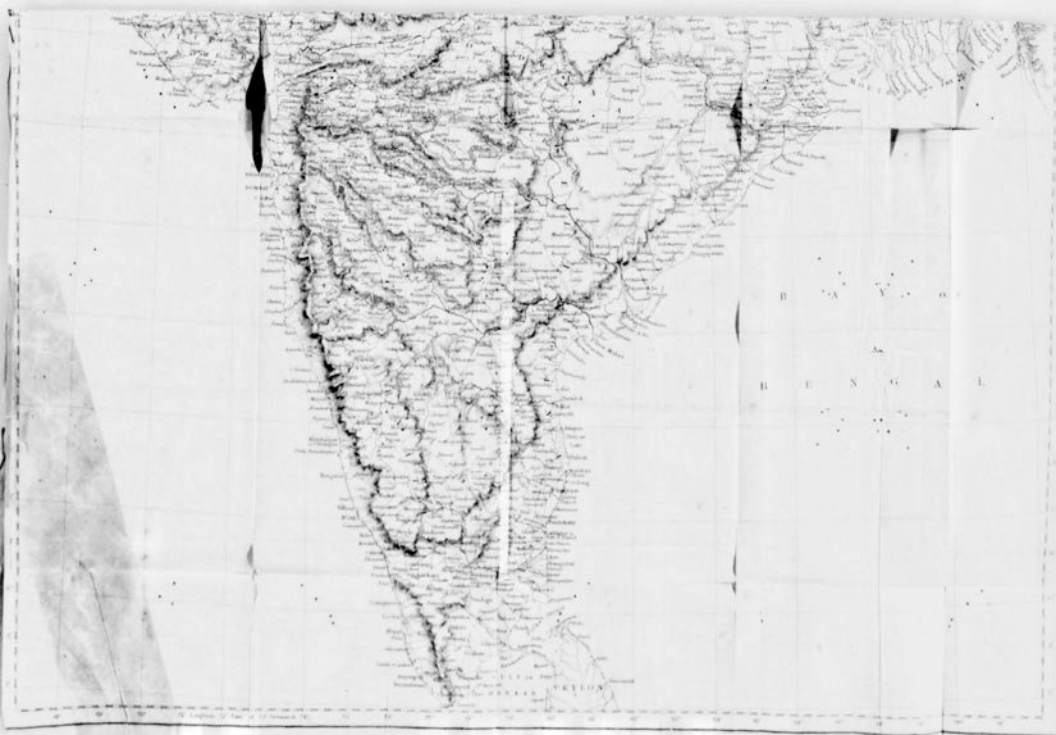
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